

APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

INTRODUCTION

In answering this questionnaire please comment freely in the places provided **AND**, if you wish, on additional sheets of paper on any aspects of the questions. You will find the questionnaire concentrates on **FIRST AND LAST** marriages and on **first and most recent** "adulterous liaisons". This may mean that something important is not being asked about. You may also dislike the words chosen and so on. If this is so:

DO PLEASE SAY SO AND EXPLAIN THE DIFFICULTIES, if necessary on the blank sheet at the end of the questionnaire.

Precisely because much is changing in sexual morals and manners, it has been extremely difficult to choose appropriate words for the questionnaire. Here is your:

GLOSSARY

1. **HARRIAGE.**

- i. If you are still married to your first spouse the word "marriage" covers the period from your legal marriage ceremony (wedding) until the present. Otherwise it covers the period from your wedding until either the death of your spouse or until a divorce is finalised (decree nisi). But see
- ii. If you have been **DIVORCED**, you may have been living apart (whether legally separated or not) before the divorce. If it seems appropriate to **YOU**, please consider the marriage as having ended when you began living apart. If you **decide to do this** please circle the appropriate number at Q.11(g).
- iii. Sometimes, married couples **SEPARATE** but never get divorced. If it seems appropriate to **YOU**, please consider the marriage as having ended when you began living apart. If you **decide to do so** please, again, circle the appropriate number at Q.11(g).
- iv. If you have been married more than once, the same rules apply to the length of marriage. Usually our questions apply to your first and (if you have been married more than once) your current or most recent marriage.

2. SPOUSE.

Spouse means your wife or husband in a marriage.

3. "LIVING TOGETHER IN A LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP".

You are given the opportunity in this questionnaire to "treat" the period before a marriage as the beginning of that marriage, (Q.14d). However, those who have NEVER been through a legal marriage ceremony, although they may live or have been living with a partner in a stable relationship, are asked to return this questionnaire after Q.18(b). Please do let me know about these relationships and any "adulterous liaisons" you consider occurred at the end or on another sheet of paper.

4. LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIPS WHETHER OR NOT YOU LIVED TOGETHER

Other long-term relationships including those which began as "adulterous liaisons" may not be the subject of questions in this questionnaire. This may be because they were neither "first nor last adulterous liaisons". Please let me know about them at the end or on an additional sheet of paper and about any other long-term relationship you have had.

5. "ADULTEROUS LIAISONS".

- i. This term because it is NOT common has been chosen to cover any sexual relationship with anyone other than your spouse during a marriage. It can be the single most important and long lasting affair/ relationship outside your marriage or it might be a brief encounter with someone you met at a party. And, of course, there are many other kinds of "adulterous liaisons".
- ii. Please consider only YOUR OWN marital status when deciding if a relationship is "adulterous". For the purpose of this questionnaire, it is immaterial whether your sexual partner in the "liaison" was married or not. What matters is whether you were. (But see Numbers 1 and 3 above.)

5. PARTNER

Partner means your sexual partner in an "adulterous liaison".

CONFIDENTIAL

No: _____

1. **FULL NAME:** (You may leave this out if you wish)
2. **SEX:** _____
 (Circle the number for your answer) MALE 0
 FEMALE 1
3. **YOUR DATE OF BIRTH:** _____
- 4(a) Place you live in now (your home):
TOWN/ VILLAGE (Name): _____ **COUNTY (Name):** _____
- 4(b) Place you lived in for the longest period as a child:
TOWN/ VILLAGE (Name): _____ **COUNTY (Name):** _____
- 5(a) Please circle **one** number in each column to indicate the religion (if any), or other belief system: (i) you were brought up in and (ii) you believe in now.
- | | (i)
Religion etc.
you were brought
up in (if any) | (ii)
Religion etc.
you now believe
in (if any) |
|---|--|--|
| CHURCH OF ENGLAND | 0 | 0 |
| ROMAN CATHOLIC | 1 | 1 |
| CHRISTIAN/ NON-CONFORMIST
(eg. BAPTIST, EVANGELICAL) | 2 | 2 |
| JEWISH | 3 | 3 |
| OTHER | 4 | 4 |
| ↳ Please write in: _____ | | |
| NONE | 5 | 5 |
6. How important a part (if any) does religion or other belief system play in your life?
 (Circle **one** number)
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| NO PART AT ALL | 0 |
| AN UNIMPORTANT PART | 1 |
| A FAIRLY UNIMPORTANT PART | 2 |
| A FAIRLY IMPORTANT PART | 3 |
| AN IMPORTANT PART | 4 |

The next questions are about your education, qualifications and work....

7(a) Your education: Please circle the number representing the highest level achieved.

NONE	CSE'S	O'LEVELS/ SCHOOL CERT (or equiv.)	A'LEVELS/ HIGHER SCHOOL CERT (or equiv.)	FIRST DEGREE	HIGHER DEGREE
0	1	2	3	4	5

7(b) If you have gained any of the following qualifications, please specify what they are:

COMMERCIAL (eg. TYPING, SHORTHAND) _____

CITY AND GUILDS CERTIFICATE(S) _____

O.N.D., O.N.C., H.N.D., H.N.C. _____

PROFESSIONAL (eg. M.D., TEACHERS CERT., B.ed. _____

OTHER VOCATIONAL (eg. APPRENTICESHIPS) _____

OTHER..please specify: _____

8(a) Are you in paid employment at present?

(Please circle one number)

No	Retired	Employee Full-time Part-time		Self-employed
0	1	2	3	4

8(b) What is the name or title of your main, current (or most recent) job or occupation? (eg. marketing manager, self-employed builder, lecturer at a technical college, medical secretary, housewife):

8(c) Please briefly describe your main tasks at work, even if you think they are obvious from your job title: (Retired persons--please give information for main previous occupation).

9. Your present Marital Status:

(Please circle one number only)

- SINGLE, NEVER HAVING BEEN MARRIED. 0
- MARRIED AND LIVING WITH SPOUSE ... 1
- DIVORCED 2
- LEGALLY SEPARATED 3
- SEPARATED 4
- WIDOWED 5
- OTHER ..please explain: _____ 6

Now some questions about children.....

10(a) Have you had any children?

- NO 0
↳ Skip to Q.11.
- YES 1

10(b) (If yes) In the table below, for each of your children write in his/ her first name and date of birth. Please also indicate the child's sex and whether he/ she is living with you by circling the appropriate numbers.

	NAME# (omit if preferred)	SEX		DATE OF BIRTH	LIVING WITH YOU?			
		male	female		YES	NO	ONLY IN SCHOOL HOLIDAYS	OTHER*
First born	_____	0	1	_____	0	1	2	3
Second born	_____	0	1	_____	0	1	2	3
Third born	_____	0	1	_____	0	1	2	3
Fourth born	_____	0	1	_____	0	1	2	3

* Please specify: _____

If any have died, please note this and the date of death against the child's name.

10(c) If you have more than four children, or have not listed any adopted, foster or step children in 10b above, please give the same details about them:

11. IF YOU ARE SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED → Skip to Q.15.

↓ IF EVER MARRIED

11(a) How many times have you been married?

(Please circle one number only)

- ONCE, STILL MARRIED AND LIVING WITH SPOUSE 1
↳ Skip to Q.11(h)
- ONCE, STILL MARRIED BUT SEPARATED FROM SPOUSE . 1
↳ Skip to Q.11(g)
- ONCE, BUT NO LONGER MARRIED 1
- TWICE 2
- THREE TIMES OR MORE 3
- Write in number: _____

11(b) How did your first marriage end? Were you:

- (Circle one number) DIVORCED 0
- WIDOWED 1
- OTHER.. Please explain: _____ 2

↳ IF YOU HAVE NEVER BEEN SEPARATED OR DIVORCED
↳ Skip to Q.11(g)

↓ IF YOU HAVE EVER BEEN SEPARATED OR DIVORCED

11(c) Was adultery by you or your spouse used as a ground or as a "fact" in obtaining (any of) your divorce(s) in court?

- NO 0
↳ Skip to Q.11(e)
- YES 1

↓

11(d) Please give details, including whether adultery was cited by yourself or by your spouse, and, if applicable, which divorce you are referring to:

11(e) Whether or not adultery was cited do you think it played a part in (any of) your divorce(s), or if you are separated, did adultery play a part in your separation?

- NO 0
↳ Skip to Q.11(g)
- YES 1
↳ Go to Q.11(f) over the page.

11(f) Please explain your answer to Q.11(e), including noting whose adultery:

11(g) For each marriage when you were separated **before** the divorce (including your current marriage ,if applicable) do you consider the marriage ended when you began living apart?

	Your first marriage	Any subsequent marriage	Which Marriage? (eg. 2nd, 3rd)
NO	0	0	
YES	1	1	

For the remainder of the questionnaire please consider your marriage as having ended from the time you began to live apart. Therefore for a relationship to be "adulterous" it must have begun or have occurred **prior** to this date.

11(h) Please give: (i) **Your own age**
and (ii) **Your spouse's age**
when each of these events occurred:
and (iii) the **place** where you married- ie. church, register office, other (specify).

	AT YOUR FIRST (PERHAPS ONLY) MARRIAGE	(If applies) AT SEPARATION	(If applies) WHEN DIVORCED/ WIDOWED	(If applies) AT SUBSEQUENT (MOST RECENT) MARRIAGE
(i) YOUR AGE				
(ii) SPOUSE'S AGE				
(iii) PLACE (Specify)		/	/	

11(i) If your **second** marriage has ended, please give details (ages when divorce, separation etc. occurred) and similar details about any subsequent marriages:

12(a) Please **circle the number** representing the **highest** qualification(s) gained by your **first** (perhaps only) **spouse** and, if you have been married more than once, ie. if different, your **present** (most recent) **spouse**:
Please list any other qualificaions in the last column
(See Q 7(b) for guidance):

	NONE	CSE'S	O' LEVELS	A' LEVELS	FIRST DEGREE	HIGHER DEGREE	OTHER QUAL.
FIRST (PERHAPS ONLY) SPOUSE	0	1	2	3	4		
(If different) PRESENT (MOST RECENT) SPOUSE	0	1	2	3	4		

12(b) Please give full title of job done by **your spouse(s)** for **longest** time during your marriage. Feel free to write "housewife", "retired", etc. if these are most appropriate.

First (perhaps only) **spouse**: _____

(If different) Present/
most recent spouse: _____

13(a) Many of the following questions will use the term "sexual relationships". Does this term seem at all ambiguous to you?

NO 0
 Skip to Q.13(c).
 YES 1

13(b) Please explain the difficulty:

13(c) Please state how you will be interpreting the term "sexual relationships" for the remainder of the questionnaire:

14(a) **Prior to your FIRST marriage**, with whom, if anyone, had you had sexual relationships?

(Circle as many numbers as are appropriate)

No-one	Future spouse	Other single person(s)	Married person(s)	Person(s) of same sex as yourself
0	1	1	1	1

14(b) Before you married did you live with (either of) your spouse(s)?

	First (perhaps only) spouse	(If different) Current/most recent spouse
NO	0	0
YES	1	1

IF YOU DID NOT LIVE WITH YOUR FIRST OR (IF DIFFERENT) YOUR CURRENT/ MOST RECENT SPOUSE PRIOR TO THE MARRIAGE
 Skip to Q.15.

IF YOU DID LIVE WITH (EITHER) SPOUSE PRIOR TO THE MARRIAGE

14(c) At the time did YOU consider that period as:

(Circle one number only in column (i), and, if you have been married more than once (ie. if different) in column (ii) as well)

	(i) First (perhaps only) marriage	(ii) (If different) Current/most recent marriage
SIMPLY LIVING TOGETHER	0	0
A TRIAL MARRIAGE	1	1
NO DIFFERENT TO SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGE.	2	2
NONE OF THESE	3	3

Please describe..(Which spouse?)

14(d) Do you regard (either of) your marriage(s) as dating from this period when you lived together?

	First (perhaps only) marriage	(If different) Current/most recent marriage
NO	0	0
YES	1	1
NOT APPLICABLE ..	9	9

(If yes to Q.14(d) for either marriage)
 For the remainder of the questionnaire, please consider THIS marriage as starting from the time you first lived together.

15. IF YOU ARE SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED → Go to Q.15(b), foot of p.9.

↓ IF YOU ARE NOW OR HAVE EVER BEEN MARRIED

15(a) After reading each statement below, please circle the number which most closely indicates the strength of your agreement or disagreement with the statements **AT THE TIME OF YOUR (FIRST) MARRIAGE.**
[Ignore the last column for the time being]

Feel free to comment on the content of any of the statements at the end.

(Please circle one number only for each statement)

Your opinion at the time of your FIRST marriage:	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Your opinion NOW: 0,1,2 3 or 4
WHEN YOU ARE MARRIED, SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE OF MARRIAGE ARE ALWAYS WRONG	0	1	2	3	4	
IT IS ESSENTIAL TO BE TRUE TO ONE-SELF EVEN IF THE MARRIAGE SUFFERS	0	1	2	3	4	
TRUE LOVE IS THE ONLY GOOD REASON FOR GETTING MARRIED	0	1	2	3	4	
IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES A MARRIED WOMAN IS NOT DOING WRONG IN HAVING AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON"	0	1	2	3	4	
MOST PROBLEMS IN A MARRIAGE CAN BE SOLVED IF BOTH PARTNERS WORK AT IT	0	1	2	3	4	
IT IS O.K. TO HAVE AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" IF ONE'S SPOUSE WILL NOT BE HURT	0	1	2	3	4	
MARRIAGE SHOULD LAST UNTIL 'DEATH US DO PART'	0	1	2	3	4	
IT IS NOT WRONG TO SEEK SEXUAL FULFILLMENT OUTSIDE MARRIAGE	0	1	2	3	4	
PEOPLE OUGHT TO PUT UP WITH PROBLEMS IN THEIR MARRIAGE	0	1	2	3	4	

15(a) (continued) Your opinion at the time of your FIRST marriage:	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Your opinion NOW 0,1,2 3 or 4
IN CERTAIN CIRCUM- STANCES A MARRIED MAN IS NOT DOING WRONG IN HAVING AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON"	0	1	2	3	4	
HONESTY BETWEEN SPOUSES IS THE CORNERSTONE OF A GOOD MARRIAGE	0	1	2	3	4	
IT IS ALRIGHT TO HAVE AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" IF YOU CAN BE SURE YOUR SPOUSE WON'T FIND OUT	0	1	2	3	4	
IN A GOOD MARRIAGE ALL OF A PERSON'S NEEDS WILL BE MET WITHIN THE MARRIAGE	0	1	2	3	4	
IT IS IMPORTANT TO CHANGE AND DEVELOP AS AN ADULT EVEN IF THE MARRIAGE SUFFERS	0	1	2	3	4	
IF ONE SPOUSE HAS AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" THE OTHER IS NOT DOING WRONG IN HAVING ONE TOO	0	1	2	3	4	
IT IS ALRIGHT TO HAVE AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" IF ONE'S SPOUSE APPROVES OF IT	0	1	2	3	4	
FEW PEOPLE REMAIN IN LOVE WITH THEIR SPOUSES FOR MORE THAN A FEW YEARS	0	1	2	3	4	
IF ONE SPOUSE HAS AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" THE MARRIAGE IS OVER	0	1	2	3	4	

Comments on any of the statements:

15(b) Please now return to the beginning of Q.15(a). After reading each statement in the question write in the last column the number which most closely indicates the strength of your agreement or disagreement with the statements NOW.

IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY MARRIED AND LIVING WITH YOUR SPOUSE
 ↪ Skip to Q.17.

IF YOU ARE MARRIED BUT NOT CURRENTLY LIVING WITH SPOUSE
 IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY NOT MARRIED
 ↓

16(a) Are you currently:

- (Circle one number) LIVING WITH A PARTNER..... 0
 NOT LIVING WITH A PARTNER..... 1
 OTHER 2

↪ Please explain: _____

16(b) Please circle the appropriate number to indicate the nature of your most important relationship at the moment:

- A LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP 0
 A RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS
 (PROBABLY) NOT LONG-TERM 1
 NOT CURRENTLY HAVING A
 RELATIONSHIP 2
 ↪ Skip to Q.17.

OTHER..please explain: _____

16(c) Is your **partner** currently:

- (Circle **one** number) MARRIED, LIVING WITH SPOUSE 0
 MARRIED, BUT SEPARATED FROM SPOUSE. 1
 DIVORCED 2
 WIDOWED 3
 SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED 4
 OTHER 5

↪ Please explain: _____

16(d) Please briefly explain what this relationship means to you:

IF YOU ARE SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED → Skip to Q.18(a).

↓ IF YOU ARE OR EVER HAVE BEEN MARRIED

17. Please now think..

- (i) about the time of your **first** (perhaps only) marriage
- and (ii) (if you have been married more than once) about the time of your **present** (most recent) marriage.

17(a) **When you married** did you feel that you were in love with your spouse?

(Circle **one** number in the first column. If appropriate, then circle **one** number in the second column)

	(i) Your first (perhaps only) marriage	(ii) (If different) Your present/ most recent marriage
NO	0	0
YES	1	1

17(b) **When you married**, did you think that:

(Circle **one** number in the appropriate column(s))

	(i) Your first (perhaps only) marriage	(ii) (If different) Your present/ most recent marriage
I WOULD NEVER WANT A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ANYONE EXCEPT MY SPOUSE	0	0
I MIGHT WANT A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SOME- ONE ELSE AT SOME TIME	1	1
I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER I WOULD WANT A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ANY- ONE ELSE AT SOME TIME	2	2

17(c) **When you married**, did you and your spouse discuss your feelings about extra-marital relationships?

	(i) Your first (perhaps only) marriage	(ii) (If different) Your present/ most recent marriage
NO	0	0
YES	1	1
I DO NOT REMEMBER	2	2

17(d) **When you married** did you feel you had any agreement, explicit or implicit, **with your spouse(s)** about whether to have or not to have sexual relationships with others?

	Your first (perhaps only) marriage	(If different) Your present/ most recent marriage
NO	0	0
YES	1	1

17(e) (If applicable) Please briefly describe:

What was agreement? Explicit (formal,
informal) or implicit ? _____

Any change during marriage?

Why was agreement(s) made?

17(f) If you have **ever** made an agreement with any partner or spouse about whether sexual relationships with others was permissible or not, please give these details:

Who with? (eg. 2nd spouse, person lived with at age 22)

What agreement?

Why made?

Was it formal/informal?

17(g) Please cast your mind back to the period just before:

- (i) Your **first** (perhaps only) marriage
- (ii) (If different) Your **present** (most recent) marriage and **then:**
- (iii) Think about your attitude **now.**

Please circle **ONE** of the numbers from A or B AND **ONE** number from C or D to represent **YOUR** attitude—

↓ at the following times:	A That you should be sexually faithful	B That you should NOT be sexually faithful	C That your spouse should be sexually faithful	D That your spouse should NOT be sexually faithful
(i) At first (perhaps only) marriage	1	2	1	2
(ii) If applies) At present (most recent) marriage	1	2	1	2
(iii) Your attitude now	1	2	1	2

17(h) Do you think that your spouse felt very differently about any of the statements in Q.17(g)?

NO.....0
skip to Q.18(a)
YES.....1

Which statement(s)

What did spouse feel?

18(a) Although it is now over a year since you wrote to me, please cast your mind back and, if you can, briefly write down your reason(s) for replying to the article describing my work in the "Sunday Times", OR if a NEW respondent, please give your reasons for helping:

18(b) Were/are you responding mainly as:

- (Circle ONE number only) A 'RULE BREAKER' (OF THE MARRIAGE VOW PROMISING SEXUAL FIDELITY)0
- A CONFORMIST (TO MARRIAGE VOWS)1
- SOMEONE 'TEMPTED' BUT NOT (THEN) HAVING SUCCUMBED2
- SOMEONE WHO DENIES THE RELEVANCE OF THE MARRIAGE VOW OF SEXUAL FIDELITY IN THEIR OWN LIFE3
- A VICTIM OF YOUR PARTNER'S RULE BREAKING ...4
- OTHER .. Please write in _____ 5

ALL EVER MARRIED → Go to Q.19.

ALL SINGLE PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER MARRIED

Please do use the blank sheet (page 31) to give any further information which YOU consider important. Then, please return this questionnaire in the s.a.e. provided.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR GIVING YOUR TIME AND THOUGHT IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Now some questions about any "adulterous liaisons" you may have had... PLEASE READ YOUR GLOSSARY FIRST.

19(a) Have you ever had any "adulterous liaisons"?

(Circle one number) NO 0
Skip to Q.20(a).
YES 1

19(b) With (approximately) how many people have you had an "adulterous liaison":

During first (perhaps only) marriage _____ (Approximate) Number
(If different) During your present (most recent) marriage _____ (Approximate) Number

IF YOU HAVE BEEN MARRIED ONCE ONLY

IF YOU HAVE BEEN MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE

19(c) Did you subsequently marry anyone included in Q.19(b)?

NO 0
YES 1

Please give the number of your marriages for which this is true: _____ Number

19(d) Please give the number (if any) of these "liaisons" mentioned in 19(b) which were with people of the same sex as yourself: _____ Number

19(e) At the time these "liaisons" started, how many (if any) of the people included in Q.19(b) were:

(Approx) Number

MARRIED, LIVING WITH SPOUSE
MARRIED, BUT SEPARATED FROM SPOUSE ..
DIVORCED, NOT REMARRIED
WIDOWED, NOT REMARRIED
SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED

19(f) Were any of these living with someone else at the time?

NO 0
YES 1

How many? _____ Number

20(a) To the best of your knowledge, has your spouse ever had an "adulterous liaison" **WHILST MARRIED TO YOU?**

	First (perhaps only) spouse	(If different) Present/ most recent spouse
NO	0	0
YES	1	1
	↓	↓
	(Approx) how many: _____	(Approx) how many: _____

IF YOU HAVE EVER HAD AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON"

→ Please answer Q.21 by thinking back to the time when you were making up your mind about having your **FIRST** (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison".

IF YOU HAVE NEVER HAD AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON"

→ Please answer Q.21 by thinking back to the **FIRST** time you seriously considered having an "adulterous liaison", (or the first time you were tempted).

21. Please go through all the following statements, **circling the 1** only where you consider:

(in column i) that you would have **agreed** with that statement **AT THE TIME**.

(in column ii) that it played an important part in **your decision to have or not to have** a "liaison".

Column (iii) is for your **comments**, particularly if your attitude has changed.

Your opinion at the time:	At first "liaison" or temptation		Any comments?
	Agreed (i)	Yes, important for decision (ii)	Attitude NOW Inappropriate words etc. (iii)
MY SPOUSE AND I HAD GROWN APART	1	1	
IT WOULD BE WRONG OF ME TO HAVE SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE OF MARRIAGE	1	1	
LIFE FELT VERY EMPTY	1	1	
I WAS WORRIED ABOUT THE DECEIT INVOLVED	1	1	
LIFE WAS FOR LIVING	1	1	

Question 21 (continued) Your opinion at the time:	At first "liaison" or temptation		Any comments? Attitude NOW Inappropriate words etc. (iii)
	Agreed (i)	Yes, important for decision (ii)	
I WAS SURE MY SPOUSE HAD NEVER HAD AN AFFAIR	1	1	
I WAS CURIOUS TO KNOW WHAT SEX WITH SOMEONE ELSE WOULD BE LIKE	1	1	
I WOULD NOT WANT TO PUT MY MARRIAGE AT RISK	1	1	
I WOULD NOT WANT TO PUT ANY-ONE ELSE'S MARRIAGE AT RISK	1	1	
MY SPOUSE AND I HAD AGREED WE COULD BOTH HAVE AFFAIRS	1	1	
IT WOULD BE EASY TO KEEP AFFAIR SECRET	1	1	
I WOULD WORRY ABOUT HURTING MY CHILDREN	1	1	
I HAD SEXUAL NEEDS WHICH WERE NOT BEING MET AT THE TIME	1	1	
I WOULD FEEL GUILTY ABOUT MY LOVER'S FAMILY	1	1	
IT WOULD HELP RECAPTURE A LOST YOUTH	1	1	
MY SPOUSE AND I DID NOT DISCUSS DIFFICULTIES IN OUR RELATIONSHIP	1	1	
WITH CARE, THE AFFAIR WOULDN'T HARM MY MARRIAGE	1	1	
I FELT COMPELLED BY MY EMOTIONS TO HAVE AFFAIR	1	1	
I FELT I HAD THE RIGHT TO HAVE AN AFFAIR	1	1	
I WANTED TO HAVE AN AFFAIR BECAUSE MY SPOUSE WAS HAVING ONE	1	1	
I DIDN'T STOP TO THINK	1	1	

22. Some people claim that "adultery is 90% opportunity"....

If you consider the presence or absence of opportunities, your "openness" to them, your ability to make opportunities and so on has been of importance for you or your spouse, please give the details below:

-
23. Certain events are frequently selected as important for marital relations and for the decision to have or not to have an affair. These include:

- (a) A "mid-life crisis", other crisis or major life-event
- (b) Ill health or accident suffered by self, spouse or close relative
- (c) The death of a close relative or friend (particularly parents of self or spouse)

If any such event(s) has influenced you or your spouse, please give details below:

What crisis or event?	Date	Who affected?	What happened?
1)			
2)			
3)			

People also claim that work is of importance in their marital and extra-marital lives...

24(a) Please circle the number against those statements which you consider made it more likely:

in column (i) that **YOU** would have an "adulterous liaison", whether or not you actually had one.

in column (ii) that **YOUR SPOUSE** would have an "adulterous liaison" whether or not he/ she actually had one.

Then, if you have been married more than once, please note in column (iii) to which marriage this refers:

Statement:	Influence on:			Which marriage? (eg.1st/2nd)
	YOU Towards (i)	SPOUSE(S) Towards (ii)		
A WORK INTRODUCED ME TO NEW PEOPLE	1	...	2	_____
B WORK INTRODUCED MY SPOUSE TO NEW PEOPLE .	1	...	2	_____
C MY SUCCESS AT WORK AFFECTED MY RELATIONSHIP WITH MY SPOUSE	1	...	2	_____
D MY SPOUSE'S SUCCESS AT WORK AFFECTED OUR RELATIONSHIP	1	...	2	_____
E MY JOB CHANGED MY OUTLOOK ON LIFE	1	...	2	_____
F MY SPOUSE'S JOB CHANGED HIS/ HER OUTLOOK ON LIFE	1	...	2	_____
G I WAS WITHOUT WORK FOR SOME TIME	1	...	2	_____
H MY SPOUSE WAS WITHOUT WORK FOR SOME TIME	1	...	2	_____
J I RETURNED TO WORK/ CHANGED MY JOB	1	...	2	_____
K MY SPOUSE RETURNED TO WORK/ CHANGED HIS/ HER JOB	1	...	2	_____
L OTHER .Please specify: _____	1	...	2	_____

24(b) If you have responded to one or more of the statements in question 24(a) I would be grateful if you could briefly give the details and explain what happened, noting to which statement(s), (A, B, C etc.), you are referring:

IF NEITHER YOU NOR YOUR SPOUSE HAS EVER BEEN A MATURE STUDENT → Skip to Q.26.

↓ **IF EITHER OF YOU HAS BEEN A MATURE STUDENT**

Similarly, being a mature student is often said to be of importance in a person's marital and extra-marital life..

25(a) Please circle the relevant number against any statement which is true, whether or not you/ your spouse had an "adulterous liaison" as a result:

in column (i) for yourself
in column (ii) for your spouse.

Then please note in column (iii) to which marriage this refers.

	(i) Yourself	(ii) Your spouse	(iii) Which marriage (eg.2nd)
EDUCATION GAVE ME/ MY SPOUSE NEW HORIZONS	1	2	_____
EDUCATION INTRODUCED ME/ MY SPOUSE TO NEW PEOPLE	1	2	_____
EDUCATION GAVE ME/ MY SPOUSE PRACTICAL OPPORTUNITIES TO HAVE AFFAIRS	1	2	_____
OTHER .. please describe: _____	1	2	_____

25(b) If you have responded to one or more of the above statements, please briefly explain and note whether the event(s) lead to an "adulterous liaison":

26 **IF YOU HAVE HAD NO CHILDREN** → Skip to Q.27(a).

↳ **IF YOU HAVE HAD CHILDREN**

Some people have said that the presence of children of certain ages makes it wrong to engage in extra-marital relationships/ "adulterous liaisons". Others say that it only makes them rather impractical!

26(a) What part, if any, do (did) your children play in your decisions about whether to have such relationships?

- (Circle one number)
- ↳ NONE.....0
 - ↳ Skip to Q.27(a).
 - { A SMALL PART.....1
 - { A FAIRLY IMPORTANT PART.....2
 - { A VERY IMPORTANT PART.....3

↓ 26(b) Please briefly describe what part the children played:

27(a) Since your (first) marriage have you ever had what you feel was an affair or extra-marital relationship with someone even though the two of you NEVER made love?

NO0
 ↪ Skip to Q.28.
 YES1

27(b) (If yes) Please give brief details, including noting the terms you use to describe the relationship, and why you consider this was an affair or extra-marital relationship:

IF THIS IS THE ONLY KIND OF EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONSHIP YOU HAVE HAD → Please, wherever possible, answer the following questions thinking back to the first (perhaps only) such relationship.

28 IF YOU HAVE HAD AT LEAST ONE "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" → Please answer Q.28(a) Thinking only of your first "liaison".

IF YOU HAVE NEVER HAD AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" → Please respond ONLY to columns (i) and (iii) in Q.28(a).

28(a) Who (if anyone) did you discuss having any "adulterous liaison" (affair) with? Did they tend to encourage you TOWARDS OR AGAINST having the/ an "adulterous liaison".

(Please circle ONLY the appropriate number(s)).

Whom discussed with:	(i) EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER	(ii) ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD "LIAISON"	(iii) EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER	
	Discussed before affair	Discussed during affair	Person(s) encouraged	
	YES	YES	TOWARDS	AGAINST
SPOUSE	1	1	2	3
OTHER RELATIONS ↳ Who were they?	1	1	2	3
SAME SEX FRIENDS NOT WORKING WITH YOU	1	1	2	3
OPPOSITE SEX FRIENDS NOT WORKING WITH YOU	1	1	2	3
SAME SEX WORK COLLEAGUES	1	1	2	3
OPPOSITE SEX WORK COLLEAGUES	1	1	2	3
(POTENTIAL) PARTNER	1	1	2	3
PAST LOVER	1	1	2	3

Q.28(a) (cont.)	(i) EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER	(ii) ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD "LIAISON"	(iii) EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER	
Whom discussed with:	Discussed before affair YES	Discussed during affair YES	Persons encouraged	
			TOWARDS	AGAINST
PROFESSIONAL HELPERS eg. G.P, SOCIAL WORKER, MARRIAGE COUNSELLORS Who were they:	1	1	2	3
RELIGIOUS ADVISOR (eg. VICAR, GURU) Who were they:	1	1	2	3

28(b) If you discussed having affairs with any **OTHER** people, please give similar details about them:

IF YOU HAVE NEVER DISCUSSED HAVING AFFAIRS → Skip to Q.29(a).

IF YOU HAVE DISCUSSED HAVING AFFAIRS WITH AT LEAST ONE PERSON
→ 28(c) Would you describe any of the people you have indicated in question 28(a) as "confidantes"?

NO, NONE	YES, ONE PERSON ONLY	YES, SEVERAL PEOPLE
0 Skip to Q.29(a)	1	2

28(d) Please list which people have counted as "confidantes" (eg. same sex work colleague, past lover, etc.):

IF YOU HAVE NEVER HAD AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" → Skip to Q.29(a)

IF YOU HAVE EVER HAD AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON"
→ 28(e) (If applicable) Would you say that one or more of these confidantes played an **important** role in:

Your first "adulterous liaison"	Any "adulterous liaison(s)"
NO ... 0	NO ... 0
YES .. 1	YES .. 1

28(f) Please explain their importance:

28(g) Please explain their importance:

29(a) To the best of your knowledge, **approximately** what proportion of: (i) your male married friends, and (ii) your female married friends have had or are having an "adulterous liaison"

(Circle one number in each column)	(i) Male married friends	(ii) Female married friends
ALMOST ALL OF THEM	0	1
MOST OF THEM	0	1
ABOUT HALF OF THEM	0	1
ABOUT A QUARTER OF THEM	0	1
ONLY A FEW OF THEM	0	1
NONE OF THEM	0	1
DON'T KNOW	0	1

29(b) Has anyone ever confided in you about their "adulterous liaison"?

_____ NO 0

_____ YES 1

↓

(Approximately) how many people: _____

29(c) Please note who confided in you **on the most recent occasion** (eg. "boss", female friend etc.), and the reason:

→ 29(d) Have you ever supported someone's "adulterous liaison" in practical ways? (eg. lending accommodation or money, acting as an alibi, etc.).

_____ NO.....0

_____ YES.....1

↓

29(e) Please give details:

→ 29(f) Thinking of the **most recent occasion** you learnt of a friend's "adulterous liaison", who was the **first** person to tell you?

_____ HAVE NEVER LEARNT OF A FRIEND'S "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" 0

_____ MY FRIEND 1

_____ HIS/ HER SPOUSE 2

OTHER ..Who was this: _____ 4

IF YOU HAVE NEVER HAD AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" → Skip to Q.35.
on page 31.

IF YOU HAVE HAD ONE OR MORE "ADULTEROUS LIAISONS" → Please answer
the following questions about phrases and words...

30(a) Please go through the following words and phrases, circling
the appropriate numbers to indicate:

- (i) Each phrase that you feel applies or has ever applied
to you in any "adulterous liaison".
- (ii) Each phrase ever spoken by you in describing yourself.
- (iii) Each phrase that you feel applies, or has applied to
your partner/ lover in any "adulterous liaison".

	(i) You feel phrase applies (has applied) to you YES	(ii) Phrase ever <u>spoken</u> by you in in describing yourself YES	(iii) You feel phrase applies/ (has applied) to a partner/ lover of yours YES
BEING UNFAITHFUL	1	1	1
LOVER	1	1	1
HAVING INFIDELITIES	1	1	1
BEING PROMISCUOUS	1	1	1
MISTRESS	1	1	1
CHEATING ON SPOUSE	1	1	1
COMMITTING ADULTERY	1	1	1
CONFIDANTE	1	1	1
HAVING AN AFFAIR	1	1	1
VICTIM	1	1	1
ADULTERER/ ADULTERESS	1	1	1
PLAYING AROUND	1	1	1
PARTNER	1	1	1
OTHER WOMAN	1	1	1
CARRYING ON	1	1	1
OTHER..please write in: _____	_____	_____	_____

30(b) For each term below, please indicate the (approximate) number of your liaisons which you feel are best described by each of the terms.

(Approximate) number of "liaisons" for which term applies

- EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS _____
- CASUAL AFFAIRS _____
- ONE-NIGHT STANDS _____
- RELATIONSHIPS _____
- BRIEF ENCOUNTERS _____
- SERIOUS AFFAIRS _____

OTHER .Please describe: _____

31. Please answer the following questions about your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison" and, if you have had more than one (ie. if different) your present/ most recent "liaison".

	Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current most recent "adulterous liaison"
(a) PARTNER'S MARITAL STATUS: (see Q.9. page 3 for examples)	_____	_____
(b) YOUR AGE WHEN "LIAISON" BEGAN/ HAPPENED:	_____	_____
(c) HOW MANY YEARS HAD YOU THEN BEEN MARRIED (TO THAT SPOUSE):	_____	_____
(d) IS "LIAISON" STILL GOING ON?	_____	_____
(e) HOW LONG DID IT GO ON FOR/ HAS IT BEEN GOING ON FOR:	_____	_____

32(a) Overall, would you say that the "liaison(s)" has given you:
(Please circle one number in the appropriate column(s).)

	Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
A LOT OF HAPPINESS	0	0
SOME HAPPINESS	1	1
ONLY A LITTLE HAPPINESS ..	2	2
NO HAPPINESS AT ALL	3	3

32(b) (If applicable) Please describe what aspects of the "adulterous liaison(s)" gave (gives) you the most happiness:

Your first
(perhaps only)
"adulterous liaison"

(If different) Your
current (most recent)
"adulterous liaison"

32(c) And have the "adulterous liaison(s)" caused you:

	Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
A LOT OF UNHAPPINESS	0	0
SOME UNHAPPINESS	1 ...	1
ONLY A LITTLE UNHAPPINESS.	2	2
NO UNHAPPINESS AT ALL	3	3

32(d) (If applicable) Please briefly describe what aspects of the "adulterous liaison(s)" cause(d) you most unhappiness:

Your first
(perhaps only)
"adulterous liaison"

(If different) Your
current (most recent)
"adulterous liaison"

32(e) (If applicable) Overall, would you say that each "adulterous liaison" is (was) worth this degree of unhappiness?

	Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
DEFINITELY WORTH IT	0	0
PROBABLY WORTH IT	1	1
PROBABLY NOT WORTH IT	2	2
DEFINITELY NOT WORTH IT ...	3	3
I AM NOT SURE	4	4

32(f) **And taking everything into account, do you think that the "adulterous liaison(s)":**

	Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
DEFINITELY IMPROVED YOUR MARRIAGE ...	0	0
PROBABLY IMPROVED YOUR MARRIAGE	1	1
NEITHER IMPROVED NOR DAMAGED MARRIAGE	2	2
PROBABLY DAMAGED YOUR MARRIAGE	3	3
DEFINITELY DAMAGED YOUR MARRIAGE	4	4

32(g) Please note the reasons for your answers in Q.32(f) above:

Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"

32(h) Which of the following do (did) you benefit from in your "adulterous liaison(s)":

Where appropriate, please circle the "yes" response under column (i) and, if applicable, under column (ii) as well. (Please ignore the boxes for the time being)

	Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
	YES	YES
INTELLECTUAL STIMULATION ..	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
BEING LOVED	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
ENJOYABLE RISK	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
SEXUAL FULFILMENT	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
BEING NEEDED	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
FRIENDSHIP	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
BEING UNDERSTOOD	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
LOVING	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
FREEDOM/ INDEPENDENCE	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
GREAT SENSE OF FUN	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
OTHER..Write in: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Instructions for completing the boxes are given overleaf.

32(h) Continued

Now please look back to those items in Q.32(h) which you have indicated as giving you benefit in the "liaison(s)". Please choose **just the three** which you consider the most important and rank them by placing the number 1, 2 or 3 in the box beside each of these items. If, for example, 'being needed' was the most important of these benefits for you in your first "liaison" put a '1' in the first box by this item. If 'great sense of fun' was the second most important, you should put a '2' in the box by this, and if 'friendship' was third, a '3' in that box.

32(i) Which (if any) of the following do (did) you suffer from in the "adulterous liaison(s)"?

(Circle as many numbers as are appropriate) Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison" (If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"

	YES		YES
FEAR OF BEING FOUND OUT BY SPOUSE..	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
GUILT TOWARDS YOUR SPOUSE	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
GUILT TOWARDS YOUR CHILDREN	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
YOUR JEALOUS FEELINGS	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
OTHER PEOPLE'S JEALOUS FEELINGS ...	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
DECEIT	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
MARRIAGE HURT BY AFFAIR	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
OTHER ..specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>

32(j) Looking back to the items in Q.32(i) which you have indicated as causing you suffering in the "liaison(s)", choose **just the three** which you consider cause(d) you the most suffering, and rank them by placing the number 1, 2 or 3 in the box beside each of these items.

32(k) If the "liaison(s)" had other important effects not mentioned above please give brief details:
(For example, you may have made new agreements about your marriage, your spouse may have chosen to have an "adulterous liaison" because of yours)

Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"		(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
--	--	---

33(a) Thinking now just of your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison" when did your spouse first come to:

	Suspect you were having an "adulterous liaison"	Know you were having an "adulterous liaison"
EVEN BEFORE "LIAISON" TOOK PLACE	0	(Not applicable)
WHILST "LIAISON" WAS TAKING PLACE	1	1
(Approx) how long had it been going on for at the time: _____		
AFTER "LIAISON" STOPPED	2	2
AT NO TIME	3	3
DON'T KNOW	4	4

33(b) Still thinking of your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison" how did your spouse first come to:

	Know you were having an "adulterous liaison"
I TOLD HIM/ HER	0
SOMEONE ELSE TOLD HIM/ HER	1
Who was this: _____	
HE/SHE FOUND EVIDENCE OF "LIAISON" ...	2
OTHER	3
↳ Please write in: _____	
I DO NOT KNOW	4

33(c) If you know, please describe why this person (people) told your spouse of this 'liaison' (their reasons, motives etc.):

33(d) (If applicable) How did your spouse come to SUSPECT you were having an "adulterous liaison"?

33(e) Did your spouse ever talk to you about his/ her knowledge or suspicion that you were having an "adulterous liaison"?

Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"

NO, NEVER 0

YES, WHILST "LIAISON" WAS GOING ON 1

YES, BUT NOT UNTIL AFTER "LIAISON" HAD FINISHED . 2

→ 33(f) What effect (if any) did these conversations have:
(i) on your marriage
and (ii) on this or future "adulterous liaisons"?

(i)

(ii)

→ 33(g) (If applicable) Why do you think your spouse chose **not** to talk to you about his/ her suspicion or knowledge (for some time):

33(h) Some people have told me that their spouse consciously or unconsciously **encouraged** them to have an "adulterous liaison"

Do you think that (any of) your spouse(s) at any time:

(Please circle one number on each line)	NO	YES
ENCOURAGED YOU TO START AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON"	0	.. 1
ENCOURAGED YOU TO CONTINUE AN "ADULTEROUS LIAISON" ...	0	.. 1

33(i) (If yes to either) Please give brief details of the circumstances and the result (eg. which marriage-if applicable- what spouse did, why you feel he/ she behaved in this way, and what your response was):

First occasion:

(If different) **Most recent** occasion:

34(a) Thinking now of your **first** and, if you have had more than one (ie. if different), your **current** (most recent) **extra-marital partner**:

(Circle **one** number on **each** line in the appropriate column(s))

When you first met were they:	Your first (perhaps only) extra-marital partner		(If different) Your current (most recent) extra-marital partner	
	NO	YES	NO	YES
WORKING IN THE SAME PLACE AS YOU	0	1	0	1
A FRIEND OF YOUR SPOUSE	0	1	0	1
A NEIGHBOUR OF YOURS	0	1	0	1
OTHER	0	1	0	1
→ Please write in: _____ _____				

34(b) Where do (did) you **usually** make love (eg. hotel, own bedroom, partner's office etc.)

Your first (perhaps only) "adulterous liaison"	(If different) Your current (most recent) "adulterous liaison"
_____	_____

34(c) Thinking now of your **current** (most recent) "adulterous liaison" **ONLY**, please note the major things that you and/ or your extra-marital partner spend money on, (eg. meals, presents, theatre, hotel rooms etc.):

Most money spent on: _____

Other important items of expenditure:

34(d) Who **usually** pays for the things you have listed above?

- (Circle **one** number)
- I DO 0
 - MY PARTNER 1
 - WE SHARE THE COST OF MOST THINGS. 2
 - THERE IS NO EXPENDITURE 3

OTHER (eg. your Company) specify: _____ 4

35 To finish, I would be grateful if you would answer some general questions exploring how your attitudes to sexual fidelity may have been influenced...

35(a) If you have read any fiction or non-fiction books which have influenced your views about sexual relationships outside of marriage please note which are the books and explain briefly in what way they influenced you:

35(b) Please give the same information about any films or plays seen on television, at cinemas or theatres:

35(c) If you recall hearing or taking part in any particular discussion or conversation which influenced your own views and/ or actions, please give the details and effects:

35(d) Sometimes people's opinions and behaviour have been influenced by their experience of the "adultery" of others (eg. of father, of friend or colleague). Please give details below if this is true for you:

36(a) Since writing in response to my article in the "Sunday Times" would you say that your marriage has:

- NOT CHANGED 0
- DEFINITELY IMPROVED 1
- PROBABLY IMPROVED 2
- PROBABLY WORSENERD 3
- DEFINITELY WORSENERD 4
- HAS ENDED 5
- OTHER 6

Please explain:

36(b) (If appropriate) Was this change the result of an "adulterous liaison"?

- NO 0
- Skip to Q.37
- YES 1

36(c) (If yes) Whose "adulterous liaison"?

Your own 0	Your spouse's 1	Both 2	Other. (Please specify)
---------------	--------------------	-----------	----------------------------

36(d) Please give brief details for your answer to Q.36(c):

37 If you feel that I have not asked questions on important aspects of "adulterous liaisons" I would appreciate it if you could write below and/ or overleaf what these are and explain how they are important:

If you have NOT had an "adulterous liaison" but your present (or previous) spouse has had one or more whilst married to you would you be willing to fill in a short questionnaire about them? If so, please tick this box:

Give details here if you wish this questionnaire to be sent to a different address:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH INDEED FOR GIVING YOUR TIME AND THOUGHT IN ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

VARIABLE LIST

ANNETTE'S QUESTIONNAIRE - PILOT VERSION

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF. COLUMNS</u>
001	CASEN		4
002	CARD#1		1
003	SEX		1
004	DOB	Last 2 digits of year	2
005	TOWNNOW		1
006	COUNOW		3
007	TOWNPAST		1
008	COUPAST		3
009	RELPAST		1
010	RELNOW		1
011	RELIMP		1
012	ED		1
013	QUAL		2
014	EMPL		1
015	MANNON		1
016	SOCLASS		1
017	OPCS		3
018	SOCECON		2
019	EECST		2
020	MARITST		1
021	CHILDN		1
022	CHILDSEX		1
023	CHILDOTH		1
024	DOBCHOLD	Last 2 digits of year	2
025	DOBCHYON	" " " " "	2
026	YRSTEPO	" " " " "	2
027	YRSTEPY	" " " " "	2
028	CHLIVOLD		1
029	CHLIVYON		1
030	STEPLVO		1
031	STEPLVY		1
032	MGEN		1
033	MGEEND		1
034	DIVADTC	(C = Cited)	1

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 2

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
035	DIVADTCN		1
036	DIVADTR	(R = Relevant)	1
037	DIVADTRN		1
038	MGENDSEP		1
039	AGEMGE1	(age, years)	2
040	AGESEP1		2
041	AGEDIVW ¹		2
042	AGEMGER		2
043	SPAGEMG1		2
044	SPAGESP1		2
045	SPAGEDV1		2
046	SPAGEMGR		2
047	AGEOTHER		1
048	①SPED	(1 = First)	1
049	①SPQUALS		2
050	①RSPED	(R= Most Recent)	1
051	①RSPQUALS		2
052	①SPMANYN		1
	CARD 2	Space Code	<u>1</u>
053	①CASEN		4
054	①CARD1		1
055	①SPSOCLS		1
056	①SPOPCS		3
057	①SPSOCEG		2
058	①SPEEC		2
059	①RSPMANYN		1
060	①RSPSOCLS		1
061	①RSPOPCS		3
062	①RSPOCEG		2
063	①RSPEEC		2
064	SEXRLAMB		1
065	SEXRLDEF		1
066	SEXRLBMG		1
067	LIVBMG1	(1 = First Spouse)	1
068	LIVBMGR	(R = Most Recent Spouse)	1

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 3

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
069	VIEWLIV1		1
070	VIEWLIVR		1
071	MGELIV1		1
072	MGELIVR		1
VAR 1 to VAR 18		[Statements on Q15(a)]	18 x 1
VAR 19 to VAR 36		[Statements on Q15(b)]	18 x 1
111	LIVPTN		1
112	RELPTN		1
113	MRTSTPTN		1
114	MEANGRPN		1
115	LOVESP1		1
116	LOVESPR		1
117	SXRLAMG1		1
118	SXRLAMGR		1
119	TLKSRSP1		1
120	TLKSRSPR		1
121	AGTSRSP1		1
122	AGTCHSP1		1
123	AGTSRSPR		1
124	CASE N		4
125	CARD3		1
126	AGTCJSPR		1
127	AGTSRPTN		1
128	ATTEGOM1		1
129	ATTSPM1		1
130	ATTEGOMR		1
131	ATTSPMR		1
132	AT S EG ^o NOW		1
133	AT f SPNOW		1
134	ATSPSAME		1
135	WHYRESP1		1
136	WHYRESP2		1
137	RSNRESP1		1
138	RS N RESP2		1
139	ADLTYN		2
140	ADLTYNMG		1

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 4

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
141	ADLTYSMS		1
142	MRDPTNS		2
143	SEPPTNS		2
144	DIVPTNS		2
145	WIDPTNS		2
146	SINPTNS		2
147	LIVOTHPN		2
148	ADLTSPN1		2
149	ADLTSPNR		2
150	TEMPTAD		1
151 - 170	VAR ₃₇ to VAR ₅₆	Attitudes at First Liaison	20 x 1
171 - 190	VAR ₅₈ to VAR ₇₇	Importance for division	20 x 1
191	CASEN	Blank column	$\frac{1}{4}$
192	CARD ₄		1
193 - 212	VAR ₇₉ to VAR ₉₈	Comments	20 x 1
213	OPPTY		1
214	MID L LIFE		1
215	ILLNESS		1
216 ^A	PARDTH		1
216 ^B	ADPARDTH		1
217	OTHDTH		1
218	OTHCRIS		1
219 - 229	VAR ₈₀ ¹⁰⁰ to VAR ₉₀ ¹¹⁰	Work influences on respondents	11
230 - 240	VAR ₉₁ ¹¹¹ to VAR ₁₀₁ ¹²¹	Work influences on Spouse	11
241 - 251	VAR ₁₀₂ ¹²² to VAR ₁₁₂ ¹³²		11
252	DETS		1
253	EDHRZEGO		1
254	EDNEWEGO		1
255	EDPROPEG		1
256	EDOTHEGO		1
257	EDHRZSP		1
258	EDNEWSP		1
259	EDPROPSP		1
260	EDOTHSP		1

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 5

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
261	MRGEN1		1
262	MRGEN2		1
263	MRGEN3		1
264	MRGEN4		1
265	EDADLTY		1
266	CASEN	Space column	1 4
267	CARD5		1
268	ROLECHDN		1
269	PARTCHDN		1
270	AFFNOSEX		1
271	DISAFSP	Discussed before Affair	1
272	DISAFOR	" " "	1
273	DISAFSSF	" " "	1
274	DISAFOSF	" " "	1
275	DISAFSSC	" " "	1
276	DISAFOSC	" " "	1
277	DISAFPTN	" " "	1
278	DISAFLOV	" " "	1
279	DISAFPRH	" " "	1
280	DISAFREL	" " "	1
281	DDAFSD	Discussed during Affair	1
282	DDAFOR	" " "	1
283	DDAFSSF	" " "	1
284	DDAFOSF	" " "	1
285	DDAFSSC	" " "	1
286	DDAFOSC		1
287	DDAFPTN		1
288	DDAFLOV		1
289	DDAFPRH		1
290	DDAFREL		1
291	DAFOTHN		1
292	CONFN		1
293	CONFIMP1		1
294	CONFIMPO		1
295	PRMAFAD		2
296	PRFEFAD		2

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 6

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
297	NCONFRES		1
298	WHOCONF		1
299	REACONF		1
300	SUPPAD		1
301	WHOTELL		1
302	VAR ¹³⁵ 115 to VAR ¹⁵⁰ 130	Words and Phrases applies	16 x 1
- 332	VAR ⁵ 131 to VAR ⁶⁶ 146	Words and Phrases used	16 x 1
333 - 340	VAR ⁶⁷ 117 to VAR ⁷³ 153	Words or Phrase applies to PARTNER(continues on next card)	7, x 1
341	CASEN		<u>4</u>
342	CARD6		1
343 - 350	VAR ⁷⁴ 154 to VAR ⁸ 162	Words & Phrase Applies to PARTNER	9 x 1
351	EXTRMARN		1
352	CASAFN		1
353	ONENTSN		1
354	RELSHN		1
355	BRIEFN		1
356	SERAFN		1
357	OTHSN		1
358	ALPTNMS1		2
359	AGEAL1	(No. of Year)	2
360	YRSMAL1	(" " ")	2
361	ALCONT1		1
362	ALPERFR1	(code No. of years)	2
363	ALPTNMSR	(Marital Status)	2
364	AGEALR	(No. of years)	2
365	YRSMALR		2
366	ALCONTR		1
367	ALPERODR		2
368	HAPNSAL1		1
369	HAPNSALR		1
370	KINDHAL1		2

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 7

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
371	KINDHALR		2
372	UNHAPAL1		1
373	UNHAPALR		1
374	KNDUHAL1		2
375	KNDUHALR		2
376	WRTUHAL1		1
377	WRTUHALR		1
378	IMPMAAL1		1
379	IMPMAALR		1
380	REASIMP		1 ?
381 - 391	VAR 185 ¹⁸⁵ to VAR 175 ¹⁷⁵	Benefits of Adulterous Lisison one (allows for 2 x other responses)	11 x 1
392 - 402	VAR 176 ¹⁷⁶ to VAR 186 ¹⁸⁶	Benefits of A.L. (most recent) (allows for 2 x other responses)	11 x 1
403 - 404	VAR 187 ¹⁸⁷ to VAR 188 ¹⁸⁸	Sufferings in A.L. one	2
405	CaseN		4
406	Card 7 ⁷		1
407 - 413	VAR 189 ¹⁸⁹ to VAR 195 ¹⁹⁵	Sufferings (Continued)	7 x 1
414 - 422	VAR 186 ¹⁸⁶ to VAR 204 ²⁰⁴	Sufferings of most recent A.L.	9 x 1
423	DETSALEF		1
424	SPSUSPAL		1
425	TIMSUSAL		2
426	SPKNOWAL		1
427	TIMKNOW		2
? 428/9	HOWSPKNO		1
430	WHYTOLD		1
431	HOWSPSUS		1
432	SPDISAL1		1
433	EFCTSMGE		1
434	EFCTSAFS		1
435	WHYNODIS		1
436	SPENCOR		1
437	DETSENC		1
438	PTNWKS E ^{E1}		1
439	PTNWKS 51 ⁵¹		1
440	PTNFSP1		1

Continued...../

VARIABLE LIST PAGE 8

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>NO OF COLUMNS</u>
441	PTNNB1		1
442	PTNOTH1		1
443	PTNWKSE R		1
444	PTNWKSSR		1
445	PTNFSPR		1
446	PTNNBR		1
447	PTNOTHR		1
448	MONEYAD		2
449	MONEY YOTHAD	toolong → MNYOTHAD ✓	2
450	WHOPAYS		1
450	BOOKS		1
451	FILMTV		1
452	PSYCHMG		1
453	DISCON		1
454	AIDOTHS		1
455	IMPASPTS		1
456-458	VAR ²²⁶ 205 to VAR ²²⁸ 207		1 x 3



Ignore numbers.

APPENDIX B

T H E S A M P L E

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10TH, 1983 - 7 P.M.

BRUNEL UNIVERSITY

A comfortable common room. Low tables with plates of sandwiches on them and cups of coffee. A microphone looking like a miniature radar transmitter sits on one of them. Nine people in upholstered low chairs, arranged in an oval shape, sit round the tables. Six are visitors. Three men and three women - people who have responded to the appeal in the Sunday Times to take part in the study. Two are research assistants - a man working on the study with me and a woman, who is a graduate research student in the department conducting her own research on a completely different project. She has come to take charge of the recording and will later transcribe it. The ninth person is me.

I welcome everyone, thank them for their time and reassure them no-one should feel under any compulsion to speak nor to say such things that at the end of the evening they leave feeling ashamed and wishing they had not come. I tell them I hope they will enjoy the discussion. I spend several minutes on this introduction, waiting to sense that everyone is comfortable and understands the research purposes of the meeting by talking about the way they have been approached - via a newspaper article, by talking about the problems of samples selected in this way. One person takes up this point and asks whether I will not have too many people from similar economic backgrounds. I reply that I am not particularly concerned about the lack of a representative sample of the general population because the kinds of statements I wish to make do not require such a sample:

"It depends what kind of statement you wish to make at the end of the day whether you need a representative sample of the population. I am not trying to draw any conclusions from my work about incidence or prevalence. I will not be saying 'In Britain today x% of the population has committed adultery' or 'Of men in Britain today, half will have committed adultery by the time they have been married ten years'. For that kind of statement, a representative

Cont../

sample of the general population would indeed be needed. Actually for this kind of study there are respectable arguments to be made for choosing a fairly homogeneous group. But there is another problem which is more difficult to deal with - you are all self-selected. That is, you have chosen to take part in the study. I need to understand why. People may say you are a peculiar group simply because you are prepared to talk about your lives and about this very personal topic. What I'd like to do, therefore, is to begin by asking you all to try and cast your minds back to the moment when you decided to pick up a pen and pencil, or when you went and sat down at your typewriter and decided to write to me. What were you feeling or thinking? I know it is difficult and some time ago, but if you could cast your minds back and try to remember what it was that decided you ...; what was it you wanted to say to me ...?"

Dennis:

"Well, to be honest I just wanted confirmation that there are other people like me that indulged in it - how can I put it - without necessary feelings of guilt ..."

Dennis spoke for some time, going on to describe the death of his young first wife. She was killed by a hit-and-run driver. This wife had been "so carnal" he said, "there was nothing she did not enjoy about the sex act, nothing she wouldn't do, that for me to have had an adulterous relationship and to be married to her would have been a physical impossibility". As part of his effort to cope with her loss he had spent some time in California. There, he said, even his best fantasies were met where, he told us, he found the women were "promiscuous". A further prompt from me:

"So what actually spurred you to write to me?"

Dennis:

Well, just as I've said; I wondered, I would have liked to have met other people who have led the sort of life I have, that's all. I knew there were in theory but I've met very, very few of them - that will admit it ... and I assume that this very meeting, whether we are married or not, that we have all had a physical relationship with another married person?"

Annette:

"Well, that remains to be seen."

Mary was American. Married, she has a lover who is English:

"... I responded as someone who in the twenty years that I have been married has considerably changed my ideas about any number of things for myself as well as for my children or for my husband; ideas I had as a young girl myself. And I meant to participate responsibly; it wasn't a joke or sort of voyeurism or anything like that. I was really very interested because I think it is a dilemma. Regardless of my behaviour ... I tend to think there is no correct solution - whether what I am doing is the right thing or the wrong thing. "I'm damned if I do and damned if I don't". But," directed to Dennis, "by the by I've never committed adultery in America - I've only committed adultery with an Englishman in this country."

"Also I think - as I'm trying to think through what I thought when I read your article, the professionalism mattered to me; your credentials mattered to me and what your purposes were. I would not have replied to a casual questionnaire or an article simply wanting to know whether you had committed adultery, if you had thought about it, if you approved, disapproved, approved, blah, blah, blah - you know - I wouldn't have taken the time at all to respond."

Later, after Dan spoke, Mary talked of the hypocrisy and cover-up of us all in "normal" situations. She had responded, it seemed, in order to be open, to uncover, to stop dissembling and examine:

Mary:

"I was reminded of the Woody Allen film in which Woody Allen and Diane Keaton are thinking of one thing and saying another. I play this sometimes, you know, with people and just say what I'm really thinking, or say to somebody:

'What are you really thinking right now?' I think it would be really fascinating to all sort of split open our heads and just say ... let out the whole can of worms. There's a lot of pretence about what we think people should do or what we pretend we do do ourselves. We snigger and shake our heads approvingly as it were. It's quite other than what we really do do or really do think. And then a question is too, how much have you stopped to think about what you do think? It's very easy to keep mouthing received notions for years."

Jane:

"I think the criticism that your answerers were only Sunday Times readers is not entirely true because I am not. I read it at someone else's house. I answered because I am fascinated by statistics themselves and I am quite happy to be one. (She described her own work as a medical statistician.) I'm interested to see how other studies work out but also to set myself thinking, analyse perhaps my own motives for my behaviour .."

Karen:

"I think the point that we're self-selecting is interesting because in my own case I never respond to things and therefore there was a very specific motivation in my case for doing it - the whole aspect of changing values because I was in the process of trying to get divorced at the time and it was that that was being used against me."

Annette:

"Adultery?"

Karen:

"Yes, in a very - well it was a confrontation of values that was being used in using adultery against me ... the fascinating thing is the whole gender business. The way somehow from a woman's perception, men are allowed to do it and women aren't. In his (husband's) case, he works abroad and he's had a lot of very casual affairs; he picks up women and this has always been assumed to be o.k. I mean, he wasn't around sort of thing but I don't, I haven't had a lot but the ones I have had - two - have been very, very important relationships and I have no guilt about them at all in that sense, and yet they have been used against me. I never saw them as adultery - this wonderful term - but it was HE who spoke about them in those terms and who publicly involved the family and so on and it was this double standard that fascinated me."

Karen, as an anthropologist, was also professionally interested; she was curious how I, as a sociologist, would work on a topic which would be part of any anthropologist's general approach to understanding the way sexual relations are organised and controlled in a small-scale society.

Dan:

I personally possess very few certainties now. I think that - I'm fairly certain that compassion is better than cruelty you know, and that love is better than hate. But with regard to this problem of sexual behaviour, one of the things I am passionately opposed to is the double standard ... For myself, I wanted to discover if I was unique in that I was a male who was vulnerable, able to be hurt, and was able to suffer. You see, there it is again, the other side of your coin that you were saying - the attitude that males love 'em and leave 'em and couldn't give a tuppenny damn, you know. "T'is another country and the wench is dead" is not true for me and I wonder how true it is overall - whether it is in fact largely a myth, perhaps a culturally conditioned myth if you like; perhaps men are pretending that this is the way it is - you know."

Annette:

"So you were writing as somebody who ...

Dan:

"so I ..."

Annette:

"had suffered, or was suffering?"

Dan:

"I was writing as somebody who has suffered deeply ..."

(Dan's conflict centred on his love for one other woman with whom he had decided to "cut loose" from his wife and two small children but for a variety of reasons failed to do so. He had left a job and moved house two hundred miles in order to escape from the commitment he felt while at the same time married and already committed to that relationship and to two small children.

Keith was a van driver. He had been invited by many of the housewives to whose homes he had made deliveries to go to bed with them. That was ten years before. Now he was divorced and looking after his ten year old son. He had now, he said, like others in the group, changed his ideas and values. He was, he said, very much "anti-marriage and anti-possessive now. I can't do with jealousies or envies or anything like that 'cos they ruin relationships." For him, as for Mary and Karen, the expression in the article of an interest in changing values had caught his imagination, had struck resonances in his own experience which were important to him, and which led him to participate.

In the case of these six people, two men said they sought reassurance for their own normality (Dennis for his adultery, Dan for his one painful experience); several were intrigued by the emphasis in the article on changing values because they very much felt their own had changed; three wanted to explore their own motivation and there was an emphasis on being honest and open in a setting which was safe because professional - a university with a serious intention. These were the range of reasons commonly given with another - the ability to talk about it at all also being a frequent reason expressed.

From a letter:

"Forgive me if I used you like an agony aunt. I have been having an affair with a married man who lives only three miles away from me for the last five years. You will appreciate that I can talk to no-one about it. Neither of us has any intention of breaking up our marriages so it is a tremendous relief to be able to write to you."

In this way, I was used as the confessional ... though I certainly was in no position to give absolution. But in our culture talk itself is perceived as the great releaser of tension. In telling me, perhaps relief would be found.

The wish to contribute to the study was also discussed by a number of participants who felt it would be biased if people like them had NOT come forward:

One woman wrote and said she wanted to participate because she was "an ordinary, middle-class, contented married woman"; sociologists always get it wrong because people like her do not contribute.

And in another small group, **Miles** said:

"I think I can remember exactly because I wanted to respond to something which I thought was likely to be biased in favour of people thinking about and having adulterous relationships ... the way the article was written tended to suggest that that was the norm and I replied, I think, primarily because I wanted to counteract that and I thought that might be a voice which would bounce off. We (wife and self) talked about it a great deal."

Sally (Miles' wife, and a marriage guidance counsellor):

"Mmm, yes, I think I was just ... I was intrigued; it was interesting ... really interesting to see the other side. I see people who have affairs, relationships which don't work, and it disrupts their whole life and it would be interesting to see whether your research comes up with people who have managed it successfully because I see people who don't manage it so I have a rather biased slant."

Katie, who was in the same group as Miles and Sally had a novel attitude:

"I thought first of all, what a damn good idea, what a lucrative book. I wish I had thought of it first. That was my first reaction. And then my next reaction was, a book like this, if you're going to be interviewed, gives you a chance of having some free psychotherapy too, sit around with people and discuss it, ya? Right. I felt very mercenary. If only because I thought that because it was such an intimate and sensitive area that you wouldn't get many responses and I thought, poor woman, nobody is going to respond to this; that's the least I can do for sociology ..."

To discover normality; to obtain relief from secrecy; to understand better one's own motivation; to contribute to social science; to help others; because it was an important subject, central to the concerns of everyone; because there was injustice as between the way men and women are treated - all these were expressed. In fantasy, perhaps some hoped for a different sort of meeting - one where adultery would begin. One man whom I interviewed on his own - soberly pin-suited and tight-tied, thought these groups were or would end up as "parties". Perhaps what he was able to verbalise, others hoped.

Most who contributed do seem to have perceived adultery to be some kind of a "problem". At the very least, it is a problem suitable for investigation but, more often, it was a personal and a social problem. There were those who positively enjoyed their adultery and explained that they had come along in order precisely to demonstrate that it was NOT a problem - just a way of living life, but there were not so many of them. It may be that the answers such people would have given if they had attended would have been very different. I think not. That thought must remain a mere assertion. It is incapable of proof. One or two pieces of evidence can, however, be cited in its support.

First, if we examine the literature of the times, if we go to the theatre or cinema; if we read our daily newspapers or examine the many polls which are taken and study the mailbags of the agony aunts, then we see a repeated preoccupation, if not with something called adultery, then with something variously called affairs, two-timing, extra-marital relations, 'going with' and other such phrases. Second, if we look at those in the

study who did argue that for them it was not a problem, we can see what enables them to manage where others fail and what strategies they pursue.

Julian, a young married man, described himself as having sex with other women pretty much as he and they pleased. It was simply not a difficulty. There was no sense of guilt or shame attached to it. It certainly did not constitute "adultery" in that sense. But his achievement of this stance first required a setting of boundaries which was also part of the strategies employed by others - that is through defining a particular place for adultery in relation to marriage.

Julian:

"I have never related 'adulterous liaisons' to my marriage. To me it is a quite separate part of my life. MY marriage has no emotional role in my affairs. I somehow don't think that adultery (and in fact the first time Annette used the word adultery I thought this is nothing to do with me, I was absolutely ...) I somehow don't think of it as being, doing wrong, to be honest. I don't think it's the sort of massive thing - perhaps there was a stigma years ago - and I just feel that you have personalities outside your marriage ..."

He defined his marriage as operating in one sphere and his affairs as elsewhere. Because one is not related to the other, so adultery is not an issue for Julian. But we have seen that definition or boundary setting is at the heart of each person's problem, just as it is for the social rule. At the social level, adultery is dying because sin is dying. It is also dying because it is no longer a crime even though it is useful in establishing fault or grounds in law to demonstrate the marriage is no longer a 'proper' marriage ... Such changes occur in tandem with other structural changes. Julian explains such changes operating for him at the level of the individual when he describes the merging of the traditional male/female type. He sees many examples through his work in advertising where women are as often colleagues with equal status as they are secretaries and subordinates.

Sheila:

"I mean the woman does get more committed and does take it much more seriously."

Julian:

"I think women are a lot tougher than people make out, especially other women. Women know precisely what they are doing all the time and

Sheila:

"Some don't"

Julian:

"O.K., but in the same way that you could apply that to men as well. I mean there are some very vulnerable men. I mean, how many times do we say 'that woman is misleading that poor man'. I mean, you can have that argument as well.

Women and men are similar, both can be tough, both vulnerable.

Gradually he showed that the themes consistently raised by others were also raised by him or were responded to by him in similar, rather than in dissimilar, ways. Secrecy was one such theme.

He does not tell his wife about his liaisons. (He said he had used no particular word consciously to describe his relationships - rather he would think 'I've been seeing Doreen for two months now'.) But, once, she found out through seeing a letter.

Julian:

"... she was hurt at that particular time on that particular day but, oddly enough, the next few days, that week, weeks, the marriage was terrific because sexually there was suddenly ... we became alive again."

Again, the theme of feeling, coming alive, is extremely common. Indeed, it is described as the reason why some simply refuse to stop a relationship despite quite serious sacrifices required in order to continue. It is necessary to them, like a drug. Some described it as being "high".

The problem of honesty, of openness, is diverted into the experience of the new vitalising of the relationship within the marriage. These ideas of the place of secrecy and telling; about the improvement or damaging of the marriage; about feeling newly 'alive' are common themes amongst those in the sample.

Another man who came giving a similar reason for participating was Roy:

"I thought people would come along who were terribly serious and hung up about it and I'm not. It's really good for everyone. I got married for one year because I'm not a marrier - probably because I like women too much. I mean I don't think I'm some great Romeo, but I adore different ladies' company, you know, and so I've had lady friends for, some of them for 15 years, and they've gone off and got married and we're still friends and two, three particularly - I'm potty about them and I'm always there if they want me or anything. It's just ... really that's just what I meant. It's just nice."

Roy continued to stress how easy and good his various relationships with married women were as the 'other man' in their lives but also for him, the problem of whether the husbands knew or did not, whether he or she should pay, to what extent any risks should be taken when there were children, were all issues. He has a daughter by his brief marriage whom he dearly loves and of whom he is inordinately proud. Once he was driving with one of his 'lady friends' and fondled her neck. His child, aged about five, removed his hand. From then on he would not expose her at all to his affairs.

"Even when I was more or less living with a woman, two years ago, in her house, Janie would come at the weekend and I wouldn't sleep with Carol then because it might upset Janie. I think that's ever so important."

If Julian or Roy is typical of those who did not respond because, for them, 'adultery' is an irrelevance, then there seems not to be a serious bias in the material brought by others for whom it was particularly potent and important. We can never know what other reasons people may have had for

responding, apart from those they did express. We CAN see that the content of the articles to which they responded had a direct influence. Thus, as in the example of the six above, several mentioned 'changing values', which had been stressed in the Sunday Times article. Others mentioned the comment on the change in language, also stressed in that first article.

Caro was ready to start the discussion in her group:

"I'll start. I had just umm - when your article appeared - finished my adulterous affair. My marriage had also broken up as a result of it, and I was also questioning myself, the whole attitude, and I was particularly interested - I think you said something about the 'the words that we used' and I knew that one of the things during my relationship, I never thought of myself as an "adulteress" and I became fascinated with your mentioning this; and in thinking about it, thought it was a fascinating sort of thing - I think much more on an intellectual level with the article but ..."

Caro had filled in her questionnaire before coming to the group, a pattern that varied:

"but, having filled in the questionnaire, I found it then very disturbing filling in the questionnaire and re-living the particular episode; so, yes, my attitude has changed because now I think I'm, I feel much more emotional about it now than I did when I wrote to you."

Initially her attention had been caught by her view of herself as never having included "adulteress" but now she was also influenced by the study itself - that is by the filling out of the questionnaire. Clearly such events are intrusive in research terms. The schedule, an instrument for the researcher, itself alters the behaviour of the person researched. It is parallel to heat rising with body temperature in a laboratory where heat is a variable to be controlled. However, what Caro is saying is not necessarily that she would say different things about her marriage or about her affair as a result of having completed the schedule - only that she is more emotional and less intellectual. Furthermore, she uses the phrase "re-living". We can, thus, legitimately argue that she is closer

now to her feelings and to the experience of her affairs, and the breakdown of her marriage, than she had been when she responded to the reasoned arguments in the article. In this way her responses can be understood as reflecting more, not less, accurately what was or was not of importance.

Similarly, in the Guardian, we asked specifically for certain groups, which I felt were under-represented, to come forward. Couples, men in business or shop-keeping and the media, were particularly mentioned; but the article also re-iterated that we were interested in hearing from "both the contented and the faithful, the adulterous and those who feel they are the victims of adultery. (1)

Compared with responses to the Sunday Times we did hear from more people writing in as couples (faithful married, adulterous partners and "open marriages") and from more men, but not from many more, who described themselves as victims.

We also have information on the reasons people gave for replying, drawn from responses to the questionnaire. One question, 18 (b), asked about their self-perception at the time of responding into categories mentioned within the Sunday Times article. These were:

- Rule breaker (of the marriage vows)
- Conformist (to marriage vows)
- Tempted (but not yet succumbed)
- Denies the relevance (of marriage vows to themselves)
- Victim (of another's adultery)

People were asked to choose their reasons from this list and to write, in addition, any other reasons they had. If we look at the proportions who said that they were replying primarily as "victim" of another's adultery, then we notice that Guardian readers and people who were contacted by Sunday Times respondents in a "snowball" sample responded more commonly in this category than did Sunday Times readers. The Guardian and Snowball letters positively invited "victims" and the appeal in that sense is successful.

However, Sunday Mirror readers used this as their PREFERRED category. Yet that article did not concentrate on this aspect at all. It seems, therefore, that the content of each article or the particular appeal made did have a certain influence on those who responded, but that this factor by no means explains the range of motives for responding.⁽²⁾

When we look at the differences between men and women in the reasons given for responding, we see women responding more often than men as "victims" (men 11%, women 18% for the first and principal reason and steeply rising to men 22%, women 41% as a second reason). Women also responded more often than men as "rule-breakers" (40%:35%) while men preferred the reason "denial of the relevance of marriage vows to me" (men 22%, women 11%). In other words, the articles were read and interpreted in different ways, whatever the content, by men and by women.

Another question, 18 (a), using the reasons people had given in interview, was directed to the reason for participating in the study. Both Sunday Times and Guardian readers most commonly gave an "interest in the research itself" as their reason, while equal proportions of those who came via the "snowball" gave this "interest" and "wanting to share their ideas". For Sunday Mirror people, having "valuable information to give" was the commonest reply, followed by a wish to share their ideas, to report a "bad experience" (only 2% gave a "good experience" as their reason for responding) and an "interest in the research".

Eight per cent of Sunday Times and Guardian readers gave "therapy" as their principal reason, thus reflecting the need to talk and the view that talk will help, and demonstrating that at least this small proportion of respondents experienced their adultery, or that of others, as difficult and painful.⁽³⁾

Perhaps this small proportion who felt participation would be therapeutic (a reason much more commonly given as a second reason for responding - 7% overall as a first but 12% overall as a second, reason) also underpins what, in my view, is the major reason for not responding. I consider this is directly related to the subject itself. Adultery, even when it is translated as an affair or as an extra-marital relationship, is still something many people wish to keep secret and have very good reasons for doing so.

But in this they do not differ from those who did respond. Anxiety about the extent to which I could guarantee confidentiality was common and even when people were less concerned, since their spouses knew about their liaisons, they still wanted secrecy within the study. Sometimes this was because there were children or parents or working relationships to be protected - a public persona. Often, when I have been talking about the study, in varied settings - academic, among friends or family, to media representatives, to cab drivers, in trains on journeys with time to talk, to builders and decorators, people have said: "I'd never take part in your study. Impossible. They must be exhibitionists. Weirdo's". Then sometimes they tell me their story. The details differ of course. Everyone has his or her own and unique tale to tell. But not the themes; not what they felt important or unimportant; not what problems or solutions were available to them; not in the arguments and form of argument given.

Many of those who did participate in the study told, as they related their stories chronologically, of periods when they could not or would not have participated in any such study but, for the kinds of reasons given above, now felt able to do so. This processual understanding of life - that we move through it, sometimes like a wave, rolling back a little before the next surge forward, needs a firmer incorporation into the understanding of the non-participator in a sample. 'Not today thankyou' is tomorrow's 'yes please' and, often, was yesterday's 'yes'. The hallowed view of the importance of the non-responder or refuser of a survey in the literature rests on an assumption that those who did not respond would or might alter the picture which emerges from those who do. Well, perhaps, and sometimes, depending on the subject matter. As I've already said, in this study I think not. I think here, people who did not respond differ on that dimension and that alone. They did not choose to participate. As Kevin's wife said:

"I don't mind participating at all. No-one's asked me."

Her questionnaire was quite unexceptional.

So far, I have taken for granted that what people have said is what they mean; that the reasons they give in a discussion or in an interview or on a questionnaire for having decided to participate in the study ARE their reasons. Before moving to a discussion of this somewhat naive attitude, let me describe the characteristics of the sample generally and show how they differ from and are similar to the general population and, with an analysis of those who joined through a snowball technique, indicate in what ways the adultery study people may be similar to others who have not responded.

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE - COMPARISON WITH NATIONAL POPULATION

The people in the sample are distributed by sex, social class and level of education, quite differently from the ways we would expect if they had been randomly drawn from the population. I have a ratio of 59:41 women to men, rather than 51% women to 49% of men. This arises because of the large number of women from the younger age ranges who have responded. ⁽⁴⁾

I have an overwhelmingly middle class group as measured by the kinds of occupations in which people are engaged (82% of my respondents are in non-manual occupations, as compared with 48% found in a sample of the national population).⁽⁵⁾ My sample is also, compared with their brothers and sisters in the general population, absurdly highly educated. Only 11% of my sample have left school with NO educational qualifications and 31% had a first degree. No less than 13% attained higher degrees. As would be expected, this was differently distributed between the men and women, with the men being better educated than the women. Thus, while 9% of the men had left school without any formal academic qualifications, 13% of the women had none; while 22.5% of the men had achieved a higher degree and another 35% had a first degree, only 7% of women had a higher degree, although 23% had achieved at least a first degree. The table below gives a comparison by age group between the men and women in the survey and those in the general population. The latter figures are derived from a survey carried out and published by "Social Trends", 1982.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE.

TABLE 1

Table to show the proportions of men and women in various age groups who have above "A" Level. ie at least degree standard.

	AGE GROUP				
	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
	%	%	%	%	%
Adultery Survey					
Men	89	60	53	43	41
Women	55	45	35	20	17
Social Trends					
Men	22	20	16	11	8
Women	16	14	10	7	5

Source: Social Trends 1982 Table 6.2.

If we take the whole age group from 25 to 69 years covered here, then we could expect 15% of men and only 10% of women to have achieved a first degree, yet in our survey in these age groups, no less than 54% of the men and 36% of the women have reached this level. Thus, nearly four times as many people in the adultery study as in the general population have a degree.

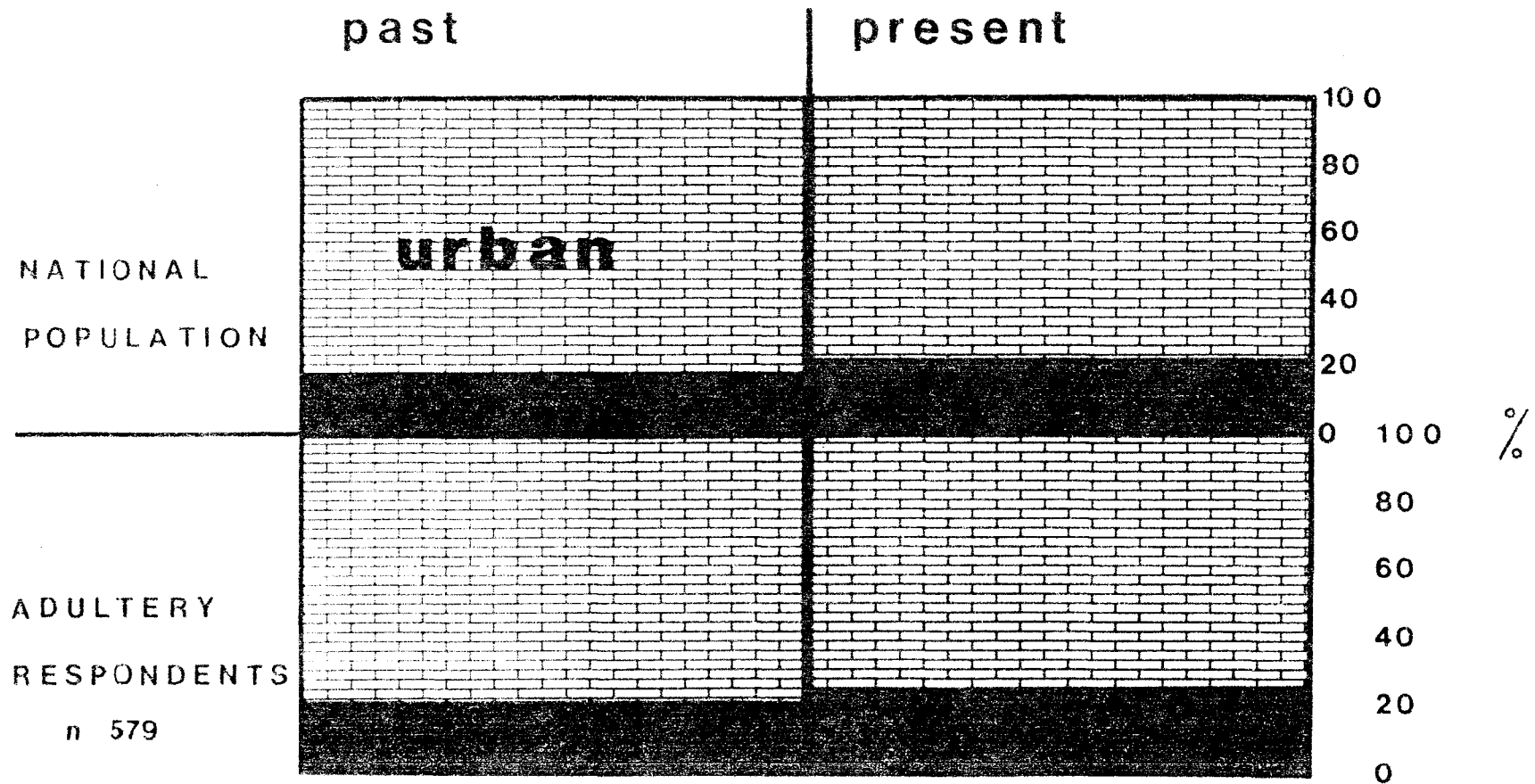
The age range of the study population is wide - from 22 to 83 years old at interview - but respondents are not distributed across this age range as they would be had they been selected to represent the general population from which they were drawn. We have fewer in the age groups to 35 and more in those years until about 55.⁽⁶⁾

But, on the way the study members are distributed throughout the country, we have only slight differences from those expected. Although there is an excess of people responding from the Greater London area, the south-west, south-east and East Anglia, and less than we might expect, given the distribution in the population as a whole, from northern areas and from Scotland and Wales, each area is quite well represented and the average difference from expected distributions is only around 2%. Furthermore, the people in the study are drawn from rural and from urban areas almost exactly as we would expect (see Diagram 1). Historians who have

DIAGRAM 1 ABOUT HERE.

studied particular villages or towns (Le Roy Ladurie, 1978; Laslett, 1977) in great detail would, I think, expect there to be variation at least as between town-dwellers and country-dwellers in their adulterous behaviour and attitudes. We have asked people to give the name of the town, village or other place where they were brought up for the greatest length of time (Q4 (b)), and to say where they now live (Q4 (a)). This provides us with a measure of "past" and "present" rural and urban dwelling. In the population as a whole, in 1961, just under 20% were country and just over 80% town dwellers. In 1981, country dwellers had risen to 23%. There has been a rather general shift out of the towns, though there are considerable variations in different parts of the country and from and to towns of different sizes and character.⁽⁷⁾ Our figures reflect this change.

URBAN / RURAL DISTRIBUTIONS OVER TIME



1961 does not provide a direct comparison since our study includes people who were children before the first world war as well as those born only 25 years ago but, in the "past", 21% of study members were rural dwellers, while "now" (1982/3) 26% live in rural areas. Since the study members are almost entirely to be found in the Registrar General's social classes I and II, where an excess of country dwellers is likely to be found, the small excess in the study over total population figures is probably correct for their social class.

Having looked at the rural-urban distribution, it remains to be said that there is no difference in the number of adulterous liaisons reported by people according to the region in which they used to live (for most of their lives) or in which they now live.

The critical question to be asked about any sample is not whether they do or do not represent the general population from which they are drawn, but whether the characteristics on which they vary matter, given the focus and purposes of the study. The way such a question has to be answered is dependent on the theory or theories held about the topic under study, and upon the kinds of statements which it is intended to make as a result of the study. Social class, age, sex and other critical demographic measures are normally included in sociological work because they repeatedly discriminate between groups. That is, people from different social classes of different ages and depending on whether they are men or women, behave in very different ways. This is so, whether what is being studied is health, housing, attitudes to work and play, voting patterns, child-rearing or, perhaps, adultery.

Furthermore, if it is intended that general statements about the incidence and prevalence of "adultery in Britain today" are to be made, then a sample would need to be drawn which represented the distribution of people "in Britain today". However, when a study is being undertaken in a new area, when it refers to an illicit behaviour which is surrounded by much secrecy, when it is intended not to make such grand statements but rather to look in depth and in detail at adultery, then this sample has certain advantages. Looking in depth and in detail means to explore the way

adultery is being defined, to examine how people enter into adulterous relationships, to try to describe the place it has in their lives and how it relates to their marriage, to delineate its natural history, noticing the words used to describe the various adulterous relationships, and the explanations people proffer for their actions and the stories told of the joys and tribulations experienced, and then to try to relate all that to the world in which these people live, then a relatively homogeneous group has considerable advantages .

A well-educated group is articulate, and used to reflecting on their actions. They do not, of course, have any monopoly of feeling, nor of capacity to express themselves, but given my own background, there are considerable advantages in being able to take for granted certain meanings, certain ways of using words. In a study of this kind, there are advantages in the sharing of experience, as discussed by Platt (1979), between researcher and researched. I would find less difficulty in understanding and interpreting what was said and they would, similarly, take more for granted about my knowledge of their lives than if our shared experience were more dissimilar. The problem of shared language and of shared meaning is one much debated by anthropologists; sociologists have, until recently, been more assured about their work, given that they normally work only in their own society and hence in their own language, but the problem of providing accounts which differ from those provided by the actors themselves, has become of central concern to sociology and of particular concern to ethnomethodologists.⁽⁸⁾

Throughout the study I have been consistently interested in feelings and attitudes and, although I am suggesting there are advantages in my sharing understanding with the respondents, I have not relied only on my own interpretations and judgements. Seven different people have helped with the study, four employed as research assistants, two men and two women, and three from different age groups from myself. Although, by definition, they are all now well-educated and non-manual, they come from a wide range of social backgrounds; they also vary by marital status and by whether or not they have children. They have worked at different stages, for different lengths of time, on different tasks. Some have helped to derive measures and to assess the content of group discussions and interviews.

Clearly such researchers are not wholly independent of me, yet there has been a high level of agreement about the nature of the stories being told, about the "right" and "wrong" or "possible" and "not possible" interpretations to put on things.

Given my hypothesis about the role of values in people's decisions, we might expect those from different religious backgrounds, those with different current faiths and those for whom religion is more important, to vary in their adulterous liaisons. Questions were asked which provide us with that breakdown (Q.5(a):6). The study sample follows neatly the general "secularisation" of modern society with 58% of the sample having been brought up in the Church of England, 11% as Roman Catholics and another 16% in "other Christian faiths", but only 26%, 6% and 9% respectively, now answering that they still believe in those faiths. Martin (1967) quotes a similar distribution for the "population of Great Britain identifying itself as ..." but the adultery study has about 4% altogether reporting they were brought up as Jews, while his figure is 1%.) Whereas 6% considered they had been brought up as agnostics, humanists or as atheists (none), as many as 51% classified themselves in those ways now. In answer to the question "How important a part, if any, does religion or other belief system play in your life, and the scale against which the answer could be given ranging from "no part at all" to "an important part", more than twice as many said "no part" as "an important part" (31% to 14%).⁽⁹⁾

Finally, this is a study of adultery. Adultery only occurs in relation to marriage. (We have seen that its meaning is varied and that for many it includes all and any infidelity, including that of the heart. Nevertheless, given its history, its general meaning clearly is consequential on marriage.) The sample must, therefore, cover the range of marriage patterns, include people who have been divorced and whose family sizes and household composition is representative at least of their age-groups and social class. In each of these respects the sample is adequate.

Furthermore, since one hypothesis expects the increasing participation of women in the market places to be important for their sexual patterns and to have consequences for the feelings of both men and women about themselves and about each other, the sample must include reasonable proportions of women in various modes of employment. Table 2 shows the proportions of women who are "economically active" - that is excluding those who were full-time housewives, students or retired, but including the "unemployed, looking for work or suffering a temporary setback" (Social Trends, 1982).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE.

It can be seen that the adultery study contains fewer women who work part-time, whatever their marital status. This is probably the result of our age distribution, which is greatest in the years between 30 and 59. In the general population there are greater proportions in the youngest and oldest age groups.⁽¹⁰⁾ These are precisely the ages at which people work less overall outside the home. If they do work in paid employment, this will be when they have part-time jobs, mainly because of the need to care for young, particularly pre-school, children and, later, to cut back their working hours with increasing age.

In fact, if we look at the totals for all the women between 16 and 59 who were economically active, there are 72% in the national figures of non-married, including single, women who are "economically active" and 74% in the adultery study. For married women (this includes all women who were married when questioned - 1979/80 for Social Trends and 1982/83 in the adultery study - whether or not they had been married more than once), 62% of the national and 64% of the adultery study were economically active.⁽¹¹⁾ Figures such as these give us cause to feel more secure about the status of those conclusions we may draw about the effects of work on women's adulterous liaisons.

So far as family size and household composition is concerned, the numbers of children born to respondents needs calculation by year of marriage (which provides us with the "marriage cohort" for which there are comparable figures), by the numbers of women of "fertile", i.e. child-bearing, age, and by current age. The calculations are extremely complex but, in so far

TABLE 2

Economically Active Women: aged 16-59.

	Widowed/Divorced Separated		Married	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
	%	%	%	%
Adultery Survey	44	13	23	19
Social Trends	38	24	26	33

Source: Social Trends (1982) p 94; Table 5.2

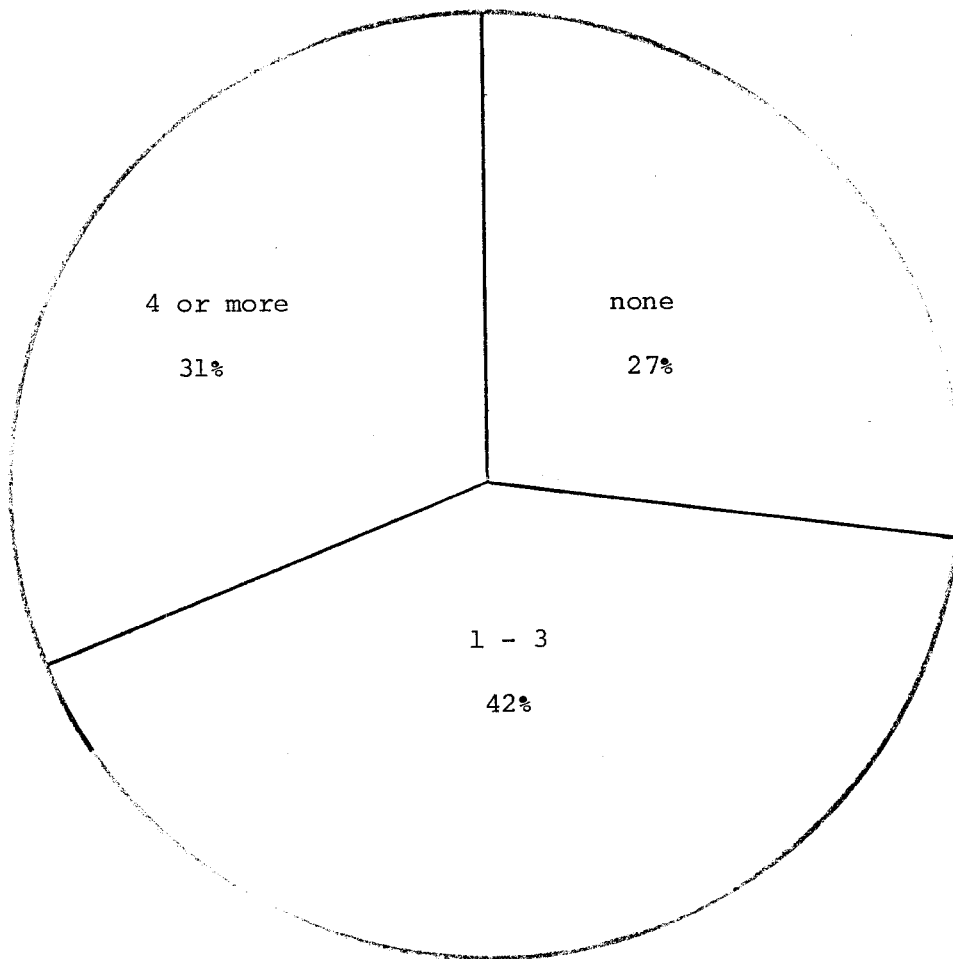
as we have been able to find comparable material and to compute these figures for our women (there are no such national figures for fathers), the numbers of children in these families is much as expected.⁽¹²⁾ We have also analysed the numbers of "grown-up" children and have asked specifically about where the children generally live. These figures are used when we examine the effects on adultery of having children of different ages at home.

In a study of adultery, it is not surprising that those who have been divorced and separated are over-represented compared with the general population. But it is important that we have enough numbers to be able to draw inferences about the part adultery plays in separation and divorce and, for this, an "excess" is an advantage.⁽¹³⁾ We also need people who were divorced before and since the law relating to divorce changed in 1971. Again, the sample is a good one from these points of view. Of men and women divorcing for the first time, 24% and 20% respectively were divorced before 1971. Of those divorced at any time, 54% said adultery was cited in court. We know from the published figures⁽¹⁴⁾ that men more commonly give adultery as the 'fact' which demonstrates their marriage has irretrievably broken down; in the adultery study 92% of men and 72% of women, divorcing for the first time before 1971, said this had been cited. After 1971 the proportions dropped to 61% of men and 43% of women. Finally, a sample which did not include the "faithful" in marriage when exploring the "unfaithful" would be deficient. They act as "controls" for each other. We have found that the number of adulterous liaisons is an excellent measure, correlating highly with many of the dimensions in which we are interested. But it would not be enough to have only those with, say, 1 to 3 liaisons and those with 4 or more for comparison. We need those with none. We have them (Diagram 2).

DIAGRAM 2 ABOUT HERE.

DIAGRAM 2

Number of Adulterous Liaisons



p = .0005

N = 556

Any conclusions about work, or about the effects of the "mid-life crisis" on adultery, without a comparison of the effects (if there are any) on the non-adulterous, could easily be spurious. For the same reason, those who have experienced the adultery of a spouse and may feel themselves to be "victims" of adultery are a necessary ingredient in telling the tale. Eighteen per cent describe themselves as having responded as "victims" of another's adultery. This was given as a first reason by 15% and by another 24% as a second reason. Not all, however, had been faithful themselves. Of these people who described themselves as victims, 52% had also had at least one adulterous liaison. About 27% of the sample is non-adulterous.

In sum, the sample is quite different if we examine its educational and social class composition from that expected in the general population. (However, working class people are not unrepresented - there are 45. Simply, they are under-represented in order to be able to make sensible generalisations about them.) The composition of the sample by where people live (rural/urban areas), by religious affiliation, by age (the most important ages for adultery are well represented), by marital experience, including the separated, divorced and re-married but with few widows (largely because the population is younger than in the general population), by working patterns, and by the proportion of non- as well as adulterous people, is appropriate, given the topic and the intentions about the kind and generality of statement to be made.

THE SNOWBALL SAMPLE

We can never know for certain to what extent those who chose not to come forward and participate in this study are like or unlike those in the study. Of course, in all samples (except in covert observational studies) at the point of co-operation everyone is self-selected. However, it is reasonable to consider carefully the motivations of those responding to this particular study, since adultery breaches such powerful social norms. This is so, whether or not particular individuals disregard or do not adhere to those norms for themselves or in the groups in which they move.

At the point of contact, of course, everyone in any study chooses to participate. No-one can be coerced into a study if they do not wish to be, although the kinds of pressures that can be brought to bear are quite substantial.

A patient in a hospital bed has numerous reasons for agreeing to participate in research, not least anxiety about the possible ill-effects if she or he refuses to do so. It sometimes takes very little for the words "unco-operative patient" to be written on a report. And such words carry consequences for the way people react and deal subsequently with that patient.⁽¹⁵⁾ A woman

accosted on the threshold of her house by a market researcher may be flattered that her opinions are valued and likely to think, when she is assured it will only take a few minutes, that it is easier to answer the questions than refuse. However, when the topic is as delicate as this is, when the whole area is surrounded by secrecy and the practice itself is illicit, when people have very good reasons for not wanting their "affairs" to be known, then the problems about just who is responding and who not become more acute. Furthermore, we should distinguish between a refusal to co-operate (a de-selection of oneself) and not volunteering (non-selection of oneself).

I decided to use one well-known technique, the "snowball" sample, for reaching people who had not responded to any direct appeal from me, either via a newspaper article or the radio. In the "main survey" of "Sunday Times" readers which went out in October 1982, we enclosed an additional questionnaire, stamped, addressed envelope and a letter⁽¹⁶⁾ in which

we asked the respondent to try to find someone, preferably not a "Sunday Times" reader, and preferably male (the initial response had produced two women for every man), who would complete the form and return it to us, anonymously if they wished. In the event, this produced another 45 completed questionnaires which are different in certain respects from those not contacted in this way. However, the figures all fall within the very large ranges observed within the rest of the sample. For example, 26% of the snowball were non-adulterers compared with 15% of the "Sunday Times" group as a whole. But then, 36% of the Guardian and 42% of Sunday Mirror respondents were also non-adulterers. Since my letter requesting Sunday Times readers to pass a questionnaire on specifically requested a search for 'victims', it is not surprising that there should have been an increased number of non-adulterous people in the snowball. Table 3 sets out the comparison between the snowball and the rest of the sample (i.e. non self-selected and self-selected) according to the degree to which they were 'adulterous'.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE.

Since the snowball contains proportionately more men than the Sunday Times group does (the proportions are 51:49 as would be expected in a sample drawn randomly from the population) the pattern of the proportions reporting low and high numbers of adulterous liaisons is not explained by their sex. This pattern (most falling into the 1-3 ('low') group) is typical of women in the sample as a whole while men, if they were adulterous, were more commonly 'high' adulterers (4 or more adulterous liaisons).

The social class distribution of the snowball group is similar to the rest of the study group ⁽¹⁷⁾, but their stated reasons for responding are not. Since I had made a special request for 'victims', the snowball contains a higher proportion of people giving this as their first reason for responding to the study (24%) than in the rest of the survey (14%). The exception is provided by the Sunday Mirror readers who are very similar in this respect (35%). There are a number of other respects in which the

TABLE 3

	<u>Number of Adulterous Liaisons</u>		
	None %	1 - 3 %	4 or more %
Snowball	26	47	28
Sunday Times (A)	15	47	38
Sunday Mirror (B)	42	39	19
Guardian (C)	36	26	28
Total of A + B + C	27	32	42

snowball and Sunday Mirror respondents are similar. First, they contain higher proportions of people who have been married twice (14%), compared with the Sunday Times and Guardian groups, and their first spouses were much less well educated, only about 13% achieving a first degree, whereas 31% of the spouses of Sunday Times respondents had a first degree. Furthermore, their first spouses also fell heavily into those who stopped at C.S.E. and 'O' level, with none gaining 'A' levels as their highest educational level, compared with 2 % of the spouses of Sunday Times respondents reaching this level. Thus, while the snowball differed from their contact people (Sunday Times respondents) they were similar, in these respects, to another self-selected group - the Sunday Mirror respondents.

There were no significant differences on other major demographic characteristics, with the following exceptions.

First, the snowball group has a disproportionately high number of respondents brought up as Roman Catholics (23%) as compared with the average for ALL self-selected groups (10%). However, the Sunday Mirror group had 19% reporting that they, too, were brought up as R.C. This difference disappears when 'religion now' is considered, the snowball group following all others, apart from the Sunday Mirror who rarely categorised themselves as having 'no' religion now. The average over all source groups who reported that religion played no part in their lives now (on a scale ranging from 'a very important part' to 'none') was 30%, but 46% of the snowball said it played no part in their lives.⁽¹⁸⁾

Second, the similarity noted above in Sunday Mirror respondents, in the numbers who had been married more than once, is reflected in the fact that only 35% of the snowball were still married and living with their first spouse when they took part in the study, compared with an average for the other source groups of about 60%.⁽¹⁹⁾ The corollary follows that there were also considerably more snowball people who were divorced or separated (51%), as compared with only 24% of Sunday Times, 20% of Guardian and 32% of the Sunday Mirror groups.⁽²⁰⁾ This fits well with the fact

that one quarter of this group were responding as 'victims' of another's adultery⁽²¹⁾ (given as their first reason for responding compared with 10% of Sunday Times and 14% of Guardian readers and 35% of the Sunday Mirror people), were people who had had rather less sexual experience before marriage⁽²²⁾ and, as we have seen, were less adulterous than some of the other groups. However, we should also note that, despite their claim to having primarily responded as "victims" of another's adultery, fewer than in other groups thought the term "victim" applied to them or had used it in speech about themselves. It can therefore be seen that it is this "naturally" selected group which varies most in terms of marital status, from the general population, and NOT the self-selected groups. In this sense, it is the snowball and not the self-selected sample which is "biased".⁽²³⁾

As might be expected, given their status as victims and as people who were separated or divorced from their spouses, they scored lower on permissiveness and higher on adherence to traditional values than either the rest of the Sunday Times population or than the average, but were less traditional in the past than were the Sunday Mirror and more permissive now than were the Sunday Mirror group. Nevertheless, with only four exceptions, their scores were all within the ranges of other source groups.⁽²⁴⁾

When we examine the differences between the non-adulterous snowball and non-adulterous other sample groups and between those who were in the 'low' and 'high' adulterous groups according to whether they came via the snowball or from other sources, we find very little difference.⁽²⁵⁾ It is this which is of most concern in trying to evaluate the extent to which the self-selection procedure might produce untrue or 'biased' results.

There is one important variable which distinguishes the snowball people from others. They were people who rarely, if ever, discussed their feelings and attitudes about the possibility or the actuality of adulterous liaisons with others. Ninety per cent said they had not discussed with their spouse the possibility of an affair before having one and, of the 32 people for whom there is this information, only 3 discussed with their spouse an affair in which they were then engaged.

Fewer went to professional helpers or talked to work colleagues, although similar proportions to those responding from other sources did talk to same sex friends.⁽²⁶⁾ Thirty-one per cent regarded no-one as a confidante (compared with 21% of Sunday Times, 17% of Guardian and 24% of Sunday Mirror respondents). Perhaps, however, they were, if not talkers, then listeners, since about 76% had at least one person who confided in them! In this respect they hardly differed from the Sunday Times readers who had enlisted their co-operation, were slightly better listeners than Guardian readers, and very much more commonly confided in about an affair than were Sunday Mirror respondents. I draw some support from these figures in my assertion that those who did not respond to the study differ from those who do in one important way - they did not choose to respond, perhaps because they do not like to discuss these matters, particularly not with professionals.

The overall comparison leads us to note that, while there are a number of differences between those who were selected by others compared with those who selected themselves, of such differences as have been found few were statistically significant and most fell within the ranges of replies reported from other sources.

The advantage of having made this "snowball" approach is considerable because it allows us to know at least something about the selection process and to derive certain conclusions about the possible unrepresentativeness of our self-selected groups on those dimensions which are really important for the study conclusions. In particular, it allows me to question very carefully the degree to which people, generally, within the social class, adhere, or say they adhere, to the beliefs which I am suggesting are important for their actions, and to assess the degree to which there is, for those not self-selected, the same kind of congruence between reported beliefs and actions as there is for those who did choose to respond.

Everything I now "know" has been told me by these, my respondents. I have said, above, that my attitude of suspended disbelief - that is my stance, if not of belief, then of acceptance of what is said, might be seen to be naive.

It is naive in two senses. First, people may be lying or simply not revealing their reasons. Secondly, there are unconscious reasons operating in all areas of our lives, motivating us to act as we do.

First, the lying or the protection of reasons from me. It seems to me that lying is purposeful behaviour. People lie to avoid pain to themselves or to others; or, positively, to gain pleasure. Then, there are different orders of lies - big and small; white and black; the total 'con' and the temporary or carefully bounded 'con'. At the point of responding, no-one knew whether they would in fact be contacted; whether they would receive a questionnaire or be invited for interview and no-one knew about the existence of small group discussions. Names were not necessary on the questionnaire - in other words anonymity was stressed rather than an opportunity to be rewarded for a good story. I can never know whether someone, nonetheless, gained pleasure from relating fantasy on a questionnaire but I think it most implausible. This is particularly strengthened by the fact that there were many cross-references in the questionnaire and it would have been difficult to maintain anything by the most carefully worked out fantasy biography. In the pilot version of the questionnaire completed by 139 people, a reliability check was provided by one question which was asked twice, placed in widely spaced positions on the very lengthy schedule. This was the question about the number of adulterous liaisons. The first question asked whether the respondent had ever had an 'adulterous liaison' (which was defined on their glossary provided with the questionnaire) and then, if they answered "yes", was followed by "Approximately how many 'adulterous liaisons' have you had?" (Q.19)

This, second, question was repeated in a later section answered only by those who were reporting at least one adulterous liaison (Q.31(a)). (27)

There was so little inconsistency between the two answers in the pilot (90% agreement) that we decided it was unnecessary to leave this check in the main survey. Although this consistency does not PROVE people were not lying, it lends a certain credibility to their accounts ..

People might not, however, have provided deliberately misleading answers but rather have omitted to provide them because such answers were not thought appropriate or relevant. For example, taking part in a study conducted from a university might confer status or relieve boredom, both of which just might also constitute reasons for adultery. Perhaps those who are adulterous are gaining status anyway and are less bored! But I had as many replies from people who were currently involved in adultery as I did from those who had been. In the end, we only have the accounts people actually give us to work with. (28)

Furthermore, the greatest effort devoted to uncovering "the real reason" for responding to a survey can only produce answers from a range available in that person's cultural repertoire. Ideas are expressed in language; language is the form in which culture is transmitted. It is because language lives - that is, it changes as social life changes, while at the same time itself modifying social life - that culture can be expressed in new ways, albeit slowly. Everyone attending one of the groups, being interviewed or completing a questionnaire, replies to specific questions from within a range of possibilities already available to them. One possibility is to say they cannot answer a question, or to deny the relevance of the question; another is to answer, calling on the repertoire, the stock of knowledge each carries in order to meet the task. This is as true of the provision of reasons for responding to a study like this as it is of explaining or understanding marriage and adultery itself.

This only becomes a problem if it is supposed that there are to be uncovered and discovered more and better, because truer, reasons for action than those which people can and do express.

But, as soon as people articulate motives, either before action or afterwards as explanations or justification, then that constitutes motivation which can be understood sociologically. Do men and women use the same range of motives or explanations? Are different ones employed by people from different social class, occupational or age groups? This is what I am concerned to identify and explore. There are great cultural ideals and beliefs about marriage and about adultery. How do people use them in explaining their actions? What, if any, is the relation between these identifiable beliefs (identifiable in our laws, in our sanctions, in our language, in our literature and in the media) and the ways people actually do account for themselves? For this, even the liar is useful. He or she tells certain lies and not others. Schizophrenia, or something very like it, is probably universal, but the delusions and the hallucinations which schizophrenics have vary with their cultures. (29)

And what of unconscious motivation? By definition, the latter cannot be revealed - it is not accessible; unconscious reasons are not known. Unconscious motivation is derived from material that is or becomes accessible in dreams or through interpretation of conscious and articulated ideas and action. It is not the material of empirical work of the kind I have. The psychoanalyst works with the unconscious of patients. The sociologist works with accounts people can and do produce. In a sense this is true, of course, of the psychoanalyst, too. It is simply that the analyst does not take the account as it stands but derives hidden layers of meaning from that account. The psychoanalyst works on the unconscious of an individual, creating meaning (or helping the analysand to create meaning) from numerous separate examples derived from accounts and actions, expressed feelings,

jokes and slips of the tongue. The analyst-theorist uses this individual material - clinical case material - to generalise about the meaning of action, as well as to explain the workings of the mind. I, too, am intrigued by hidden layers of meaning, but I will infer and derive them from the articulated accounts and reports of actions, not so much at the level of the unconscious, but at the level of culture. For example, it may be that what everyone is "really" seeking in adulterous liaisons is a reflection of self, through the experience of love. Or that the major search, given our present social conditions, is for a sense of integrity, or wholeness, which, again, is to be found in the meeting of bodies, in the expression of sexuality and in a belief in the importance of relating to An Other. Or it could be that hedonism has triumphed; that behind every assertion of true love was REALLY an assertion of an entitlement to sensual pleasure. But, if I do consider those reasons important, then I will be using the material offered much as it stands, noting, of course contradictions and difficulties but not using the classical techniques of interpreting statements by what they indicate of defence mechanisms, exercised in the control of underlying instinctual drives. Such an approach allows me to avoid any particular kind of biological starting point. I do not need, for example, to make any claim about the necessary expression of a greater male or lesser female drive for sex (not that psychoanalysis includes this claim). As a sociologist, on the other hand, I might be tempted to posit an underpinning determining factor of social conditions. I intend, however, to remain free to notice when biological drives are used as explanations for the behaviour of individuals or when social origins or conditions are.

Some respondents had been profoundly influenced by Freudian theory and they explained themselves in psycho-dynamic terms. Others used a more popular translation of psychology and in so far as this was the language of their reply, that is a fact which concerns and interests me. But if people came because I represented to them their parent, sister or mistress, the priest or therapist, if they came because in narration itself they were working, albeit without technically competent help, on their unconscious, so be it.

Finally, there are certain comparisons I can make between the members of my sample and other samples along dimensions important for a study of adultery, and which are also useful in determining whether the members of my sample are very different from, or similar to, others who did not choose to participate. Given the argument above, that the range of responses is limited to those available within culture, and accepting that cultural knowledge varies within societies - that is, identifiable sub-cultures exist - then this kind of comparison is important.

Several studies have been conducted of sexual relations, two American i.e. Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin (1948); Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gebhard (1953); Hite (1976) and (1978); and two British: Gorer (1971) and Schofield (1973). In addition, a recent American study is of interest, Blumstein and Schwartz (1983). Alas, there are differences in the purposes of each study and in the ways in which samples were collected as well as in the questions asked. The Hite report on men (1978), for example, provides a breakdown for the numbers claiming not to have had any "extra-marital relations" at different lengths of marriage. For those married two years or more the figure is 28%, which compares with an overall figure in the adultery study of 27%. Kinsey estimated that by the age of 40, 25% of married women would have had an extra-marital sexual relationship and that 50% of men would be "unfaithful" during the entire course of their married lives. Hite had 72% of men married more than two years reporting extra-marital sex, though she gives no specific breakdown for women. Commonly quoted American estimates are that, since Kinsey, and taking account of Hite, it would not be unreasonable to expect about 40% of married women and about 60% of married men to have had at least one extra-marital sexual relationship by the time they are 40 years old. However, the latest study, Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) provides much LOWER figures than this, with only about 25% of married people reporting "non-monogamy" at any time since marriage. Our figures are more in line with the earlier, and quite different from, these latest figures. But then this is a study of adultery, not a study of marriage.

We can expect, and we find, most people who responded having had at least one adulterous liaison. I can add nothing to the guesses on the incidence of adultery. I am able to make within sample comparisons between those who do and do not report adultery and between those who report different kinds and different numbers of liaisons.

These are, of course, American figures and it is important to examine British studies and to be able to take some account of social class as well as of the variables already mentioned, such as duration of marriage, marriage cohort and sex of respondent.

Both Kinsey and Hite relied on volunteers, though both went to considerable lengths to find representative groups. A variety of techniques, including questionnaire responses and interviews were employed.

Gorer, using a stratified and representative sample of English people in 1969, and conducting his study by formal and standardised interview, found only 8% admitting to having ever "made love to anybody other than your wife/husband since marriage". Furthermore, only about two-thirds of these or 5% of the total sample agreed they had "gone all the way". This seems a really very low figure indeed, given that Gorer's other material on pre-marital sex is quite similar to that drawn from other studies. In a study of the formation of anti-bodies in the blood, conducted by Eliot Phillip and reported at a Ciba Symposium on Fertility, it was noted that 30% of the men could not have been the biological fathers of their children. Lord Kilbrandon pointed out in discussion at the symposium that this represented a minimum, not a maximum.⁽³⁰⁾ If this is so, a very great deal more adultery must be posited. In the adultery sample, few people said they had entered an affair in order to have a baby (though three women did so and,

of course, babies may have resulted later); one man reported that one of his liaisons occurred in order to satisfy his partner's longing to have a child which, according to him, she passed off as her husband's. Gorer also differs markedly from national polls conducted by magazines.⁽³¹⁾ Thus, in September 1983, "Woman" reported the results of a survey of 7,000 women who they claim were representative of the national population of women according to age and region. In this study, 30% said they had had "at least one lover since they married" and 10% were "currently" involved in "an affair".

Gorer, however, reports very similar figures to Schofield and the adultery study on virginity at marriage. This is influenced both by age at first marriage and by marriage cohort (that is, by what year(s) people were married in). In the adultery study, 42% of women and 36% of men married before 1960, falling to 30% of women and 23% of men marrying during the 1960's and only 9% of women and 14% of men marrying in or since 1970, reported themselves as "having had sex with no-one" when they first married. Schofield's study of young people, teenagers when he first surveyed them, and repeated in 1971 after they had married, found 29% reporting themselves as having been virgins at marriage, fitting well with our 1960's marriage cohort, some of whom were older than Schofield's young people and hence more likely to have had pre-marital sexual experience. Similarly, 34% in Gorer's study of people under the age of 45 in 1969, said they had not had "full intercourse" until after marriage. This proportion is, again, compatible with the combined data in the adultery study for all first marriages prior to 1970. (See Table 4)

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE.

There is a similar shift in the VARIETY of sexual partners. In the adultery study, 20% of all respondents reported having had sex only with their future spouse before marriage. Twenty-seven per cent of Schofield's young people fell into this category but, as ours is a more recent study and shows increasing pre-marital sexual experience, we would expect ours to contain fewer who limited themselves only to their future spouses. Only 5% of women and 13% of men among those married before 1960, but 17% of women and 21% of men marrying in the 1970's or later, reported

TABLE 4

Table to show reported "Virginity" (or "no intercourse") at first marriage in three studies.

GORER (1971)	LAWSON			SCHOFIELD (1973)
Respondents married before 1969 - aged up to 45 years	Respondents married:- up to 1960 1960-69 1970 or over			Respondents married in 1960's
34%	40%	27%	11%	29%
N = 1986*	169	207	149	267

* Gorer calculates all his percentages from this total which includes all respondents, not merely those married.

having had sex with not only their future spouse but also with various combinations of other single people, other married people and with their own sex. Pre-marital sex, then, according to these figures, has become much more common and also much more varied. The swinging sixties on these accounts would seem not to have been mere make-believe. Similar evidence is to be found in the scores for adherence to a more or less "traditional" or "permissive" stance. These, measured from reports about feelings and attitudes 'then', i.e. at the time of first marriage, and 'now' - when they completed the questionnaire - show a quite general shift towards the permissive and away from the traditional, though there are intriguing differences within the scores, and the overall score masks these differences. (See Chapter 3 "Methods" for a more detailed discussion of these scores.)

Part of the differences noted in the various studies no doubt arises from the wide range of meanings we have seen people attach to different words. Thus, 41% of the adultery sample said "yes" in answer to the question "Have you ever had a relationship which you consider adulterous, even though the two of you never made love?" (Q.27 (a) Above, in Keith's comment, and in the way some said "committing adultery" (Mary) while others stuck to "affair", we can see the problem in use. Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) try to distinguish between two kinds of infidelity between couples by asking about "any sex with someone other than your partner" and "love affair", both together constituting "non-monogamy". It is precisely in these difficulties that the ambiguity of the present rules and the ambivalence of individuals is seen.

The survey in "Woman" asked about whether wives thought their husbands had had an affair or not. About, but less than, one third "knew" their husbands had had at least one affair; but one in six wives did not know whether their husbands had had one or not. On "reasons" for their own affair, the "Woman" survey reports three out of five (60%) choosing

"excitement", i.e. that the affair was more exciting than their marriage, with only 5% saying it was not; and 20% had one "just for a change". (See Table 5)

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE.

TABLE 5

Table to show variation in knowledge of spouse re extra-marital sexual relations in four studies.

	Kinsey		Blumstein & Schwartz		Schofield		Lawson	
	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %
Spouse knew	-	40	64	65	24		61	61
Spouse did not know	-	51	27	28	-		33	33
Spouse suspected/ Respondent unsure/ didn't know if spouse knew	-	9	9	7	76		6	6
N =	-	470	914	716	17		122	154

The information on social class differences in sexual relations is confusing to say the least. Kinsey has more extra-marital sex among the middle class, but only after age 25; Gorer has them consistently less active than the working class before marriage and finds no differences by class after marriage.

My own view, clearly unsupportable from this study, is that the conflicting results reflect accurately the fact that class is less important as an influence in the regulation of the incidence of particular sexual behaviours than it is in the expression of feelings and attitudes about them.

But I am not even convinced that there are substantial differences in the expression of attitudes and feelings. From those who have participated in this study, I find the problems expressed, the joys and benefits gained, the rationale for and against their chosen actions much more similar than dissimilar as between social class groups. Perhaps the power of the pervasive media, particularly in television, in transmitting and re-iterating cultural myths, is evident in these similarities.

It is the regularity of differences between men and women which is striking. It is argued that the major change of significance for this study is the increasing participation of married women in the work force, occurring at the same time as pregnancy can be safely regulated. This change has affected all social classes. Thus, although the actual conditions, whether of work or of family life, are not the same, similar changes have occurred which (it is plausible to hypothesise) have similar consequences for each social class.

The fact that, despite the particular appeal of the topic and despite the self-selection process, we do seem to have collected a sample whose pre-marital sexual behaviour, attitudes and feelings on a number of related and theoretically relevant dimensions is not dissimilar from those of other studies with which we can compare them, gives me confidence, given the kind of statements I wish to make, that those who came forward may be similar in the ways that matter. The accounts they have produced are not, given this information, likely to differ substantially from those which would be produced from a sample differently collected.

1 Source: Please refer to footnote 5 in Chap 3, "Methods".

2 Percentage of respondents replying as "victims" of adultery, from each source:

<u>Sunday Times</u>	<u>Snowball</u>	<u>Guardian</u>	<u>Sunday Mirror</u>
10%	24%	14%	35%

3 Respondents' primary reason for responding to the study:

<u>Primary Reason</u>	<u>Source</u>			
	Sunday Times	Snowball	Guardian	Sunday Mirror
Interest in research	44	36	44	17
Bad experience	12	7	14	21
Good experience	2	0	2	2
Therapy	8	4	8	4
To share ideas	18	36	21	23
Useful information				
to give	17	18	11	32
	—	—	—	—
	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	194	28	186	47

Sex Ratios within each age group - a comparison of UK Population
and Adultery Study

Age Group	N = Adultery Sample	Adultery Sample		UK Population	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
25 - 34	125	35%	65%	51%	49%
35 - 44	216	36%	64%	51%	49%
45 - 59	172	47%	53%	49%	51%
60 - 64	30	47%	53%	47%	53%
65 +	22	59%	41%	39%	61%
All aged 25 years and over	565	41%	59%	49%	51%

Sources: UK Population figures calculated from Social Trends (13) 1983 p13 Table 1.3.
Adultery sample calculated from XTAB table SEX v AGEGRP.

Conclusion: The adultery sample contains a much higher proportion of women than would be expected in the UK population. However this is due to the large numbers of younger women (ie 25-44 years) who have responded to the study. The adultery respondents who fall within the ages 45 to 64 years almost exactly reflect the sex ratio found in the UK.

population. Older men (ie 65+ years) are over-represented in the adultery sample, but the absolute numbers in this age range are very small (ie 22). Because three-fifths of the adultery sample fall within the age range 25-44 years, women are thus over-represented.

5 Source: Social Trends No 12 (1983); Table 6.2.

6 There are two modal ages: 34 and 42 years. This is explained by the difference between the "Sunday Times" and "Guardian" respondents, the latter having lower ages. The median is 41 years. The Table below shows a comparison of the age distribution of the study respondents with the UK population, excluding those aged under 20 years.

Age Group	Adultery Respondents		
	Sunday Times	Guardian	UK Population
20-34	18	29	31
35-44	36	38	17
45-54	27	21	15
55-59	7	6	8
60-64	5	4	7
65-69	3	1	7
over 69	4	0	14
	100%	100%	100%
N =	255	215	37,459,835

Source: UK population figures derived from General Household Survey 1981 No 11, p6; Table IE.

7 Source: Census 1981, Preliminary Report for Towns; England and Wales.

8 Much modern sociology has become concerned with the analysis of accounts only, arguing that the relationship between accounts and the actions they describe can never be known, or that the knowledge is corrigible. Peter Halfpenny (1984) in a review of G Nigel Gilbert and Peter Abell (eds) (1983) collection, "Accounts and Action: Surrey Conferences on Sociological Theory and Method I", however, points out that such an approach suffers from a loss of inferential nerve and, "In the course of their empirical studies, they (many of the contributors to the volume) encountered the difficulties of making inferences from accounts to actions and of the corrigibility of both accounts and descriptions of actions, but for the success of their work (my emphasis) they still made inferences." BJS Vol 18 No 1 p134. For the success of this work, I make numerous inferences, providing, I hope, sufficient evidence for the reader to conclude similarly or to be enabled to contradict those inferences. To do this, I appreciate that we (author and reader) will draw, each of us, on a stock of (probably) shared methods and practices which, themselves, normally go largely unarticulated. We will use the 'members' methods' of reasoning, including perhaps, the "proto-science" employed both by the Cro-Magnon and next year's journals (according to Michael Moerman in "Ethnomethodology" edited by Roy Turner, Penguin Edition 1974); it is a rationalist critique which has to be employed in facing ethnomethodology. The other argument is more pragmatic: this says that the accountant position, despite its critical edge which has been influential and useful to sociology is uninteresting - anyway for me, because, inter alia,

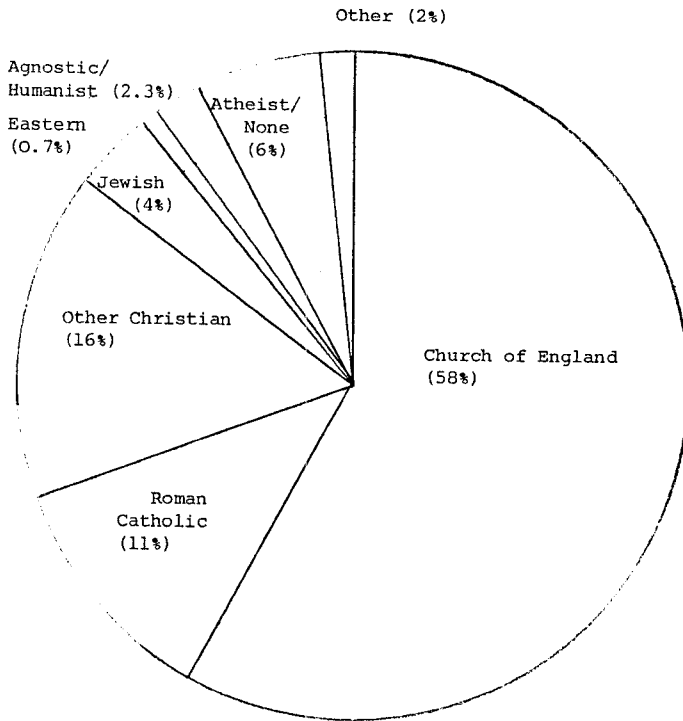
"It involves no predictions about social conduct and confines itself to naturalistic, retrospective descriptions of the procedures which members use in the construction of social order." (Chris Rojek, reviewing Douglas Benson and John A Hughes (1983) "The Perspective of Ethnomethodology" Longman; BJS, Vol 18 No 1, pl29).

9a Religious beliefs of respondents:

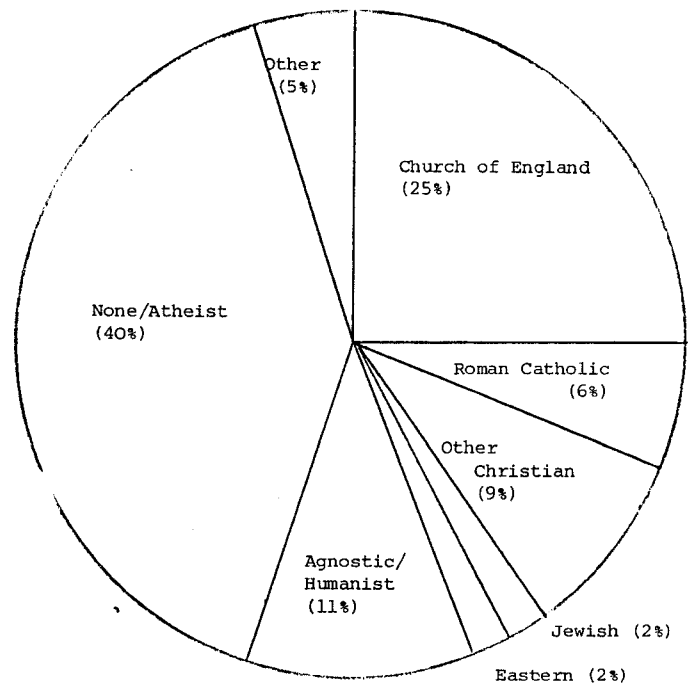
ADULTERY SURVEY - RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF RESPONDENTS

RELIGION BROUGHT UP IN

RELIGION NOW



N = 570



N = 553

9b The importance of religion or a belief system in the life of respondents:

ADULTERY SURVEY
THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION OR A BELIEF
SYSTEM IN THE LIFE OF RESPONDENTS

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL (32%)	UNIMPORTANT (13%)	FAIRLY UNIMPORTANT (20%)	FAIRLY IMPORTANT (21%)	IMPORTANT (14%)
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0%

100%

N = 567

10 Please refer to footnote 6.

11 Source: Social Trends, No 11 (1981) p93, Table 5.1.

12 The number of children ever born to the women married for the first time in the years 1965 - 1969 inclusive:

No of children	National Population (data collected 1980)	Adultery Study (data collected 1982/3)
0	7%	9%
1	13%	10%
2	51%	54%
3	20%	18%
4 or more	9%	9%

(N = 68)

The figures are close but the adultery sample has slightly fewer children. The age of the national sample is not known. The women in the adultery sample married between 1965 and 1969 ranged in age from 32 to 48 years, and, as we know, are of a higher social class than a national sample. These two facts are sufficient to explain any differences. Alternatively, perhaps larger numbers of children reduce the "risk of adultery"- one respondent said hers acted as "effective chaperones." Another said she had no time!

13 Marital Status (excludes those under 25 years and widowers)

Males	Survey Respondents	National Population	Females	Survey Respondents	National Population
Single	4%	13%	Single	2%	11%
Married & Separated	85%	83%	Married & Separated	79%	84%
Divorced	11%	4%	Divorced	19%	5%
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
	100%	100%		100%	100%
N = 228			N = 327		

Sources: National Population : Social Trends 13 (1983) pl3 Table 1.3.

The figures show that the adultery sample contains an excess of married, separated and divorced over single (ie never married) people.

14 In 1980, 71% of divorce petitions were filed by wives. Adultery was still the "preferred" fact for husbands to cite in divorcing their wives, followed by two year's separation with consent. For wives, the preferred fact was the unreasonable behaviour of their husbands, followed much less commonly by adultery, and then by two year's separation with consent. (Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys, "Marriage and Divorce Statistics" (1980) Series FM2 No 7, Table 4.7 (p93).

15 See, for example: McIntosh J (1977) "Communication and Awareness in a Cancer Ward", Croom Helm; and Davis F (1963) "Passage Through Crisis", Bobbs-Merrill.

16



Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

November 1982

Dear

I realise it is a very long time since you wrote in response to an article which appeared in the "Sunday Times" describing my work. The topic is of such complexity that it has taken all this time to develop the questionnaire which I now enclose for you to complete.

My sample consists, so far, almost entirely of people who, like you, were generous enough to offer their help after reading the article. You will, I am sure appreciate that this leaves me open to criticism - i.e. that I have a 'biased' group. I would therefore be most grateful if you would hand the enclosed additional questionnaire to someone you know who is (preferably) not a "Sunday Times" reader. It does not matter whether this person is a 'conformist' or a 'rule-breaker' but they will find it difficult to complete if they have never been married. I have more women than men in my sample and fewer people who feel 'victims' of another's adultery, so if you can find someone who falls into any of those categories, so much the better. But anyone would be good. There is a stamped addressed envelope for you to use for your completed questionnaire and one for whoever you can find to help. If you are married and your spouse is willing to complete it, that, too is fine.

Please do feel free to write on the spare sheet provided at the end if you wish. The questionnaire should not take longer than about an hour and I hope you will enjoy completing it or, at least, find it an interesting task!

I wish to assure you that anything you say will be treated with the utmost confidence and no individual will be recognisable from the material when it is presented in my book, due to be published in 1984(!)

Yours, with many thanks for your help,

Annette Lawson Ph.D

- 17 The snowball group contains a greater proportion of respondents who fall within social classes II and III NM, than other source groups. However, over all social classes I, II and III NM, this discrepancy is evened out.
- 18 This table is significant at the .0002 level - p32 of GSource Xtabs.
- 19 This table is significant at the .03 level.
- 20 Sig = .0019 GSource.
- 21 Sig = .001 p28 GSource.
- 22 58% of the snowball group reported either that they had had no sexual relations before marriage, or that they had only had sexual relations with their future spouse. This was so for only 46% of "Sunday Times" respondents, and 43% of "Guardian" respondents.
- 23 Marital status - a comparison between self-selected, non self-selected sources and the national population:

	Snowball	All self-selected	National population
Single	0%	2%	12%
Married & Separated	68%	84%	83%
Divorced	32%	14%	5%
N =	42	513	-

24 Below is a summary of the percentages from each source group according to low, medium and high scores on each traditional/permissive scale.

	Adherence to traditional values in the past			Adherence to permissive values in the past			Adherence to traditional values now			Adherence to permissive values now		
	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High
Sunday Times	37	36	27	34	30	36	32	39	29	24	40	37
Snowball	21	35	44	40	37	23	19	42	40	37	37	26
Guardian	33	33	33	33	31	36	36	28	36	35	30	36
Sunday Mirror	21	28	51	37	33	30	19	35	46	53	28	19
All Sources	33	34	33	34	31	34	31	35	34	32	35	34

Source: GSource v(GTT3 - GPN3) XTABS.

25 Please refer to Table 3 in the text above.

26 Discussion of adulterous liaisons with others - a comparison between sources. (Each figure represents the percentage of respondents who did discuss an adulterous liaison).

	Sunday Times	Snowball	Guardian	Sunday Mirror
<u>Discussion before affair</u>				
<u>with:</u> N = 530				
Spouse	21	10	28	16
Same sex friends	23	18	23	30
Opposite sex friends	6	8	9	5
Same sex work colleagues	11	5	9	14
Opposite sex work colleagues	3	8	3	3
Potential lover	37	26	34	23
Professional helpers	6	0	5	5
Religious Advisors	2	0	2	2
<u>Discussion during affair</u>				
<u>with:</u> N = 410				
Spouse	24	9	33	17
Same sex friends	37	41	34	25
Opposite sex friends	14	12	15	6
Same sex work colleagues	20	12	16	19
Opposite sex work colleagues	6	9	10	8
Potential lover	40	44	38	19
Professional helpers	12	6	15	14
Religious Advisors	7	0	3	3

- 27 Some respondents might, however, have been describing an affair which did not include sexual intercourse - an 'affair of the heart' or, as we came to call this, "Affnosex", the computer variable name. On the particular programme we used - SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) - only 8 digits may be used to name a variable. This one, not deliberately chosen for its potential meaning, was one of several which we later adopted as short-hand terms.
- 28 Please refer to footnote 8 above.
- 29 For further discussion see: Wing J (1978) "Reasoning About Madness", Oxford University Press; Sartorius N, Jablensky A, Stromogren A (1978) "Validity of Diagnostic Concepts Across Cultures" in Wynne L C, Cromwell RL Matthyse S (eds) "The Nature of Schizophrenia" Wiley; and Sullivan J (1983) (unpublished report) "A Comparison of Delusions 1988-1983".
- 30 Source: Wolftenholme G E W, Fitzsimons D W (eds) (1973), "Law and Ethics of AID and Embryo Transfer" Ciba Foundation Symposium Report no 17, p63, Elsevier.
- 31 Among magazines which have conducted such polls, one included "Woman's Own" - 10,000 questionnaires were returned and a sample of 2,289 selected for analysis (Chester R and Walker C in Armytage W, Chester R, Peel J (eds) (1980). Another, entitled "Marriage in the '80's" was carried out by "Wedding Day and First Home" and included 645 women (August 1983).

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APPENDIX C

METHODS

Methods chosen.

I have described the reasons behind my choice of topic and my decision to conduct a study which, rather than being purely literary, would involve talking to people about their experiences. But which people? How many people? In what way was I going to talk with them? Was I to use only "talk"? What about written information, perhaps the answers to a questionnaire or brief biographies?

There is a customary way to write reports of how research has been conducted. Usually, everything is set out in an ordered way as if the ordinary problems that beset people everyday never troubled a research programme. Furthermore, they always read as if there had, from the outset, actually been such a coherent programme. But research, even when it is carefully planned and programmed, is always constrained by time, resources and skills, as well as by the nature of the topic which is under scrutiny. Far from this being a disadvantage, such constraints help to ensure that work actually gets done. They shape the research into manageable patterns. In this case, I knew what I wanted to study and I thought I might most profitably, given the constraints of my job, my family life and the topic itself, best choose a small number of professional, upper-middle class people who would be prepared to talk to me, partly because I would be like them and unthreatening for that, if for no other reason. Another Elisabeth Bott (1957) perhaps, but, in any event, a detailed and in depth analysis of relatively few people. I still had the problem of contacting such people and, while not all needed to be themselves adulterous, some, of course, had to be. A direct advertisement was unappealing and likely to be biased in somewhat unpredictable ways. I did not consider that those who read the pages of "Forum" or "Private Eye" would be providing a very broadly based group, even though I was seeking a highly selected one.

By chance, the opportunity arose for an article to appear about the proposed study in the "Sunday Times". The readership of the Sunday Times averages 4.1 million per week, covers the whole age spectrum of adults and is distributed over the whole of the U.K. and abroad. (1) It seemed a good way to reach a large population and to set the work in a context which might avoid the collection of people who were only, perhaps, representative of the edges or extremes of the spectrum I wanted to explore.

Actually the study of people at the 'margins' has much to recommend it as a sociological tool. It is the extreme which often allows the norm to be identified. One of the most famous examples of this is Durkheim's work on suicide which, although undertaken for the purposes of showing how the most individual of acts needs to be understood within a sociological analysis, demonstrates how the 'normal' is approached via the 'pathological' (Emile Durkheim, 1952). A serious feature article, ending with an invitation to any individual or couple who was seriously interested in participating in the study, to write to me, appeared in the Sunday Times on Sunday, March 8th, 1981. (2)

There was no way of knowing what the response would be and I had not even prepared a questionnaire in first draft

format when the article was published. People were invited to say whether they would be prepared to be interviewed or only to answer a questionnaire. The response was extraordinary. Over a period of about two months following publication, I received over 600 letters from people offering to be interviewed and/or to complete a questionnaire. About two-thirds of the letters were from women. Of the remaining third, two-thirds were from men and the rest came from men and women writing as "couples". (An early analysis of the letters by region indicated that one or two places were over-represented; Essex, particularly Chelmsford and Colchester, kept recurring. Later, a more systematic analysis undertaken on the returned questionnaires, while continuing to show such over-representation from certain areas (including Essex) mirrors very well the distribution of the population between rural and urban areas, and never exceeds the expected proportions returned from any one area by more than 2%). In the event, it was the response itself that determined the production of a questionnaire and

the shape of the project, rather than a pre-existing plan.

The letters and cards received varied from a few cryptic remarks hand-written on a scrap of paper:

"Kindly send 6 questionnaires."

to ten double-sided, single-spaced typed biography. Only one was from someone who seemed disturbed. I think he was probably a general practitioner: he had made a card, on one side of which he had pasted an advertisement of the kind sent all the time to doctors, for a medicinal nasal spray; inside was a convoluted message addressed to "Dr. (?) Annette Lawson". He complained bitterly at the disgusting nature of this research and was certainly not offering his co-operation. Another turned out to be a hoax. I learnt about it because the hoaxer, himself, had second thoughts. In May I received a telephone call:

"Is that Dr. Lawson? You don't know me but I was wondering about your research .. you see .. have you sent your questionnaires out yet? .. because you see I am very worried about something .. I wrote to you and asked you to send two questionnaires, one was to my wife and the other was to the man she is playing around with and now I don't want you to send them anything. It will make everything worse. It was so silly and I am so afraid of what will happen now."

He was crying as he spoke. I learnt he was in hospital, having psychiatric treatment. I was nowhere near the final formulation of the questionnaire for piloting, so he was in no practical danger. I reassured him and destroyed the cards addressed to the two people he had named. There are advantages to planning research in unconformist sequences. Later we discovered another hoax, or possibly it was no such thing. We had, in August 1982, sent out the major "pilot" to "Sunday Times" readers. We received an irate 'phone call from a lady asking what all this was about. Her husband had never said he would participate in any study. Where had we obtained his name? What was the study about? I was able to tell her the study was about marriage and its difficulties and, on being

informed hers was a particularly successful and happy marriage, attempted to convince her that that was all the more reason why her husband and, if she would agree, also she, should participate. Their information would be particularly valuable. Unfortunately, she would not be convinced. It was a gross invasion of their privacy - not the study itself, I hasten to add, but our having "obtained" their address by unknown means. As it happens, that particular name and address had been given to us as half of a "couple". We never heard from the female half who had described the man as her lover and had informed us he would be happy to co-operate. Perhaps she neglected to tell him. Perhaps she was a woman scorned. Perhaps just a joke. Apart from those three cases, I am not aware of any answer that was not seriously intended. Even the one open proposition was, nonetheless, quite serious about being interviewed. He had, after all, experiences to relate relevant to the "problem".

These people then provided for me the spur to use at least two methods of investigation. Interviews were clearly essential. Definitions needed exploring. They could not be assumed. I felt, as I read the letters, I "knew" nothing. I supposed and hypothesised various things. On the other hand, a questionnaire could reach so many more of them. There seemed to me an enormous fund of generosity in these offers, and there was no way of constructing a sample frame from which to select groups for study. This was as true for random, as for stratified or theoretically based, selection. I decided to use both postal questionnaire and interviews for my methods and to sample all the men, all those who had written in as "couples" and one-in-three of the women. The task of designing the questionnaire was going to take more than a year, but at that stage I thought it could be done more quickly.

By June 1981 we decided to send out a letter thanking those who had offered their help, telling them we would be in contact with them at a later date and asking them to inform us, meanwhile, of any changes of address.⁽³⁾ There is enough experience in large-scale longitudinal or prospective studies to know that keeping in touch with people is one

of the most difficult aspects of such work (Goldstein, 1979; Douglas et al 1968). People are moving geographically; they also keep moving emotionally and socially. Today's mood, during which you take up pen and paper or type something out is tomorrow's disbelief that you could ever have done such a thing, or simply that the circumstances which led you to write have so altered that you cannot even remember what it was that spurred you to write or what it was you thought you would say. Nonetheless, people did keep in touch. Our overall response rate is 66%. We heard from 77% of those "Sunday Times" readers whom we contacted for the "pilot" (ranging as high as 87% for the women and only as low as 72% of those who responded as a 'couple'), and that was already seventeen months after they had offered to help, and from 50% of the other "Sunday Times" readers whom we did not sample until later (autumn, 1982). This average is brought down by the fact that only 29% of the "couples" responded at the later date, generally because they had moved and were not traceable. This is estimated from the number of "address unknown" envelopes returned.⁽⁴⁾

The first summer (1981), then, was spent travelling round to various centres and interviewing people in those areas. I began in Watford where I conducted three experimental interviews with women on a housing estate (middle class). The first woman had been "offered" to me by a graduate student, and the next two were neighbours of hers, introduced as a "snowball". I went then to Sussex, the West Country, Wiltshire and Dorset, Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow and Edinburgh. In the following spring we began to develop drafts of a questionnaire, in which we were incorporating ideas derived from the interviews, and piloted it repeatedly. We did a number of interviews in the London and Greater London areas and further afield towards East Anglia and into Essex. By this time I had received a small grant from the Nuffield Foundation, as well as a generous advance from my publishers, which helped pay for a research assistant, David Mingay. He was responsible for most of the work on the questionnaire and conducted about 10 interviews, my having completed 40.

As a result of the publication of the Brunel University Grants lists, I was again offered an opportunity, through an article in the "Guardian", to enlarge my sample base. Since I was now aware of certain quite specific shortages in the "Sunday Times" group, I decided to use that opportunity to obtain more men, more people who perceived themselves as "victims" of adultery, more people in "open" marriages and more people working in business. I also hoped to obtain greater numbers of "media" people, since I was beginning to develop my ideas about the institutionalised settings for adultery and about the institutionalised practices which might be "part of the job". For example, in Yasmin Khan's account of her mother Rita Hayworth's task of making her name in Hollywood, she notes that there was not any need for much 'lying-on-couches' in casting director's offices. And an informant reported her ex-T.V. director husband as having been profoundly offended by her serious affair and yet as seeing no incompatibility in that attitude and one which was entirely accepting of the mundane, repetitive "affairs" of his colleagues on the set and after when filming. Polly Toynbee wrote a lengthy piece which appeared on November 22nd 1982 ^(5). There were 302 responses to that article, of which 100 were women, 82 were men and 120 (60 x 2) wrote in as couples. Finally, an attempt was made to obtain at least some people of a different social class and educational background by co-operating with the "Sunday Mirror" for two articles, one before and the other after Christmas, 1982. In fact, the second article appeared in their first January 1983 issue. ^(6) The bulk of the replies, therefore, whether from "Sunday Times" readers who had written in 1981 or from "Guardian" and "Sunday Mirror" respondents were received between about November, 1982, and February, 1983. In addition, I accepted an invitation to do a radio 'phone-in programme on Radio London. As a result of that programme, I received another 17 letters, all from women wanting to participate in the study.

One of my problems remained that, even had I a representative sample of the population as measured on a range of demographic characteristics, all the people had selected themselves to participate. My own view is that those who have participated do not differ in the dimensions which are important for this study from others who did not, but that it is not something I can demonstrate. However, I decided to use

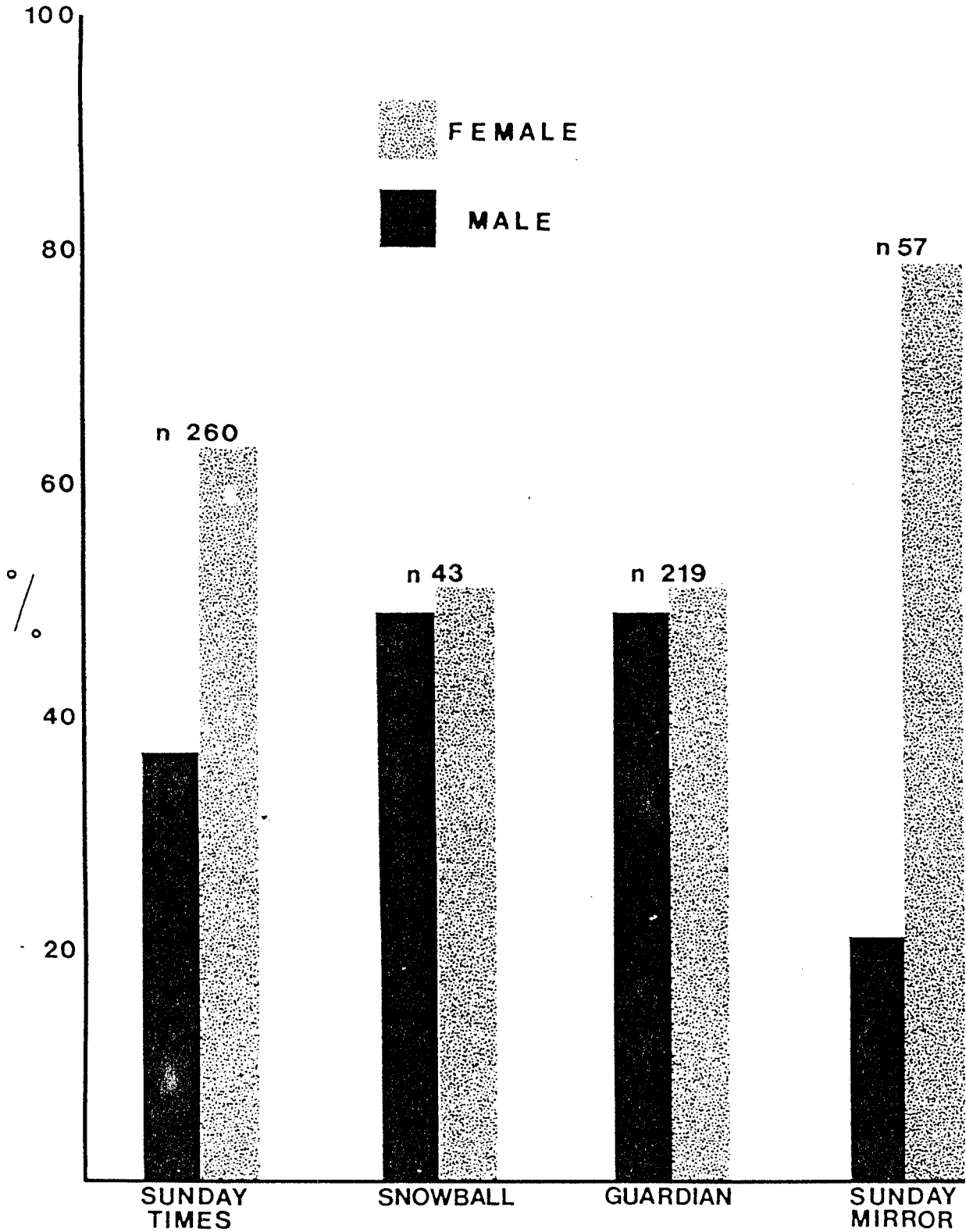
a "snowball" technique to obtain a further sample, selected not by me but by people who had written expressing their own willingness to participate. Such people cannot be considered an "unbiased" group, but they do represent individuals who did not select themselves. A letter was enclosed with the questionnaire sent to Sunday Times readers in the autumn of 1982, inviting each respondent to try to find one other person who would fill in the additional questionnaire enclosed and return it (anonymously if they wished) in the separate stamped addressed envelope enclosed. The letter also invited them to try, if possible, to find a man, someone who was not a Sunday Times reader and/or someone who felt he or she had been the 'victim' of adultery. (Clearly, they could consider themselves victims of their own actions and 45% of the total sample population describing themselves as "victims" were themselves adulterous.) Detailed analysis of this group supports my assertion that the differences between those who were self-selected and those who were selected by others do not affect the inferences and conclusions drawn. (They are discussed in Chapter 4, "The Sample".)

The breakdown by the source from which people entered the study is shown below (see Diagram 1).

DIAGRAM 1 ABOUT HERE.

During the summer of 1982, and throughout the time I continued to collect data, I also continued to interview people. These interviews became increasingly specific. I was following questions as they arose from questionnaire responses, from reading, from thinking about and discussing the study. The University granted me a year's leave of absence to work on the study and I decided to use a technique common in market research but relatively untried in academic sociology - small group discussion. I wanted to examine in process, the themes people themselves initiated, to listen to their choice of words to describe their actions, to let the debates that I assumed to be necessary in the reconciliation of the marriage vows and of adultery take place, live. Any research interview, however well conducted, which explores biography and emotion surrounding experience,

SEX RATIO BY SOURCE



takes place, by definition, between researcher and researched. There is a wide variation in the amount of leading and following which is done but, essentially, the interviewee is answering questions set by the interviewer. (The situation may be different in a therapeutic interview; hence my qualification, "research interview".) Mine were very unstructured; they allowed my respondent to bring up topics much as they wished but, for comparability, they were also geared to obtaining certain information and to restricting other information which was (or seemed to me to be) irrelevant to my purposes. In order to reduce this structure to a minimum I tried beginning interviews in varied ways. For example, instead of beginning by asking simple biographical details, I began, "Would you like to tell me why you wrote ...? Was there something you particularly wanted to discuss ...?" But I found people disliked that; they needed the comfort of the life-narrative to set themselves in order, as it were, so that they could talk about the disorder, or about experiences which were always of importance, sometimes very painful, sometimes very joyful, often both. One woman said:

"Oh no. No. I'd much prefer you asked me questions. I wouldn't know where to begin."

Most were now, or had been, married. In talking of adultery - their own or that of others - they wanted to relate it to their experience of marriage. But single people, too, liked to show how they were grounded in the past, where they came from, how they got to where they were. I found, however, that I needed to ask about the future. "What next?" did not, in this framework, seem to be a question people were addressing.

In a small group, however, I thought it might be less necessary to set a biographical framework; that people would talk as much to one another as to me. It seemed to offer an economic and elegant way both to pursue certain themes and also, through the very use of the method itself, test the idea that people did debate the issue and, if they did, to know more clearly what form the debate took and what content it had. It might be argued that such a group is nothing like a model of any real life situation where such debates as surround adultery do actually take place and, therefore, the group did not and could not perform this function. Certainly, the

context in which debates or actions occur profoundly influences the outcome. It would be absurd to suggest otherwise. And the group is not in any sense set up as a natural model of, say, discussion with a spouse, with a potential lover or with friends. Nor, obviously, as a model for internal debates. But enough is known from the conduct of therapeutic groups to know that patterns of response, 'normal' for that person, are displayed; that, given leadership in certain directions, the interactions are typical of those occurring in other settings. In the therapeutic group, however, the individual is often very threatened because their self-esteem may be attacked through the analysis of what they say or how they say it. I felt one of my primary tasks had to be to prevent anyone becoming the scapegoat of any group; to prevent interpretation of motive at a level which someone might experience as threatening; to insist on the research nature of the group. If I was successful in that, then the focussing on the topic; the motivation of those who came to participate; the fact that, without exception, everyone shared with me a wish to "understand" themselves and the topic, led me to believe that we would hear, in these varied groups (varied in membership, by size and by the sex of those present, as well as by the source from which people had come, by their stance to adultery by the presence of different graduate students, by time of day) whether debates occurred and, if they did, then the content, accurately portrayed. (7)

The following example is chosen to show the way in which a group member who broke the social rules by talking in a way and about a subject which made everyone else uncomfortable, was first attacked and then defended by me. It is taken from a group of people who had come to the study through the "Sunday Times". (See Chapter 4, "The Sample", p.1.) Two described themselves as not regular Sunday Times readers. They had seen the article elsewhere. All had had adulterous liaisons but, at the beginning of the meeting, no-one could know that since people from every stance, including faithful married couples, were included in the study. One man, born, he said, in a "slum in East London" and still, despite his career as a teacher, speaking with a strong cockney accent, began the discussion by talking

at length and in detail about his sex life - both his "physical relationship" with a young girl (thirty years his junior) whom he visited once a week in her flat, and with his first wife and with other women after she had been killed in a road accident. As he spoke, the people in the group became increasingly embarrassed. They twisted in their seats; looked anywhere but at him or at me; bit their lips. They had come, I think, to talk of the appropriate ideas: commitment, honesty and deceit, the roles of men and women and not, NOT about sex. Dennis refused to let go. Among the words he used were "adultery" and "adulterer", "carnal" and "lust", "absolutely one hundred per cent joy in the sex act" and "passion".

At the beginning I found myself sharing not so much the embarrassment of the other group members but feeling a mixture of irritation and of finding it funny; wanting to laugh, though in fact his wife's death had been far from funny. I spoke firmly to myself, as it were, insisting that I listen and stop judging. In the end, I learnt more from Dennis, both in terms of the content of his message, and in terms of understanding what was and what was not being said in these groups than from any one other participant. Having raised the theme of sex as his prime mover, both in becoming adulterous and in maintaining that relationship, he taught me that it should be raised in other groups, even if only to hear that for those people it was not considered either such an important reason, or perhaps of any importance. He taught me always to ask about sex; if necessary by shocking people into confronting what, perhaps, was not being expressed. Dennis denied he felt any guilt about his regular weekly adultery, but Mary had been arguing that there must be guilt; everyone finds ways of dealing with it, otherwise they could not continue to manage concurrently both a marriage and a lover (thus supporting the hypothesis that the sexual exclusivity rule of marriage is widely understood as powerful, and that breaching this rule will, therefore, induce guilt and require action to manage it):

Mary:

"I think perhaps we don't feel guilt if we carry on ... I think if one honestly feels guilty, he stops ... and that either you work it out and you justify it, however you figure that out, in order to continue; 'cos I don't think anybody can live with constant guilt. So either you justify it and do it, or you do decide there's something to be guilty about, and you stop."

Annette:

"What is true for you?"

Mary:

"I don't feel guilt. I have very little truck with guilt - I think it's a useless emotion and so I (with somewhat of an effort of will) if you will, just resolve that as fast as I can. Figure it out. Work it out. And be done with it."

Jan:

"I don't feel guilty about my relationship but you can't deal with guilt through an act of will ... I would have thought that if you felt guilty it would just overwhelm you."

Dennis:

"I seem to be the outsider here. It's not so much the guilt. I don't feel guilty about my adultery, but there's a distinction between a guilt and a fear. I mean ...

Mary:

"of discovery?"

Dennis:

No. Not that. What my son would say. I'm not in the least interested in what anyone else would say ... But an 18 year old boy who is reaching an impressionable age, what would he think if he realised his father had the need of a long-term standing relationship with a woman? And therefore, 'what has that woman got to offer my father that my mother can't give him?' ...
I feel that with the mistress I have had for the last four years and I always wonder, will she drop me for someone younger than me?

Therefore, I say the only way you can hold her is in the way that she'd got used to. To use all the sexual skill and timing and sophistication that you can call upon. Obviously at 57 I'm no longer as good as I was at 21. A man is bound to slow down And therefore I say to myself, you must learn timing. That's essential so you don't get it over in five minutes and leave her dissatisfied and she's a very hot-blooded girl, and she'd say 'I want someone younger'. I hold on to her. I'm determined to keep her."

Annette:

"But do you feel badly?"

Dennis:

"I don't feel badly about the act of being with her."

Annette:

"You're just afraid of losing her?"

Dennis:

"I'm afraid of losing her, yes ..."

"It helps with your own affair if you know your wife is having it also."

Mary:

"Oh no, I don't agree at all. I don't operate that way at all."

Jan:

"No."

Mary:

"it's just, not at all, not at all."

Dennis:

"Makes me feel more justified, put it that way."

Mary:

"No. No."

Annette:

"Is your wife having an affair, then?"

Dennis:

"It's on and off - the last twenty years."

Mary:

"I think you do feel guilty, actually. A lot of things you said ... I think, if you'll excuse me, but you do feel guilty."

Dennis:

"Probably."

Mary:

"With regard to your son or with regard to your wife, I think it all indicates that you've not ...

Keith:

"come to terms with it"

Mary:

"No."

Dan:

"You come over as being very unsure."

Dennis:

"Yes, I know. That's how I feel actually and has anybody any advice?"

Mary:

"Go back to California!"

Dennis:

"Well I did admit I lay around out there with all the fantasies that go with it. I had a negress who used to lay me out every time - I was exhausted beyond description. And another girl who turned out to be bald, believe it or not. She wore a wig. This was a long time before they were fashionable. Talk about being turned on. But that was when I was young and foolish. But now I've reached middle age I do feel all is perhaps not right. Although I feel so happy when I'm with her and yet something comes over to me when I go home. It's not quite right."

Annette:

"Well, I think you should not feel that you're an outsider in the world today."

Dennis:

"I said I was an outsider here."

Annette:

It may be this particular group ... people have worked out very well for themselves the way that they're living their lives and feel content with themselves and that's great. But there are lots of people who feel like you do and worse ..."

(I continued by telling him about a young girl who had attended an earlier group; she was overwhelmed by the jealousy she felt of her husband in his affair, and she felt badly about these emotions.

Dennis:

"You say she was young?"

Annette:

"Yes, and the youngest person in her group ... so just because you may be the oldest person here tonight, I don't think you should feel ... because it could be that in this group you might think, I'm out of date or something that I should feel, to use your own words, 'something's not quite right' ..."

This intervention had the effect of relieving the pressure and concentration on Dennis so that Mary was able to ask a question raising a new topic ("Is the idea of an open marriage a common one?")

I have said that the context always has effects on outcome but that I hoped the particular regular format of the group, while varying by membership, would enable debate and discussion to occur in ways that did reflect the actual conflicts and anxieties of the sample about adultery. Certainly, the various groups did differ in the stress they put on certain themes; on whether they debated more with one another or directed their talk more to me; on the extent to which I had to initiate topics, ask questions, provoke discussion. Their selection was, however, particularly at the beginning, random but for two variables. I tried always to obtain (except for the two groups deliberately set up as single sex) equal numbers of men and women and they had to live or work within relatively easy reach of the University where the meetings were held. They were all (with two exceptions) held in the same room, using the same tape-recording equipment

and arranged in the same way - low, comfortable chairs round three coffee tables, to form an oval. Whatever the time of the meeting, and most were at 7 p.m., coffee and tea and sandwiches were served. I had learnt, in a study which involved interviewing mothers of very young children in their own homes, the value of beginning by eating and drinking together (Douglas, Cooper, Lawson et al, 1968). Breaking bread and salt in the house of the stranger still has symbolic meaning which it is foolish to ignore and positive to remember in the research setting. In the September of 1982, when I began the groups, we had not received back many of the questionnaires, the Guardian and Sunday Mirror articles had not yet been published and we we knew very little about our respondents. Often, therefore, I was as ignorant of them as they were of each other. This meant I could, by chance, have a group who were all adulterous, or one which had a faithful, one an open couple in it with, perhaps, a single "other woman". Later, as the months progressed, as the Guardian and Mirror letters arrived, and as completed questionnaires were received, I was able to invite people about whom I knew something. I began deliberately to try to "mix" the groups because, in this way, the debates might be more pronounced, though I did not expect themes to vary.

Certain themes regularly did occur in these groups. Altogether, between September 1982 and March 1983, 13 groups were held in which more than 50 individuals participated. I cannot be exact, since one group - of bisexual people - included about twenty people. All were mixed except two which consisted of women only. Clearly I could not lead a men only group and men were less willing to attend the groups than women. It was not so much that they positively refused to come, rather that they seemed to find the demands of their work or of their families made it more difficult for them to attend than did the women. This was so even though most were held in the evenings. For some, both women and men, the discussion seemed almost to need treating as if it, itself, constituted part of an adulterous liaison:

"I told him I was going to a meeting about my job. Well, 'e knows we've got troubles down there."

"I often have to work late and I'm on the road, so being late back tonight won't cause any raised eyebrows."

In other words, their participation in the study was as secret as any liaison. In telling their story in the study, they were continuing it, perhaps even re-living it. Secrecy was one of the most regularly raised themes. It formed a central part of the questionnaire too. Sometimes people attending the groups had completed the questionnaires and sometimes they had not. But there is no difference in the frequency with which this subject was raised between groups held before the members present had seen or completed the questionnaire, and those held after members had already completed it. Indeed, given the breach of the marriage rules all adultery necessarily implies it would have been extraordinary had it not been raised. What, perhaps, was more interesting was that the place of telling or of not telling between spouses (or between people in a steady relationship who had not married) assumed an even more central position for those who were in "open" marriages. Furthermore, the place of telling was also referred to in discussions about what was to be kept from, or told to, the adulterous partner.

"I would always make it plain from the beginning that I was married and loved my husband very much and wanted to stay with him and had no intention whatever of leaving him and would make it plain that John knew all about any other relationship that I had. I wouldn't come home and tell him all the gory details and get our kicks that way but ..."

Certainly, as I have pointed out above, the interviewees preferred to relate their stories in chronological order. There was too much chaos already, perhaps, without the necessary logic of the clock. Besides, our culture accepts the importance of early childhood and family life as the principal precursor of influence on our adult personalities and behaviour. Hence, many wished to explain the present in terms of the past.

The form of explanation was the subject of a content analysis. I was interested to examine the way people accounted for their adultery. The words they chose or avoided to describe their relationships, the way marriage and adultery were defined in terms of one another, the frequency with which people used psychological explanation, or explained the present in terms of the past, perhaps by constructing the marriage in particular ways. (For example, the wife in Erich Segal's novel "Man, Woman and Child" reconstructs her marriage as having been bad all along when she learns of her husband's adultery of some ten years past. At the outset of the book, Segal presents the marriage as extraordinarily contented. The explanation which the wife seems to 'need' is one requiring blame to be attributed somewhere. She places it on the marital relationship. In order for her husband to have been unfaithful the marriage must have been less than good.) The results of this analysis are presented in the chapter "Accounting for Adultery".

Given the way the study unfolded over time, it must be clear that each part, each method chosen, employed and used in the analysis, has nourished the others and, in turn, been influenced by them. This is particularly true of the relationship between the interviews and the design of the questionnaire.

The Questionnaire

Within the questionnaire are encapsulated a number of beliefs current in social life about the precursors of adultery, about the importance of certain social characteristics for behaviour, about the relationship of beliefs and attitudes to behaviour. Theories I wanted to test, derived from criminology and the study of deviancy, are represented in the questions, as is the more general theory about the place of two major and competing myths in the explanation and justification for breaching a powerful social norm - that requiring the sexual exclusivity of marriage partners. There are also questions which would allow a description of

adultery - a kind of natural history. When, from what kind of marriage, does a spouse first form an "adulterous liaison"? How long does this and others last? Where do partners meet? How do they conduct the liaison? What meaning does it have for them? What 'benefits' or 'sufferings' are there? Of what importance are these? Is there a difference between the first (which might, of course, be the only) and the last or most recent adulterous liaison? How many do individuals have? Of what kind are they? What role does "opportunity" play? What, if any, part does the spouse have in this? Does he or she know? Who told them if they do know? Or did they discover some other way? Are they, themselves, also 'adulterers'? How does any of this vary with different liaisons and/or over time in the marriage? What kind of base does the marriage provide for liaisons? That is, do the spouses have some agreement about sexual fidelity and infidelity? What, if so, is its nature and how does it arise and change? What are the consequences of adultery (if any) for the marriage.

The first section of the questionnaire establishes the demographic features of the respondent, including a marital history, and gains information about certain of their attitudes; for example, about religious belief. It then asks people to rank their agreement or disagreement to a range of attitudes about marriage and about sexual fidelity (Q.15 - 17). Many of the questions are more retrospective than others - those relating to the time of first marriage, for example. With a sample whose age range is broad (22 - 83 years), and some of whom married a long time ago, it is a greater task for some than it is for others. However, the account people give of their attitudes is what is of interest here, not whether, had I interviewed them thirty years ago, they would have given the same answer. I am interested in the beliefs people have about themselves and their attitudes, in the way they themselves account for themselves, rather than in an externally made observation of events. The answers to these and to other 'attitudinal' questions (e.g. Q.21) have enabled scores to be derived of what we have termed adherence to a more or less "traditional" or more or less "permissive" stance then (at the point of first marriage) and now. (8)

Individuals could score on all four dimensions. That is, each person was placed for the extent to which they could be said to be traditional AND on the extent to which they were permissive, in each case 'then' and 'now'. Naturally, the correlation between high traditional and low permissive scores was high (ranging from 63% to 68% of cases falling into these opposite rank positions), but not perfect, thus allowing for the fact that human beings do not follow straight lines. These scores neatly reflect the commonly held assumption that over the last generation there has been a general shift towards a more permissive stance, but they also discriminate well between individuals, some of whom have moved in the expected directions, some of whom have moved in a contrary way and others who have changed their stance on certain questions in one direction and, on other questions, in an opposite direction.

The next section (Q.18) attempts to find out the perspective from which each individual wrote at the time of the study and what their reasons were for participating in it. Then the extent to which they and/or their spouses were, or had been, "adulterous" was established. Everyone, regardless of whether they reported having or not having had at least one adulterous liaison, was then asked to consider the state of mind they had been in (or were in when "first tempted") (Q.21).

From several early interviews, I learnt of the importance placed on the death of a parent as a factor in the minds of the respondent as having influenced themselves or their spouses. A 57 year old woman said that when her mother-in-law died her husband would not come near her, would not touch her, for a whole year. In contrast, another, younger woman, said her mother-in-law's death "made a man" of her husband. He seemed to be released from dependency into adulthood and independence, not only, she said, in relation to her but in all spheres of his life. For this reason I decided to ask about the perceived effects of the deaths and illnesses of others on the lives of respondents (Q.23).

It turned out that of those who reported

adulterous liaisons, 17%, compared with 4% of non-adulterous respondents, felt the role of their own parent's death had been important, with 6% claiming it as directly influencing them towards an adulterous liaison, but there was no difference at all in the proportions reporting an effect of the death of a spouse's parent. This is a good question to consider from the point of view of methodology. In interview, when questions were asked to help the respondent give a more or less chronological account of themselves, a death of a parent is a central aspect of the story. It is, that is to say, unlikely to be missed unless there is only the most minimal of contact between the two generations. This is particularly true when there are children who are relating to them as grandparents. In each of the interviews cited above these deaths were raised rather sadly - that is as items of independent interest but, when they were related then I asked what, if any, the respondent thought the effects had been on her spouse? herself? In this way, the two, as told, quite dramatic consequences were related. In a self-completed questionnaire, by definition, those connections are not made; there is no listener. Thus, even if the respondent does think a mother-in-law's death affected her spouse (4%), she may not understand in what way that may have affected her own actions. Her thoughts move rapidly on to the next question. (It is in this sense that the mode of gaining information itself structures the content and form of answers.)

We also noted the employment in interview of other, widely accepted, notions about precursors of difficulties in marriage - the "mid-life" crisis was one, and we therefore asked about that. At the outset I hypothesised that both work and education taken up later in life would have important influences, particularly on the lives of women. This was strongly supported in interview when, for example, one woman described her secret spending and pursuit of an extra-mural course almost as if that, itself, were her adulterous liaison. Indeed, she said an affair was not necessary for her; she had all the stimulation and excitement, all the deceit and, above all, all the gains for her "identity" that she needed from her course.

The questions dealing with these areas are found at Q.24 and Q.25. It is these questions - on crises, work, education and the role of children (if any) in the decision to begin or to continue a liaison, which form the middle section of the questionnaire.

The next section covers the "telling". Many of the questions in this section consider what kind of network the individual moves in, since I was interested to test the idea of differential association (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966). There are also questions searching for the words used and applied to describe the relationships of the people involved and the place, if any, of characters in the drama, such as the 'confidante' or professional helper. From Q.31 we were concerned to establish some facts about the liaisons: about the chosen partners, about the duration of liaisons and when they began in relation to the duration of the marriage, about the "benefits" and "sufferings", happiness and misery experienced, and about the consequences of the liaison for each individual and for the marriage. Finally there is a section dealing with much broader influences, such as books, films and magazines (Q.35).

The questionnaire breaks all the rules of postal questionnaires. It is absurdly long and demanding to answer. However, my sample was highly motivated (self-selected) and, as the analysis demonstrated, highly educated. The length and difficulty, therefore, perhaps held less terrors for them than it would have done with a differently constituted sample. However, I think it important not to simplify this topic. Adultery is not simple; it touches on people's deepest emotions and on areas of their lives which some will not share with anyone, others with only a few people within certain well defined roles. Of course, some have no such inhibitions but they are in the minority. Recently feminists have questioned the applicability of traditional (and hence patriarchal) social research techniques to women and particularly to women when the subject matter is of the kind in this study - pertaining to private and personal areas of social life which are intimately concerned with the development and expression of female sexuality (Stanley and Wise, 1982: Gamarnikow, E; Morgan, D; Purvis, J; Taylor, D; 1983).

In practice, men can be as shy and diffident as women in speaking of these topics, but the interview is likely to succeed better as it moves closer, in form, to the conversation and, especially with "elite" groups, pursues their own arguments and themes (Bechhofer, et al., 1984: Jennifer Platt, 1979.). Certainly I felt in interview whether with women or with men, that this was the most appropriate form to follow. Hence the schedule used for self-completion also could not, and should not, too rapidly, it seemed to me, regiment the respondents into a limited repertoire of responses and styles. The problem was to obtain comparability, to make the passage through the questionnaire as simple as possible and to allow the respondent to say what it was they wanted to say. To achieve this certain sacrifices were made. First, it became apparent at the pilot stage that we had to exclude the "never married" from completing most of the questionnaire. The institution of marriage, with its words and meanings, is so pervasive in our culture that people simply could not sustain responses to questions meant to be answerable whether the respondent has been married or not married. One man had lived for long periods with three women. He had married the first and the last but, while he had lived with the second for eleven years, they had never married. We invited respondents who wished to do so to consider such an arrangement as if it had been a marriage. He did; but he began to answer the "wrong" questions or refer to the "wrong" relationship, confusing, among others, the words 'spouse' and 'partner', 'date of marriage' and 'date of separation'. These words had been chosen for two reasons; first, to avoid the repetition of phrases such as 'wife or husband' and the pronouns 'his/her' or 'she/he' and, second, to avoid routinely employing words such as 'mistress' or 'lover' which were the topic of enquiry, and whose use was not something to be answered. *taken by granted*

Another study is needed of the single (never married) and of various cohabiting couples, but Burgoyne⁽⁹⁾ has the latter under way.

Despite these considerations the response rate given above, p. 5 was very good, particularly when a follow-up letter was sent and when our questionnaire was sent out within a relatively short period of receiving the request to participate.

Having developed a detailed coding frame for the pilot questionnaires, we were ready (with minimal alterations) to code returned questionnaires as they arrived between, approximately, February and May 1983. Temporary coders were trained and a reliability check carried out. This check took two forms. First, in order to test the degree to which coders made the same decisions, a 5% sample of the questionnaires was re-coded by different coders. This was done at regular intervals to test the reliability of pairs of coders, both at specific times of the coding process and over time.

A total of 450 coding decisions had to be made for each questionnaire. For each pair of coders the number of coding disagreements was calculated for each of the re-coded questionnaires. The total number of coding disagreements was calculated. Over the 21 questionnaires tested in this way, a total of 509 coding disagreements was found, representing an average of 24.2 coding disagreements per case, or a 5.4% rate of disagreement per questionnaire between individual coders. Put positively, this represents a 94.6% agreement between coders in their interpretation of the questionnaires.

A further test was applied to ascertain the specific decisions which were most commonly disagreed. By charting where the disagreements occurred for each of the 21 questionnaires tested it was possible to locate those questions on the questionnaire to which the coders had most difficulty in assigning agreed interpretations. Difficulties arose around the coding of open-ended questions and in the decisions about when to use, and when to avoid, categories known as "other". The maximum number of coding disagreements for any specific question over the 21 questionnaires tested was 14, representing only a 34% coding reliability for that particular

question when coded. The question (18a) asked for the reasons why people had responded. The coding frame required the coder to code for a "first" and a "second" reason where one was given. It was often difficult to decide which was first and which was second; whether a statement actually amounted to two reasons and whether the reasons fitted the categories given in the coding frame. Indeed, if we add the coding disagreements for the first to the second reason, the number of disagreements rises to 23, more than double those for any other question. But this is a question of disagreeing about priorities, not about the content of the answer. Thus the reasons actually given were coded but in different columns by different coders. In the analysis, these 'reasons' are summed or both are given so that no serious error is introduced. This was an unusually difficult question to code and it remains that only 4% of the questions had less than a 76% coding reliability when coded.

The analysis of the questionnaire material was conducted on SPSS (the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) almost entirely using relatively unsophisticated techniques - cross-tabulation, tests of significance, mainly chi-square and gamma. However, in order to help in answering certain questions, more sophisticated analyses of variance have been used, including step-wise discriminate analysis. In particular, I had been intrigued from the beginning by the avoidance in the press, and in conversation, of terms implying censure to describe "adulterous liaisons". Thus "affairs" are described, not "adultery". People have "live-in lovers", rather than "mistresses". They do not "commit adultery" (except in court or in church). Yet, in answer to the questionnaire, much more substantial numbers than I expected claimed to have felt that such an expression as "committing adultery" applied to them (50%) AND that they had actually, in speech, used such a term (more than one third). (I chose to call any sexual encounter with someone other than the current spouse "adulterous liaison" in order to avoid the use of a term emotive with censure, or medicalised or too general, as in "affair", as in "extra-marital relationship". I wanted to include within it the going to a prostitute and the long-lasting love affair of many years' duration.) The step-wise analysis was employed to clarify the relative importance of factors affecting the use of particular words and phrases.

The quantitative analysis of more than 400 variables for each "case" is enormous. Yet I do not consider this great mass of information any more central to my enquiry than the detailed material gained in interviews and groups. I have also felt free to employ information from newspapers, plays, films and novels, gossip and jokes. Each of these data sources provided information at, and about, different levels of social life. The media stories indicate something at the societal level; at the level of cultural myth and ideology. Plays and films playing to packed houses (Pinter's "Betrayal"; Stoppard's "The Real Thing"; Peter Nicols' "Passion Play"; Kramer v. Kramer) demonstrate facets of the concern, interest and profound feelings engendered, as well as making their own public (macro) cultural statements. The problem is to relate these public values and public presentation of the debate about what is involved in a breach of the marriage rule - that requiring sexual exclusivity of the partners - to the private and individual values and debates. And then to understand the relationship between these beliefs and actions.

FOOTNOTES

Methods

Footnote 1:

Source: Social Trends 13 (1983), Table 10.6, P.136.

Footnote 2:

The attached article, entitled "Thou shalt not - but they do", written by Peta Levi, appeared in the Sunday Times.

Footnote 3:

Letter sent out 8th June, 1981.

Footnote 4:

No reminder letter was sent to the second (main) survey of Sunday Times respondents; the calculation was that the time and costs in doing so would probably not have produced enough additional response to warrant the effort.

Footnote 5:

The attached article, produced by Polly Toynbee, appeared in the Guardian.

Footnote 6:

The attached articles appeared in the Sunday Mirror.

Footnote 7:

Douglas, T in his "Groups: Understanding people gathered together", Tavistock 1983, makes the point that groups are essentially similar rather than dissimilar. "There are no absolute differences between apparently widely disparate groups." (p1) There are differences largely of scale. All groups, for example, must have time, whether the immensely long time of membership of a family or much shorter time on a committee, and all exhibit leadership, by individuals or groups within the groups. His purpose, he says, is "to try to divert some ... attention to a recognition of existing group situations where the same skills that are essential to the 'created' group can be used for less obvious but equally useful and productive group work". (p4) Alas, he, as most others, fails to address the research as a 'created' group writing, in the main, of the processes noticed in therapeutic settings, but there are certain authors who have. Banks, J.A. "The Group Discussion as an Interview Technique", Sociological Review 5 (1) 1957 pp 75 - 84; Chandler, M "An evaluation of the Group Interview", Human Organisation 13 (2) 1954 pp 26 - 28 and Hoinville, G. and Jowell, R. "Survey Research Practice", Heinemann Educational Books, 1978, pp9 - 26.

LOOK

Edited by Bill Cater

Thou shalt not —but they do

DR ANNETTE LAWSON of the Department of Sociology at Brunel University is beginning a delicate and difficult research project. She is studying adultery.

It isn't a word much used today. We make uneasy bad jokes about the word: "Adultery is the time of life that follows infancy," for example. Maybe we still have chilly folk-memories of people set down in front of their church-going neighbours, wearing a white sheet of repentance livened with the "scarlet letter" of shame: A for Adultery. (They had to give up such punishments in the more trendy parts of old London; young blades wore the white sheet eagerly, possibly knowing that nothing succeeds like success.)

Annette Lawson (a BSc and PhD) is married with three children. She has been a member of the Medical Research Council, and in 1966 published a study of social causes which force acute psychiatric patients into hospital. From 1967-77 she produced her family; when the youngest child was three, she went to Brunel University, where she is now Senior Tutor of the Sociology Department; last year she published the results of a study of how social workers decide to remove children from families where they are at risk.

"Switch on the television, go to a play, watch a film or read a novel and the chances are it will be about adultery, although the word is rarely used nowadays," says Dr Lawson.

Yet despite that, she points out, most people still share a romantic ideal of marriage; mar-

sexual rights on the marriage partners. What Dr Lawson is studying is how far people really do feel committed to the romantic ideal and to the marriage rules—and how they decide to break them.

"Fiction tends to depict adultery as relatively simple to manage—both emotionally and practically," says Dr Lawson. "But I suspect that for many people extra-marital affairs are

adultery as one way to show a marriage has irretrievably broken down. In 1978, of more than 142,000 divorces 35 per cent cited adultery. (Interestingly, most husbands gave adultery as their proof of breakdown; most wives gave cruelty, adultery coming only third.)

One problem may be that marriages are expected to last much longer than when the rules were made. "Till death us do part"

seems less commonly invoked than before.

Part of the sociologist's job has traditionally been to debunk myths, and to ask the questions usually not asked. Dr Lawson says: "Does adultery threaten marriage? May it strengthen marriage? Should marriage change? What kind of debate do people carry on within themselves (and perhaps with others) which provides them with satisfactory explanations of their actions?"

She wants to explore the influence of religious feeling, contraception and women's work. (Contraception not only makes sex outside marriage "safer," but frees women from unwanted pregnancies so that they can work outside the home—and may provide the opportunity to form new relationships.

"I am no theologian or moralist and I don't have the answers. I only see the problems, among these the conflicts that long-term marriages are likely to generate," she says.

Dr Lawson would like to hear not only from individuals or couples who have broken the rules, but from those who haven't, though tempted, and those still making up their minds. Anyone seriously interested should write to: Dr Annette Lawson, Department of Sociology, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH enclosing SAE, and indicating if they are prepared to be interviewed or only to complete a questionnaire. Replies may take four to eight weeks.

The social meaning of adultery is
changing ... nobody now calls
anyone "adulteress" or "adulterer"

entered into only after considerable deliberation, reflection and anxiety, and that they are far from easy to manage."

Sociologists have always been interested in social order—how and why rules are made, by whom, in whose interests, and how they are changed or broken. Dr Lawson believes the whole social meaning of adultery is changing—one sign being that nobody now calls anyone "adulteress" or "adulterer."

used to mean 15 to 20 years. Now because people live longer, it may be 40 or 50 years. Dr Lawson comments, "This expectation takes no account of the ways people change and perhaps grow apart."

Historically, breaking the sexual exclusivity rule of marriage was punished by stoning to death, castration, or mass rape. (Adulteresses usually suffered more than adulterers.) Our penalty is only expulsion

Footnote 3



Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

Head of Department : Professor Keith Hopkins

Convenor : Dr. Annette Lawson

8th June, 1981.

Dear

I am most grateful to you for offering to help me in my research. The response has been magnificent and, because I want to use all the information everyone is offering, I have decided to conduct my study in stages. This means there will be a further delay in my contacting you to complete a questionnaire or to interview you. Please don't give up but, if you move or want any letters or telephone calls sent or made to a different address or number, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Annette Lawson

'Time and again people say an affair made them feel alive. It made them feel their lives were worthwhile,' she said



Polly Toynbee

ADULTERY — such an archaic word, but not, it seems an archaic concept. It is still the reason most often given by men in court as proof of the irreparable breakdown of their marriage. (Women seeking divorce most often claim unreasonable behaviour.)

Annete Lawson, lecturer in sociology at Brunel University, is studying adultery in a wide ranging survey to be completed next year, with a grant from Nuffield College, Oxford, and a publishers advance. There are plenty of studies on marriage, illegitimacy and divorce — but no-one has studied adultery before.

She reckons that by the time people are 40, 40 per cent of women and 60 per cent of men will have committed adultery. (If the mismatch of these figures is puzzling, it does not mean that adulterous women are more active than adulterous men. More married men have affairs with younger unmarried women.)

Annette Lawson's existing sample already contains 600 married or long-term cohabiting people, most of them adulterers — but including a control group of the faithful. She has conducted lengthy interviews with people all round the country of all classes, and last week sent out a lengthy questionnaire to many others. She found most of her sample through an appeal in

a newspaper. Some are only asked to answer the questionnaire, others attend group discussions. She is now looking for other people who would be willing to participate in her research.

"Most people," she says, "seem to have embarked on marriage subscribing to one of two important myths. The most common one is the ideal of romantic love, exclusive and permanent, in which fidelity is of great importance. The other is the belief in 'open' or reasonably 'open' marriage, where the couple values honesty and self-discovery above sexual fidelity. These tend to be a group now in their mid-thirties and forties, who were heavily influenced, by the ideas of the 1960s."

She talks of the difficulties both groups encounter. The first attitude means that all adultery has to be secret. "The keeper of the secret has tremendous power over their partner." The other group feel obliged to hide their feelings, where jealousy is unacceptable, and pain unrecognised. She has found to her surprise that the young of all persuasions, conservative, radical, feminist and non-feminist, almost all subscribe to the romantic myth far more powerfully than those now in their mid-thirties did when they married, undeterred by the fact that if present trends continue, one in three marriages will end in divorce.

She was even more surprised to find that people embarking on second marriages were as idealistic and optimistic about total fidelity as when they married for the first time.

Mrs Lawson is 44, married to a businessman, with three children. She has an infectious, ebullient curiosity about human behaviour. She does not expect her work to come to moral conclusions, but to observe people's attitudes and feelings. In describing the lives of people she has interviewed she is full of sympathy, puzzlement sometimes, and a generous wisdom. She doesn't offer answers about how people

should live their lives, though clearly a large number of those who have volunteered to tell her about themselves did so out of a need to talk to someone.

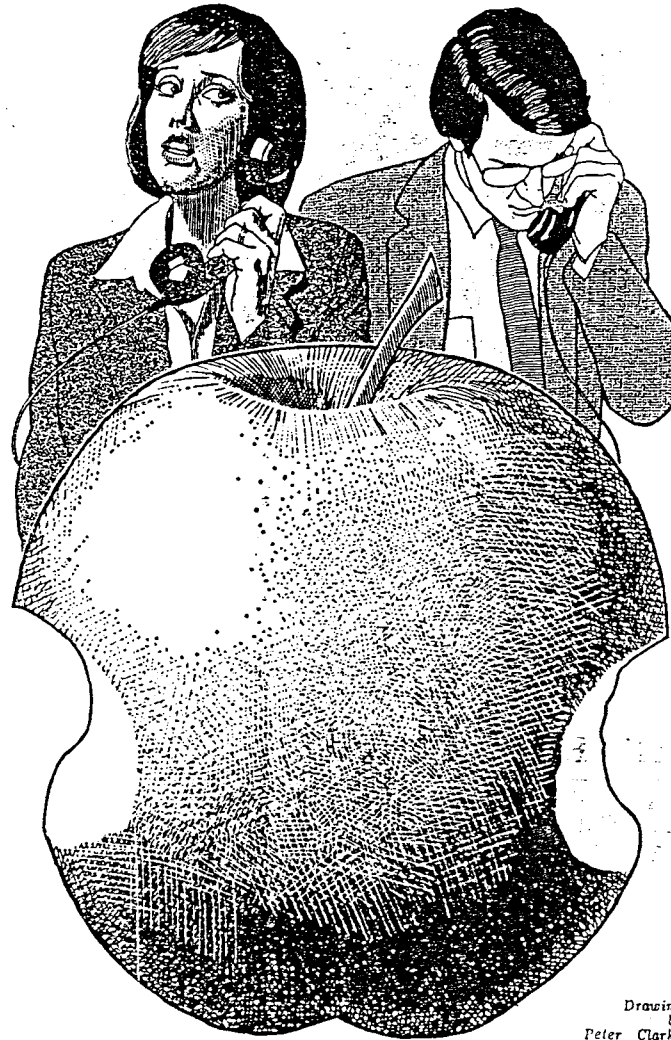
"Adultery," she says, "causes a tremendous amount of human suffering, as well as great joy." Most affairs, she concludes, end unhappily. The majority of her subjects told of both brief encounters and more involving affairs. She asks people whether looking back they consider their affairs were worthwhile. Almost all say yes. Most describe the great pain on parting at the end of the affair, but still say it was worth it. One or two said they couldn't bear to go through it again, most said they might.

"Time and again people say an affair made them feel 'alive'. It made them feel their lives were more worthwhile." She mentioned a 35-year-old woman with teenage children who looked in the mirror and said "My God, is this all there is in life for me?" and went straight out to her local squash club where she fell head over heels in love with a married man.

Fear of death, fear of unchanging routine leading only to the grave is important. People thrash out. "They need the passion and the excitement to feel, quite literally alive, when they felt they were dying. It seems the obvious, perhaps the only alternative to their dull routine."

There are, though, other routes out of these mid-life crises. She recounts the tale of a woman feeling in just that state, desperate and weary of life, who decided against adultery and took a university course instead. "It was a new horizon for her, as she'd never had any education. She found another way. She literally adores her course, and feels the same kind of aliveness, a regeneration."

Interestingly her husband behaves exactly as if she were having an affair. She has to lie to get money for a book, and then reads it secretly in the lavatory,



Drawing by Peter Clarke

because he feels so threatened at her new lease of life, her passionate interest outside the home in something he is excluded from. Would Freudians dismiss that as mere sublimation of sex? She thinks that unfair. Sex can be an easy expression of deeper discontents.

From her work so far she finds most people embarking on affairs do not intend to leave their spouses, and are not necessarily dissatisfied with their marriages. "Life just doesn't seem full enough." The ideas of the sixties have infected everyone to some degree and people feel they have a right to self-fulfilment, and personal growth. It is not enough to define themselves narrowly in terms of their obligation as spouse, or parent. She is sceptical though about this search for "growth" as she is about eternal romantic love.

All kinds of stories emerge at her group sessions. A parcel delivery man said how astounded he had been when he first took the job, at the number of propositions he gets from housewives. When he thought about it he decided it had a lot to do with power. The husband is still usually the dominant controlling partner in marriage. But when it comes to this kind of adultery, the boot is on the other foot. She invited him in, she made the rules, he slept in her bed, and he was the one to leave when she told him.

She was puzzled at some people who came forward as adulterers who had not actually slept with anyone else — adultery of the heart, as Jimmy Carter once put it. One woman had a long and passionate affair, left her husband and family, causing them all great misery, but finally went back home. "It wasn't until I had talked to her for two hours that she suddenly mentioned that she hadn't slept with him. She said it never seemed the perfect moment. But it didn't make any difference to the feelings involved."

She listens to the faithful couples in her discussion groups. "They don't say it's

easy. For them trust in the relationship was the most important thing."

Most people first meet their lovers at work. She had imagined that people would find affairs difficult to organise, and possibly expensive. "But they say it's not so. They nearly all meet in their own homes when their husband or wife is out." Most affairs end when either partner's marriage is threatened. Where marriages do break up, the partners are keen to claim that the affair was not the prime cause. "I don't know if that is actually true. Everyone rewrites their own history as they go along."

Is there more adultery than there used to be? One school of thought holds that human sexual behaviour is pretty constant, but how society organises it changes. "It's very hard to say. If you count Victorian prostitution as adultery, probably there hadn't been a great change. Many more married women are probably committing adultery than used to."

She looks for the roots of people's passionate feelings on the subject. In the past adultery was a grievous sin, as it threatened the male lineage and property rights. For women it was, and in some parts of the world still is, punishable by death. Does something of all that linger on? Why does sexual infidelity still arouse such profound feelings of betrayal and guilt?

She tries to take people's replies at face value. After all, she is not a psychoanalyst. Yet, inevitably her scepticism may show through when people protest too vigorously that they have found the "answer" either in strict fidelity, or in "open" marriage.

Annette Lawson is looking for more people to help her with her research, particularly couples, and men in business, the media, or shopkeepers — both the contented faithful, the adulterous and those who feel they are the victims of adultery welcome. Write to her at The Department of Sociology, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH.

Facts you can't afford to ignore

LOVE and MARRIAGE '83

TODAY the Sunday Mirror reveals the results of a searching investigation into the British way of love, marriage—and adultery. An incredible HALF of all married people betray their partners at least once. As the year ends, our report gives a fascinating insight into modern relationships—and the prospects for love and marriage in 1983.

THE Christmas party season is a particularly dangerous time for married couples who are bored or dissatisfied. A few drinks and a harmless flirt is all part of the fun for most people—but for the partner in a shaky marriage it can lead to an illicit affair. Our report is vital reading for every husband and wife in Britain, especially for the 50 per cent who are faithful—and want to stay that way.

By NIGEL NELSON

LOVE, as the old song goes, is a many splendored thing. Adultery can make it a very painful one. In fact...

Three out of five married men and two in five women will have tasted the forbidden fruits of adultery by the time they are 40.

Dr Annette Lawson is a sociologist at Brunel University, specialising in mental illness and child development. She directed an investigation into adultery when she learned it was a horror that one of her best and oldest friends was having an affair.

The ages of the people she has studied range from 21 to 64. Each love affair is different from every other.

Although Dr Lawson looks no account of class, Marriage Guidance Council research suggests that middle-class people are more likely to have affairs than the working classes.

There can be arbitrary reasons for people being unfaithful.

"It's one of the things I've been most intrigued by," says Dr Lawson. "One woman told me that after her mother-in-law died her husband wouldn't come near her, wouldn't so much as touch her, for a whole year."

Sexual feelings

"With another woman the shock of her own father's death had a very important effect on her."

"After following his death she became involved with a whole string of men."

Of the 600 people Dr Lawson has questioned almost all have been unfaithful, at least once during their marriage.

But she has also interviewed some of the totally faithful 40 per cent of married couples. Not all of them had happy marriages. But what fascinated her were the comments from those who did.

"I have people in my sample who are really faithful and among them there are people who are marvellously happy about that," she explains.

"You might expect that men and women would feel restricted by trying to remain faithful."

"But that isn't necessarily so. I talked to faithful couples who said that they didn't feel fettered by their faithful relationship, but free."

"Obviously they do have sexual feelings for other people—I doubt that there is a married man or woman who doesn't—but there is a big difference between thinking about it and doing it."

"They feel that the trust between them is the most important thing they have and having an affair would betray that trust."

Powerful force

There is also religion. Adultery is forbidden by the Ten Commandments.

"Religion is a very powerful force," says Dr Lawson. "And if you are a Christian then adultery is wrong. It is a sin."

Among those who secretly look lovers, Dr Lawson discovered that the heaviest burden of guilt is felt by their children who are most painful burden to bear.

"Most people would say that honesty is the cornerstone of a good marriage," she continues. "It's a

A shock report on secret affairs to amaze all married couples

very strong value indeed but it's in conflict with another value and that's not to hurt someone else.

"When someone has an affair he or she desperately wants to confess to their wife or husband. But they don't want to hurt them either."

A man Dr Lawson spoke to had been married 31 years when he discovered that his wife was cheating, but on him.

"He could forgive the sexual infidelity," she says. "But he just couldn't get over the fact that she had lied to him after all those years."

"He was shattered by the deception and he is still struggling to come to terms with it."

Not all the affairs Dr Lawson studied were sexual. But adultery of the heart, as America's poetical President Jimmy Carter once called it, can be just as intense, and just as painful.

One woman left her husband and family for another man she was desperately and hopelessly in love with. But the affair ended without them ever sleeping together.

"She had this idea of what a perfect affair would be like," explains Dr Lawson. "She didn't want to have sex with him in the back seat of a car or in a dingy hotel room."

"She wanted sex with him to be perfect and no situation she found herself in with him was ever perfect enough."

Moral codes Many affairs begin at work—usually between married men and younger, unmarried, girls.

"I discovered that a lot of career women won't even think about the men they work with because of such females their jobs are so important," Dr Lawson adds. "Men don't think the same way."

Sex most often takes place in people's own houses when their husbands or wives are out in the home of friends who are willing parties to the coup d'etat.

Dr Lawson wonders whether adultery will always be as rampant as it is now.

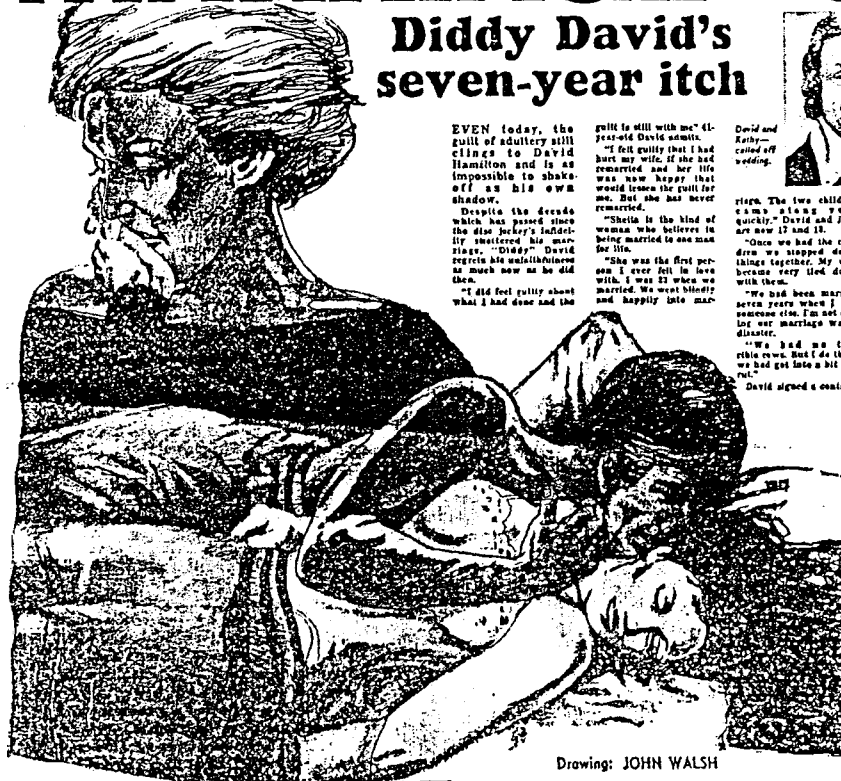
Youngsters between the ages of 18-22 today have a strict code of morality that the first generation, now in their thirties and forties, rejected.

"Many of today's young generation, who are not yet married, are thinking through what they hope for themselves from life," she says.

"They say that when they are committed to someone, sexual infidelity is a very important."

"They can't always explain why they think it is important. They just know that it is."

"But when they are not commit-



Drawing: JOHN WALSH

Diddy David's seven-year itch



David and family called off.

EVEN today, the guilt of adultery still clings to David Hamilton and is as impossible to shake off as his own shadow.

Despite the decade which has passed since the divorce, David's infidelity shattered his marriage. "David" regrets his unfaithfulness as much now as he did then.

"I did feel guilty about what I had done and the guilt is still with me" 41-year-old David admits.

"I felt guilty that I had hurt my wife, if she had remarried and her life was now happy that would lessen the guilt for me. But she had never remarried."

"Guilt is the kind of mind woman who believes in being married to one man for life."

"She was the first person I ever fell in love with. I was 21 when we married. We went blindly and happily into marriage."

The two children came in 1968 and 1970. "I just fell in love with her," remembers David. "I missed the temptation of having an affair with her for a long time."

"But after a month the series was finished. We kept on seeing each other but we no longer had the programme as a distraction."

"We had a terrible row. But I do think we had got into a bit of a rut."

"Then we started seeing each other. Within a matter of weeks I told my wife."

"I was very, very, sorry. Naturally, I moved out and went to live with Ron. But he wasn't really working out. I might have made more of an effort with my marriage."

Understandably, David is now wary of marriage. For years ago he almost married pop singer Kathy McKinnon. But their wedding was called off at the last minute.

David says: "The happy times of my life have been when I have been in love. When you have someone you are crazy about that is the greatest high of all."

"Nearly all the married couples I know are bored or fed up or at least one of the partners is cheating."

But every now and then you find some lucky couples who seem to have found partners for life."

Why a wife was afraid to be left with the plumber

Caroline. "I felt like pulling my arms around him. I'm sure he was feeling the same, so he just stood and kept looking at me with those lovely warm eyes."

"I hated myself for feeling this way. I asked my husband if he would be at home next time the plumber came. He looked puzzled but said I would feel more comfortable with him around."

"When Paul came he had his little girl with him! I could never let him into my home again, not if I really love my husband, my children, him, and his family."

"It has been a year since I saw him. And there have been a lot of men when I've been on my own."

BORED BARMAID'S SEX AFTER TIME

BOREDOM is the main reason for the break up of a relationship, according to marriage guidance counsellors.

Gordon, 46, has been married—more or less happily he thought—for 24 years to Doris, 48. They have three children, two boys in their early twenties and a 16-year-old daughter.

"In the last couple of years our marriage was very much in a rut," Gordon admits. "And we have taken each other very much for granted."

"My wife went out with friends every Friday evening and worked as a barmaid on Saturday nights. Then she started arriving home

Next: Trouble ahead for the 'anything goes' couples

later and later on those evenings. I questioned this but she always gave me a reasonable excuse. I must admit, I did have my doubts."

"Yet I couldn't bring myself to say on her or check up on her. Looking back, I think I was scared of what I might find out."

"When she finally admitted she had found someone else I just broke down completely and cried like a baby."

"Ten stained days later, Doris moved in with her 28-year-old lover."

"She kept saying before she left, 'I'm sure you and I won't be able to get on without me. I don't go out now never know what it would have been like.'"

"She says our sex life was dull in recent years. She says she knew me so well that there was no excitement in sex. Looking back she says that sex with her boy friend is something exciting and new."

"She has hurt me deeply but I truly love my wife and so desperately want her back."

LOVE AND MARRIAGE '83 The report everyone is talking about

by **NIGEL NELSON**

THE TRAP

IN THE first part of the Sunday Mirror's sensational report on the British way of love and marriage we revealed that an amazing half of all married people betray their partners at least once. Today we examine some of the reasons why people have affairs—and the pitfalls of the modern "anything goes" marriage.

Danger for sexy 'swingers'

THERE are two types of marriage in modern Britain.

Most couples still pledge themselves to the traditional one-to-one marriage in which they vow to renounce all others for ever.

But, in the aftermath of the permissive Sixties and Seventies a new kind of partnership has developed—the "anything goes" open marriage.

Brunel University sociologist Dr Annette Lawson has carried out a searching survey of the British way of love, marriage—and adultery—in the Eighties.

She has interviewed over 600 men and women who confessed to having extramarital affairs.

She said: "We're still living in a culture which strongly supports the romantic ideal of marriage. Of one man and one woman and their children living happily ever after."

But in the "open" marriage each partner can sleep

with whoever he or she pleases. It seems more common among 35 to 45-year-olds who were brought up in the Sixties.

"Couples in an open marriage argue that you should not possess another person," said Dr Lawson. "You should be free to explore your own personality."

"They reject the idea of a one woman to one man marriage. They want to stay together and they value their relationship—but sexual exclusivity is not part of it."

Hard work

"Their ideals are honesty, integrity, openness, equality, self-fulfilment and development as a person. Those values are all very admirable but the danger is that one of the partners gets out of step."

"I talked to one woman in an open marriage who even-

tually decided that she didn't want to have sex with other men any more.

"But her husband wanted to continue sleeping with other women and that had become a problem for her."

Although partners in an open marriage try not to be jealous of other lovers, they are, like some animals, strongly protective of their own territory.

"They hate the idea of other sex partners coming into their homes," said Dr Lawson. "Or they might hate having to be in the same house at the same time as their spouse is having sex with someone else."

"Open marriages are certainly very hard work, although I'm not saying they're any harder work than faithful marriages."

Dr Lawson discovered that most people who embark on an affair do so without any intention of

JEALOUSY



Drawing: JOHN WALSH

leaving their spouse. Most just want to try something different and, curiously, few regret taking a lover.

"I kept constantly hearing how 'alive' they felt during the affair, how happy they were, how

young it made them feel," she said.

"Some even said that having affairs improved

their marriages because they were happier, and so better company at home—because they were in love."

♥ The case histories on the preceding page were researched independently by the Sunday Mirror, not by Dr Lawson.



Dr Annette Lawson keeps mum

DR. Annette Lawson (above) started her research into adultery after a close friend had an affair.

Dr Lawson, 44, is married with three children. Has she ever had, or contemplated, an affair of her own?

"I protect my private life in the same way I protect the confidentiality of my informants," is all she will say.

If you have had an experience you feel could help Dr. Lawson's research into adultery, write in confidence to her at: Department of Sociology, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH.

CHEATED WIFE'S NIGHTS OF AGONY

COLIN kept his awful secret from his wife, Linda, for eight years. Then one tearful night, he confessed. All that time he had been having an affair with a widow three streets away.

Colin, 42, left his 40-year-old wife and moved

in with his mistress, ten years younger. A year later he returned to Linda and begged her forgiveness.

Linda said: "We've been back together for a year now and we have a good marriage.

"Our sex life is good—

which it wasn't before—but I can't forget this other woman.

"I can't stop myself thinking about her all the time and I feel so jealous, angry and hurt every hour of the day. At night I have nightmares about her."

Footnote 8:

My hypothesis is that there are two competing myths - the "romantic myth of marriage" (traditional) and "the myth of me" (permissive). Adherents of the first stress the importance of the rule of sexual exclusivity in marriage, family structure (usually including children) and self-fulfillment through marriage and the family. Adherents of the latter, in contrast, stress the importance of self-actualisation or growth to be accomplished (if necessary) outside of the family and marriage, and may include the negation of the sexual exclusivity rule.

ROMTOP (shorthand for "romantic to permissive) was the computer variable name given to the continuum on which people were placed, which "measured" the extent of their adherence to one or other position. The score which placed them was the sum of many separate scores derived from answers to items on the questionnaire. Each item (i.e. question or statement) had a value placed on it. These values were given according to the hypothesis that such a continuum existed. Thus, for example, the statements below were "scored" as follows:-

"True love is the only good reason for getting married."

Strongly agree	4
Agree	3
Neutral	2
Disagree	1
Strongly disagree	0

"Sexual relations outside marriage are always wrong."

Strongly agree	4
Agree	3
Neutral	2
Disagree	1
Strongly disagree	0

"It is important to be true to oneself even if the marriage suffers."

Strongly agree	0
Agree	1
Neutral	2
Disagree	3
Strongly disagree	4

This method resulted in a "score" for each respondent. The higher the "score" the greater the individual's adherence to the "romantic myth of marriage".

The values were hypothetically given. However, a correlation matrix, which was obtained for all terms forming part of question 15, gave support for the ascription of the values. The matrix showed that the statements which made up question 15 formed two distinct clusters. Each statement paired with another statement from the same cluster, had a high correlation co-efficient. Statements taken from different clusters had a low correlation co-efficient. The statements were therefore valued in the same direction as other statements in the cluster and in the opposite direction to statements in the opposing cluster.

The problem with ROMTOP, however, was that any individual who had not answered all the relevant questions was omitted because of the effect of missing values upon the total score. (Missing values were given a score of "0" which automatically reduced the total score, giving the misleading result that the respondent held beliefs at the extremes of the continuum.)

ROMTOP was thus developed into four different scales - "traditional then", "permissive then", "traditional now", "permissive now". The higher the score on each scale, the greater the adherence to the set of values, at a given point in time (i.e. at the point of first marriage or at the time of completing the questionnaire). This new method had two major advantages. First, it gave an indication of the direction of an individual's movement and whether contrary beliefs were held. Second, missing values given a score of "0" no longer had the effect of showing an extreme score where this was misleading. A low score can be checked by looking at the respondent's score on the opposite scale. If both scores are low it suggests a high number of missing values have been recorded.

Footnote 9:

Jackie Burgoyne at Sheffield Polytechnic is currently studying cohabiting couples.

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Theme for Basic Books

Adultery

by

Annette Lawson

1. To judge by language and literature, we might believe "adultery" to have suffered a demise. To judge by divorce rates (so long associated with adultery) or by the stories of soap operas, novels, film and drama, that extraordinary triangular relationship is very much alive. What meaning does it have to speak in synonyms without stigma of the "affair" or the "extra-marital relationship" avoiding in this way the guilt and sin traditionally accompanying the adulterous liaison? And if sin and guilt have lost their association with the breaching of the marital vows requiring the sexual exclusivity of the marital partners why is the adulterous story still high drama? Why do people become so distressed? What does loyalty or betrayal mean?
2. There is little doubt that major socio-economic and cultural changes have occurred in the last two decades which have profoundly altered the relations between women and men. The "permissive" revolution following on the heels of the effective and simple contraceptive pill, the return in very substantial numbers indeed of married women into the market places of the world, the egalitarian ideal represented by the women's movement and the homosexual liberation movements in particular, the challenge to medicine from grass roots patient self-help groups and from health consciousness all have profound effects on these relations. Furthermore these structural and cultural changes are themselves rooted in quite profound individualism, in particular demographic patterns and in both economic boom and crisis.

3. Although there do seem to be certain underlying themes which are employed in societies varying hugely in structure to determine what is to "count" as adultery and what will be tolerated despite a breach of sexual partnership rules, the adulterous relationship cannot remain unaltered as marital relationships change. In particular the relations of power and control within marriage as well as outside it, especially in work settings, are shifting, altering expectations about the content and quality of marriages and hence the potential and nature of breaches in the marriage boundaries.
4. Of course, if people no longer expect marriages to remain sexually exclusive, adultery is indeed dead. But in fact, most people still expect and hope that their relationship will be a faithful one based on love and trust. They expect to find personal fulfillment within the marriage, meeting one another's needs as they grow old together. (This was tested in the study). This in the face of longer life expectancy when, if a marriage is to last a life-time it must, since people still marry young, last a very long time indeed. And in the face of reduced family size, a shorter child-bearing and child-rearing time-span and of the facts of frequent divorce.
5. Using a largely middle class and white British population selected specially for the study and other published results drawn mainly from American and British sources, expectations at the time of marriage have been found still to reflect the only publicly acknowledged reason for marriage - that the couple love one another - and to include sexual fidelity. The sample (drawn from respondents to three major

feature articles describing the study in national newspapers) provides accounts of attitudes and beliefs as a first or later liaison is contemplated, the actions taken, the number and kinds of liaison, its duration and importance to them. The miseries and joys are described and the consequences, also the roles taken by confidantes, spouses, children and others.

6. At the cultural level two major "myths" are described which are identified as central in the reasoning and feeling of couples. (I avoid the terms "value" or "belief" system and "ideology" both for theoretical reasons and because I want to capture an essential element in adultery - its quality as "story" or narrative.) The first I call the Myth of Romantic Love, the second the Myth of Me. The Myth of Romantic Love contains the original romantic love story, which in the Western world is the adulterous tale of the wooing and capture by a glamorous and desirable knight of a lady who belongs to another, usually more powerful man. He is often bound to the lady's lord by codes of honour. In the breach of both the Christian and chivalrous rules, he and the lady are doomed if their love is consummated. It is a toxic tale. The modern version has taken the romantic love and set its consummation within marriage. Not a doomed future but a procreative and positive one is intended. The Romantic Myth also includes the idea that the self can and should be fulfilled within marriage. However, in the daily business of traditional marriage, the partners divide into wife/mother/worker and worker/husband/father and the self may be experienced as stifled just as the message from the outside world transmitted in the media and through all the counselling services describes and expects continuing self exploration and "actualisation". This then constitutes the competing Myth of Me. People become motivated by it and they also use it to justify their actions in setting out to find themselves through a relationship with another - not their spouse.

7. Both myths have strong institutional supports. The latter gains strength in particular from psychology and the human potential movement spearheaded by Abraham Maslow. Where Ehrenreich in The Hearts of Men saw this as having exerted a powerful influence on husbands, freeing them to abandon their traditional commitment to provide for their families, I see it as having been of even greater importance for women as they become increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of marital relationships and with their tightly bounded opportunities. Carl Degler in At Odds gently pointed out the struggle endemic for women between their own needs for self fulfillment and their commitment to to the needs of husbands and children so that everyone can enjoy a satisfying and secure family life; this conflict is at an all time high. The need for control over one's own life and for expansion of the self is by no means limited to women however.
8. The material from the study - both statistical from an analysis of nearly 600 structured questionnaires, and qualitative drawn from intensive tape-recorded interviews with individuals, couples and small group discussions - allows me to describe the debates people entered with themselves or others before a first liaison, the way they believed they could control its outcome and the consequences for their lives. One paradox lies in the idea of power or control.
9. At the outset of a liaison, both men and women believe they can control its outcome. Men often work in organisations whose entire functioning is but dimly understood and where control is exercised over rather than by them. Such a man, feeling perhaps less needed or less necessary to the family, seeks a relationship where he is potent in every sense - an affirmation of "manhood" and of self. Also a place which is secret even from the family. What his superiors keep secret from him he mirrors in the keeping secret of important things from his family. Women, feeling powerless and unable any more to feel really "fulfilled" as wives and mothers, dependent still, especially

when their children are very small, on husbands for their daily needs, or struggling to manage everything on their own and feeling inadequate at it all, also seek desperately for a sense of inner value and a knowledge of their "true" selves. Indeed, where marriage has usually granted the man greater power and authority (though women can exercise considerable emotional power) adultery has been the place where women have often held the reins. In modern times, it is satisfying sex and deep emotion which are primarily sought in the liaison. In fact, another way of fulfilling the romantic dream. But no promise that it will last "for ever" is made. The trouble is that while some liaisons carry no pain and no costs, many do. The successful liaison is, paradoxically, that when there is loss of control. It is the sense of creating in real life a drama of one's own, a story, which gives such intensity and joy to the liaison. But the old twelfth century tales of adulterous love stressed its toxicity. And that remains its true face to-day.

10. Because honesty has been elevated to a high moral plane in western culture, keeping control through secrecy is often not a resolution with which "adulterers" can be content. Furthermore, the good relationship is supposed to be founded on good communication. Thus, when the marriage is felt to be of value still and there is no real wish to damage it (the typical attitude at least before a first liaison), telling about these external relationships often becomes a priority. When both spouses know about them, sometimes the marriage is enhanced, but more often the elusive sense of "trust" is fractured, and, given the traditional requirement for loyalty, the marriage may be perceived as at an end, and what was considered happy or tolerable, unhappy and intolerable.
11. Because I can divide the sample into marriage and age cohorts I can observe changes over time. There are very substantial differences between the women and the men and there are particularly striking

differences between the youngest and most recently married people and older people who married before the sixties or in the sixties. The trends in my data suggest that women have overtaken men in their attitudes to sexual permissiveness and to the liaison as a place where they can find personal joy and exercise power. They have begun to "look like" men in both their attitudes and in their behaviour. This fits with material from other work and from the impression that the successful business, career or professional woman is very much like her successful male counterpart. Men have reduced the number of their liaisons and have moved towards what was a picture more typical of the married women. Thus, adultery has become the affair or the extra-marital liaison but it is still the place where power and control is exercised outside the boundaries set by marriage and within social constraints. Guilt is still felt because a contract and a promise is still breached. The feelings remain intense even in the "open" marriage where the rules are changed so that it is not the woman's body (or the man's) but knowledge which is the prized commodity because there remains intense confusion about love and sex and about the legitimate and illegitimate pursuit of pleasure. The "lessons" to be drawn from the study are general ones about the relations between women and men both in the domestic and in the public sphere.

12. It seems to me that women are mistaking emotional for political and economic power and men are moving to an increasing lack of commitment and intimacy with women. The very recent signs of a shift towards sexual celibacy (Liz Hodgkinson, Sex is not Compulsory), towards increasing numbers deciding not to marry but to live together without legal sanction or to have a child without a father at all (if necessary by artificial insemination) seems to suggest a separation of the institutional from the everyday solution, of feeling and emotion from practical arrangements and a further divide between women and men. It is perhaps towards children that attention should now be redirected.

ADULTERY

*An Analysis of Love
and Betrayal*

ANNETTE LAWSON



BasicBooks

A Division of HarperCollinsPublishers

For
David, Emily, Ralph, and George
and
in memory of
C.P.D.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

How, I wonder, can one adequately thank family, friends, and colleagues in two countries and three universities over far too many years for all the support that has gone into the making of this book? Let me begin with my children.

When I began to work on *Adultery*—not an easy topic to understand or explain to one's schoolmates or teachers—my children were not even teenagers. Now even the youngest is nearly out of school and the other two are in universities. It was the youngest who told me I should dedicate the book to them since, "after all, we are the ones who lost our mother"! Clearly, even in (as I like to think) enlightened homes, us working mums must suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous children. And he need not have worried, for my children deserve much more than a dedication: their love sustains me and their conviction that it would be finished (*must* be finished) has ensured that it was finished. All three helped in practical ways, too, Emily with referencing, Ralph organizing footnotes into endnotes on the computer, and George working with me on the proofs.

In order to accomplish all that has gone into this book, we have had to have a household in London that runs reasonably smoothly and that continues to do so when we are not living in it but in Berkeley, California. Looking after all of us, including cats and fish, has been "Nanny," the person who cared for me as a child and who returned to live with us since 1972. Although now retired, she remains a constant resource, effectively helped by Bernie Hayes. At all times, too, our office, which is in our house in London, has been administered by Vivienne Clark. Her efficiency and loyal support have been of immeasurable importance throughout these years. Although she is employed mainly as my husband's personal assistant, she has searched for questionnaires for me, ordered my work for me, and generally helped us remain sane in times of upheaval.

Then there are my friends—people who, at various times throughout the long years of this study, have been there when I needed them—and some of the times, especially early on, would have been insupportable without them. Among them, in England, Katrin, Camilla, Richard, Charles, Enid, Margot, Paul, Sue and Mac, Dennis and Rachel, the Tackaberrys, my cousin Toni, and my sister-in-law, Penny Tillet, have played important parts, but I thank all my friends—each is precious to me.

In Berkeley we were privileged to live on Tamalpais Road, in the Schorer house—the same Mark Schorer whose work on William Blake I had already discovered and decided to quote before I found myself in his house. Tamal-

לא תנאף

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Prologue

Inside-out

1976

At a dinner in London, my friend Jan, whom I'd known for more than twenty years, said to me out of the blue: "There's something I have to tell you. Charlie and I—our marriage, I mean—it's on the rocks. . . . And that"—she pointed to a man some twenty years older than us—"is the man I am involved with."

I was stunned. Of all the couples I knew, Jan and Charlie seemed among the happiest and most secure. They had been married nearly twenty years. They and my husband and I were contemporaries, all English, all of us celebrating (if such a word can describe how at least one of us felt) our fortieth birthdays that year, and close friends. Marrying some ten years later than Jan and Charlie, I had remained close to them, shared some of their joys and tribulations, and, in the early years of their marriage, taken my own partners to visit them. Their third child, named after me, was a kind of honorary goddaughter to me. I loved both Jan and her husband, an attractive and intelligent man. What does she prefer in this man? I wondered. What does he feel? What does Charlie feel? What on earth has brought this about? And why must it threaten their marriage? Couldn't she just have had an affair with the man? After all, he's married, too.

Over the years, the four of us had joined in jokey conversations, in which Jan and Charlie in particular seemed, if not explicitly, nonetheless clearly to be granting each other permission to step outside the boundaries of marital sexual exclusivity. But never had anyone hinted that such a step might end the marriage. Furthermore, those two marriages involved six children.

In the weeks following the dinner, I became the confidante not only of Jan but also of Charlie. I learned that he, too, had had an affair that summer. This woman also was married and had three children. That brought the toll to nine children. Perhaps her husband and his wife were also "carrying on," and then there would be . . . It was beginning to sound like the "Ten Green Bottles" song that ends with none standing on the wall, only this was in reverse. But soon I learned that there was an adult victim as

well. The husband of Charlie's mistress (lover? girlfriend? what *was* the right word for Sheila?) was quite seriously ill. If she left him, he would be desolated. There was no one else in his life.

These had been secret affairs. It had been Charlie who had broken silence and had told Jan of his involvement, because, he said, he wanted to leave her and live with Sheila. However, Sheila had not finally decided to leave her unwell husband and was afraid she would lose her children. In the confessional, Jan had admitted her own affair. Charlie was devastated. It was one thing for him to be having this relationship. Quite another for Jan, especially as she had not intended to tell him. He said, "I would never have known anything about it if I hadn't told her about me." "But you only told Jan, Charlie, because you wanted to leave her," I replied. "She wasn't going to leave you. Indeed, she had been feeling badly about her neglect of you and the children. She was worried that you were working too hard [his major excuse for absence was 'work'], and Jake [their son] in particular was suffering, she thought, because you were so little at home. She blamed herself. And so she was about to try to put things right."

One thing was made clear to me by both friends. Their marriage had been happy. Each confirmed that they had created together what Donald Winnicott, the English psychoanalyst, might have called a "good enough" marriage.¹ Although Charlie was talking of going to live with Sheila—"just to try it and see what happened"—neither really wished the marriage to end. Rather, it seemed the many dinner-party conversations about possible "other relationships" had been taken seriously by each as a permission to explore, to engage in affairs. Not that any express permission had been sought or granted by either, but each had sensed and accepted a permissiveness, conditional on the preservation of what each perceived as a strong and good marriage. The boundaries set, however, had not withstood the strength of the new relationships. The control each thought he or she could exercise over the course of any affair was a mirage. The "good" marriage had been undermined by the "good" adulterous relationship. As confidante, I also felt and heard the guilt and the fury, the sadness and the pain. Each felt profoundly betrayed by the other. Yet, objectively, each was equally guilty. Charlie, describing his feelings, said, "It's such a mess, isn't it? Last summer I thought anything and everything was possible. I felt fantastic. Now—" While Jan said, "Last summer I was feeling really bad about Sam, and I made up my mind to make it up to Charlie and to try to be a really 'good wife' over the holidays. We were all going away together to Scotland, and I was determined to concentrate on the family and that we would all have a great time together. In the end, Charlie was working so hard, he couldn't come for a whole month and then, when he was there, he had to keep dashing off to 'emergencies.' Some emergencies! It never—not for one moment—occurred to me *he* might have someone else."

I began to piece together the puzzle. Clearly, each had kept special secrets—sexual secrets—from the other. It was talk and telling that had

brought matters to such a pitch. Thus secrecy and telling were important sections of the puzzle. The affairs were certainly not explicable in terms only of an unhappy marriage. On the other hand, at that stage in their marriage—with children becoming less dependent, with both working, Jan at a new career, Charlie at the top of his profession but also beginning to appreciate that dreams he had had of greatness at twenty-five might need to be given up at forty—perhaps they were restless, seeking to fill gaps in experience that they could not (or so they felt) enjoy with one another. Having focused for so long on one another and on their children, perhaps they now felt a wider view was desirable. I wondered whether they had felt that these excursions into self-fulfillment outside the confines of their marital relationship could be kept in properly labeled compartments and not impinge on sacred areas within the marriage. After all, countless liaisons had been managed in this way through the centuries. Now, however, these boundaries had been breached; powerful emotions could not be held at bay or kept in the box marked "profane."

Control thus seemed another part of the puzzle. What, I wondered, was its importance? Had Jan and Charlie experienced life as chaotic and *disordered* in some way so that they needed to take control of it again—that is, of their own lives or, perhaps, of one another? Or was life *too* ordered, too predictable? Did it lack chaos and excitement, the sense of living dangerously that imparts a sense of living at all? Could they be attempting to *reorder* the world according to their own desired pattern? Or was it, perhaps, as popular wisdom might have said, a desire to act irresponsibly, to deny or stave off approaching middle age, to forget the mortgage and the family? Was it an attempt to make up for having married so young? To be free and single and out at work?

Yet, I was struck by the disorder, by the chaos that seemed to have replaced regular and comprehensible patterns. This was certainly not the first marriage to have included affairs in its story, and, it seemed, not all marriages foundered in such circumstances. Indeed, some, it was said, flourished especially because of such relationships. And, despite the sorrow that their marriage might end, Jan and Charlie rejoiced in their affairs; neither was saying, "It wasn't worth it."

As I listened both to Jan and, even more, to her husband, I recognized not just sympathy for their misery but also envy at the excitement of their lives, at their power to attract others and their daring to engage in new relationships outside their marriage. I also recognized fear—fear that the admired structure of a stable marriage could be so fragile in the face of additional (alternative? again, what *was* the right way to describe these third parties intruding on the pair?) intimate relationships. In other words, this happened to be "them." But it could as well have been "us."

Both these adulterous liaisons had begun through meetings at work. It seemed possible that experiences at work would provide another piece of the puzzle. Having been, for the immediately preceding ten years at home

bearing and rearing my own three children, I had, just that year, returned to full-time work—paid work. Even though, unlike Jan, I had had several years of work before leaving to look after my children, I experienced the return as violent in its impact. It was a real culture shock. I was the only woman in the sociology department of my small university near London that year, older than all but two of my male colleagues, yet junior to them in status. I, like so many women of my class and generation, had at thirty-nine re-entered at a level lower than I had achieved at twenty-nine. I recall sitting in the concourse of the dining building, waiting for someone or something, I forget who or what. At eye level were the crotches of hundreds of young men and tens of young women, all identically clad, in their more or less tight blue jeans.

To me, who had never possessed a pair of jeans in my life, this overtly sexual challenge (as I felt) went along with an intellectual one. In my ten-year absence, there had been many changes in sociology. During these first two terms back in full-time employment, it is no exaggeration to say that there was not a single day, including Christmas Day and New Year's Eve, when I did not do some work, even if it was only to fall asleep with an article or a chapter of some academic tome in my hands. I certainly brought my work home; the whole family was involved, willy-nilly, in my job, and my husband had books in the bed.

There is, I know, nothing unique about this experience. Nor did I regret my decision, strongly supported by my husband, to return to work. I rapidly became caught up in teaching and enjoyed my students and my colleagues. I was given considerable administrative responsibility and loved the intellectual stimulation. Other women, not as lucky as I was in obtaining a higher education or a good job, have nonetheless followed similar patterns, perhaps taking a degree, specific courses to equip them for today's market, or some other educational route when their children were old enough. Others have gone back to part-time work or struggle with full-time jobs at the same time as their maternal responsibilities have scarcely reduced. All have left the tight circle of hearth and home and all that that means—its values and its patterns which they understand—and are moving in a man's world. This world is not only often sexually exciting and challenging but is also run in ways that are barely comprehensible to women. We make mistakes because we read the signals wrongly or, rather, not in the way the men who send them intend them to be read. Perhaps, too, our signals are misread, in their turn perceived as wrong.²

Traumatic as it was, this experience of mine is just one tiny part of a huge social change—the return of women, particularly married women into the marketplaces. In England and Wales, in 1971, fewer than one half of married women were working; but by 1981, nearly 60 percent were.³ Since many married women still take time off work when their children are very small, this average hides the fact that over two thirds are working of those aged forty-five to fifty-four.⁴ It seemed to me then—a perception confirmed in this

study as well as in others⁵—that the relationships between home and work, work and love, domesticity and economic public activity are currently being renegotiated—a process entailing for me and Jan, as for many women, considerable conflict.

Certainly Jan and her new love seemed plagued by problems. And, as I heard more and confronted my own conflicting feelings at home and at work, I knew I wanted to try to understand what was going on. I wanted to understand for my own sake but not only from the inside. That is, I wanted to understand my own experience, Jan's experience, and the experience of thousands of others, women and men, as they became involved or perhaps avoided becoming involved in these classic triangles. As a sociologist, though, concerned with examining groups of people, whole institutions, whole societies and attempting to grasp why they are shaped as they are, what changes have occurred or are now taking place, why the people within them are behaving as they do, I wanted to understand adultery as a social phenomenon—from the outside.

Outside-in

How, then, was this to be done? There are, of course, well-recognized sociological research methods, but this subject remains relatively taboo. Indeed, there is almost no academic work by historians, sociologists, or anthropologists that focuses on adultery and no book with the word *Adultery* as its title. Rather, people have written of the "affair," of "playing around," or of "extramarital relations," of the "extra-sex factor" or the "extramarital connection."⁶ These seem to me synonyms without stigma, words and phrases developed to minimize the sense of sin and guilt, crime and shame, that pervades "adultery" with its long foundations in Church and Law. They also mask the fact that adultery has long been a much worse problem when committed by the married woman than by her husband for the penalties for her have been much greater. When I was given leave to pursue this research, I was asked by my university not to disclose publicly what the topic of my study was; I did not think the large-scale funding that would be needed for taking representative or random samples would be forthcoming.

My own preferred way of working in social science is to use every source of knowledge available to me that seems relevant and appropriate to the topic to be studied. Eventually, knowing that I wanted both quantitative and qualitative material—figures and stories—I chose survey methods and in-depth interviews, together with small-group discussions. Three national, major British newspapers published articles about my work, each article ending with an appeal to those seriously interested in participating in the

study to come forward. From these sources, 579 people completed questionnaires that have provided the statistical data, and about 100 were interviewed or participated in the small-group discussions. Both on their questionnaires and in these tape-recorded and transcribed conversations, people told their stories; these have provided the rich accounts that give meaning to the numbers. This was the formally gathered information. Informally, I gained much from constant "people watching," from literary texts and drama—both stage and film—and from the experience of others; as well as painstaking introspection.

Clearly, the people in my study were all volunteers—volunteering, moreover, to speak about something still relatively taboo; still, if not felt as sin or acted upon as crime, an illicit relationship that breaches powerful social norms. This relationship is often also still kept secret, especially from the spouse. How reliable these accounts were must, therefore, be of legitimate concern.

The reasons for accepting the information offered me as worth the reliance I give it are detailed in appendix B, together with a full description of the sample: there were, for example, more women than men (60:40); and sample members were overwhelmingly middle-class, highly educated, and white. This, too, is explained in appendix B, where I also describe my methods; the questionnaire itself is in appendix A. Here, suffice it to say that people came from a whole variety of stances: "faithful" and "unfaithful" (more of the latter than the former, 73:27), "conforming to the marriage vows" and "denying the relevance of marriage vows," "tempted but not (yet) succumbed" and "victim." They came also for a variety of reasons: to help in what they perceived as useful social science—dealing with a problem affecting so many and yet barely touched by academics; because they were puzzled by their own feelings and actions and thought they might learn while contributing; to ensure I would "get it right, since sociologists always get it wrong"; because they felt they had valid and relevant experiences to relate; because, adultery being so taboo, they could speak of it to no one. They came, in other words, to confess. Some perhaps, though I think very few, came to boast.

Yet I do not think them weird exhibitionists but reliable witnesses of their own experience and representative of others like themselves who did not come forward. This I base primarily on two facts. First, their premarital sexual experience is almost exactly as would be expected when compared with information derived from representative national samples. This is important both because premarital and postmarital sexual behavior are said to be related; and because, if the accounts given of this sexual behavior—which, although relatively acceptable now, has only recently become so—were unrepresentative and/or inaccurate, it would be much more likely that accounts of adultery also would be unreliable.

Second, a "snowball" sample—that is, people approached by the volunteers and who then agreed to participate—differ significantly from the

other sample members in only one respect: they do not talk to others about such personal matters. For example, they discussed sexual matters rarely even with their own spouses; they went hardly ever to professional counselors; and they less frequently had confidantes.

Thus, the accounts given by sample members of another recently illicit aspect of their sexual behavior appear accurate, and the stories of others who did not initially volunteer, but who have been involved in these adulterous triangles, do not differ in outline (though, of course, each is unique) from those told by the study volunteers. Finally, these stories tally, too, with those told elsewhere—among friends, on trains, in bars, or in countless novels.⁷

I collected, then, a mass of computer-analyzed data and transcripts of interviews. Another social event prompted ideas useful to the task of analysis.

In the winter of 1984, we were invited with our children to a party by an old friend, one of a group whom we had got to know more than twenty years earlier. All the guests, like ourselves, were middle-class couples—mostly Jewish—with teenage families living in London, and we had originally been brought together at the sort of party our parents gave for their young to meet other "suitable" young people. Courtship, sexual, and marriage patterns have changed so much that a two-generation party where our children could meet suitable partners had become an unusual event. But someone noticed an odd phenomenon: there appeared to be few divorced or separated people on their own, and no remarried couples. Thirty, or even twenty, years ago, it was not the absence but the presence of divorced people that would have been the subject of comment.

It is hard now to recall that divorce was accessible only to the relatively well off; and that, even for the rich, divorce carried social ostracism in its wake. (Divorced people were not admitted to the Royal Enclosure at Ascot,⁸ for example; and, following his divorce and subsequent marriage to Happy, Nelson Rockefeller failed to win the support he needed to run for president.) Someone had to be "guilty," or "at fault," of having caused the divorce, and no one could assume that a mother would obtain custody even of her very young children if she were the guilty party. The "fault" most commonly employed was adultery.

Over centuries of Western culture, divorce has been tied to adultery, for a long time practically the only ground on which a man could divorce his wife.⁹ Adultery breaches *the* rule of marriage—the sexual exclusivity rule—that each must "forsake all others," cleaving from the wedding day forward only to one another. This rule not only requires partners in a marriage to be sexually faithful to one another, it also positively enjoins them to have sex together. A marriage may be annulled if it remains unconsummated, if sex does not take place between the couple. It contains a right—to the body of the other (for the procreation of children, if for no other purpose)¹⁰—and, at the same time, sets firm, high, and impermeable boundaries around

the availability of the marriage partners to anyone else.

But in the Western world today these boundaries are no longer fixed and certain. Indeed, changes have extended beyond what kind of party you can give and for whom, beyond what may be ingested, sniffed, or smoked and how, beyond table manners and the extravagances of dress and hair about which the confused person may appeal to Miss Manners as arbiter, to the facts of sexual behavior. These facts are surprisingly unknown. For example, it is not possible to say what the rates of adultery are, nor how they have changed. We do not even know with any certainty whether adultery is an experience of the minority or majority of married people. I say "surprisingly," for it seems as if there is endless talk about sex. Books and articles proliferate, some schools in some places have sex education, films are increasingly explicit, pamphlets (especially since the AIDS crisis) arrive by mail,¹¹ and the very essence of the sexual and loving relationship is felt to lie in confession—in self-disclosure.

It is no longer at all clear what is private and what public, what may be spoken and what left unsaid, what kept secret and from whom. The boundaries of both sexual behavior and sexual secrets are elastic. People at this party, knowing the publicity my work had received, and linking adultery with divorce, suggested that because I knew "all about adultery," I should explain marital breakdown and marital endurance. But in their questioning I sensed another but apprehensive expectation: that I would speak my own sexual secrets and that I might have hidden access to theirs, an anxiety that the boundaries of what had once been a private, illicit, and secret relation might be breached.

This very ordinary social transaction confirmed the extraordinary paradox that had emerged from my reflections about Jan and Charlie: that while honesty and openness are held to be modern moral goals, individuals need jealously to guard their own secrets, especially their sexual secrets. Adultery is a relationship that is in essence secret though its consequences may become public.

Adultery is, indeed, firmly tied to marital breakdown. It undermines the social order. It may also be a sordid, mundane affair, meaningless and empty. But it is often more than this. Much more. It is a great myth: as Denis de Rougemont long ago told us, as he struggled to understand the unspeakable events that loomed over Europe and wrote of love and war, adultery is often "an atmosphere beyond good and evil, and a drama, either lofty or dreadful; in short a drama—a *romance*."¹² Hence, adultery has to be set in context, both as the underside, the breach of marriage, an undercover institution with its own secret rules, and as a narrative—an adventure and a story—that pulls people constantly to it with the promise of dangerous passion.

Introduction

The Story of Adultery

My lords, if you would hear a high tale of love and death, here is that of Tristan and Queen Iseult; how to their full joy, but to their sorrow also, they loved each other, and how, at last, they died of that love together upon one day; he by her and she by him.

—Joseph Bedier, *The Romance of Tristan and Iseult*

Isolde, Queen of Cornwall. See Iseult.

Iseult, Queen of Cornwall. See Tristan.

—The British Library, London, Main Catalogue

Legends opening with words like these, irresistible to listeners everywhere, and long ago forming the backbone of ballads sung by roving troubadours, told of the love of a knight for a lady who was always already betrothed or married to another—a lord, often one to whom the knight owed allegiance. The knight was doubly bound by the code of honor that sustained chivalry and by the Christian ethic, forbidding the consummation of any love but that between married couples. As part of his knightly duties, he had to undergo all manner of trials of his strength and his wits, pitting good against evil, but also to demonstrate to his lady how deserving he was of her love. To succeed in this goal of love was a moral—a virtuous—goal. He had to prove himself worthy of her and overcome many obstacles to gain her. But, if he was successful, if he did capture her, and if their love was consummated, death—since it was adulterous, passionate love—would surely follow.¹

The ballad epitomizing such fatal love is that of Tristan and Isolde—the "great European myth of adultery."² This myth remains firmly lodged in Western consciousness, running—as such stories must—underground, not

The Adulterous Myth in Modern Times

In modern times, certain elements retain a particular importance (among them, even the love that is never consummated): the continuing heroism in overcoming obstacles for love and the longing to possess the unobtainable; pleasure in the illicit and secret (not only in the secret, forbidden relationship but also, perhaps, in the deeper secrets of tantrism and goddess worship); the drama of meeting and separation; the feeling of being overtaken by emotion and yet powerful; the suffering and the deep betrayal that is always involved of an Other and sometimes of an Ideal; the challenge to social order together with the possibility of punishment and exclusion from civil society; and the fact that adultery has no place of its own. As Tony Tanner, in his analysis of three of the greatest nineteenth-century novels of adultery, has written:

If society depends for its existence on certain rules governing what may be combined and what should be kept separate, then adultery, by bringing the wrong things together in the wrong places (or the wrong people in the wrong beds), offers an attack on those rules, revealing them to be arbitrary rather than absolute.¹³

In chapter 1, "What Is Adultery?" I pursue these elements and, throughout the book, they recur in the stories of individuals.

For the man, much remains unchanged. The would-be lover can still feel the thrill of embarking on a quest for good. In achieving his quest, he conquers another man's wife or, perhaps, another woman who is forbidden him because he already has a wife. All manner of boundaries are breached; he is a rebel, choosing people, places, and moments that might minimize danger and yet meet deeply felt psychological needs. He wins her because of his own potency; he *merits* her. He may win her because of his high status relative to her, because of his charm, his looks, his sense of humor, his flattery of her, his money, or for many other reasons. He *feels* it is entirely his own achievement. In modern times, people gain much of their sense of self-worth from their work—indeed, the identity of men may be so bound up with their occupation that when they are unemployed, they cannot say who they are; but in this relationship the lover is not dependent on his employer for congratulations and rewards—only on the lady for affirmation of his worth. When a man chooses a brother's or a best friend's wife as his adulterous partner, we see again the drama of double betrayal—the male bond undermined in deadly rivalry. In book II, chapters 6 and 7, I relate these experiences.

However, in most cases, the lover is not betraying the woman's husband but his own wife. The myth depicts Tristan's wife, Isolde of the White Hands, as barely relevant to his feelings: she is the subservient and suffering

yet nurturant wife, denied even the joy of children. Her part is scarcely one many modern women desire or happily fulfill; yet many women in history and even now bide their time, not free to leave, unwilling to fight until opportunity beckons when they may strike with deadly force. In times of greater freedom for women and in a world where egalitarianism is an ideal (if not a fact), similar double betrayal and rivalry occur between wives and "other women"; but there have yet to be established bonds of sisterhood in this arena to match the brotherhood of men.¹⁴ And there is a particular conflict for modern women in Isolde's story: longing still for the conquering lover who woos them with such finesse and bravery, they also desire autonomy and control. They want simultaneously to be magically transported and to determine their own fate. Throughout my book, women speak of these two desires. It is by no means clear, however, that women desire an unobtainable man or one more powerful than her husband; nor that for women obstruction is necessary to erotic desire as Freud thought it was for men.¹⁵ That she may still enjoy rebellion in the face of severe constraint is, however, clear in the stories of modern women. As Shulamith Firestone some time ago suggested, even love may be "complicated, corrupted, or obstructed by an unequal balance of power."¹⁶

The myth of adulterous love remains ubiquitous: the story is hard to avoid. Pick up almost any novel, go to almost any film or play, listen to a popular song, and the chances are high that it will deal centrally with adultery. Simultaneously, over many months in London between 1982 and 1984, full houses attended a number of plays by serious playwrights: Peter Nichol's *Passion Play*, about a happily married middle-aged couple whose life is destroyed when the husband is seduced by a "siren-girl"; Tom Stoppard's *The Real Thing*, about various adulterous liaisons in plays and among the actors playing the characters in the plays; and Harold Pinter's *Betrayal*, about a wife's love affair with her husband's good friend.¹⁷ In 1984, Wagner's opera of *Tristan and Isolde* was played in five capitals of Europe; and even more recently, in 1987 and 1988, it is being produced in several major cities of the United States. In 1984, the Booker Prize for literature went to Anita Brookner's *Hotel du Lac*, a story of a woman trying to break away from her adulterous lover and failing to find true happiness in marriage. Three years later, one critic attending the Booker Prize dinner was heard to mutter, "I want Chinua Achebe's book to win because it's the only damned book *not* about adultery." In Boston, Camerata, a musical group, has returned to early sources of both music and text to develop a new musical version of *Tristan and Isolde*; they will take it in 1988 to the Far East and Europe.¹⁸

Less elevated and typical of so many inexpensive novels, dramas, and comic strips, and reaching at least as wide and a very differently constituted audience, *Jackie*, a British teenage girls' comic magazine, in 1983 published the "Last Fairy Tale" depicting a prince who rescues a maiden hidden deep in a forest and about to marry the ugly troll who has stolen her kingdom.

The prince is given the magic "word" that, when used, weakens the troll and enables him to fight the creature with bare hands.¹⁹ In this modern tale, it is, however, the princess who picks up her suitor's sword and kills the troll. Alas, she is not permitted public recognition but acquiesces to her lover's request that she keep this brave act secret: the triumph will be his alone. She, once more, gains a conquering hero. Films, too—from *Brief Encounter* of some forty years ago (where the lovers part and the would-be adulterous married woman returns to the protective love of her husband) to *Fatal Attraction* launched in 1987 (where the "dangerous," modern professional and single woman seduces the married man, only to be murdered by his devoted wife)—continue to focus on the ancient conflict, working it around contemporary anxieties, and reach an audience of millions covering the whole social spectrum.

We are as obsessed with the adulterous liaison as ever the nineteenth century was. That century produced, with *Anna Karenina* and *Madame Bovary*, just to mention two, some of the greatest literature of all time to focus on this topic.²⁰

But our obsession is justified for this is not only a story: it is a myth.

The Power of the Myth

"Myths," wrote Mark Schorer, "are the instruments by which we continually struggle to make our experience intelligible to ourselves. A myth is a large, controlling image, that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life, that is, which has organizing value for experience. . . . Without such images, experience is chaotic, fragmentary and merely phenomenal. It is the chaos of experience that creates [myths] and they are intended to rectify it."²¹ Myths are *necessary* for human existence (Schorer wrote of the "Necessity of Myth") because they delineate and explore fundamental "constant relations" that have become unrecognized and unspeakable perhaps because they are in opposition to contemporary rules of conduct or beliefs. The myth permits us "to become aware at a glance" of these relations and "to disengage them from the welter of everyday appearances."²² Emile Durkheim thought myth suggested the sacred rather than the profane, but this does not mean myths deal only with what is specifically considered religious in any given society; rather, myths deal with human feeling and experience: they may also narrate the search for good and attempt to bound evil. For the Jungian Joseph Campbell, the myth "is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation. [Even] the very dreams that blister sleep boil up from the basic, magic ring of myth."²³

Schorer stresses both meaning and control. The myth has power. De Rougemont thought, indeed, that the "most profound characteristic [of the symbolic fable] is the power it wins over us, usually without our knowing," even when this power is exercised only in our dreams.²⁴ We need

myths, then, and they control us; yet they remain narratives, dramas, adventures. Myths help us make sense of our experience, yet they also contain guiding principles to new experience. Above all, the myth is not false. Quite the reverse, for it expresses hidden truth. To denigrate something as "mere myth" reflects the anxiety that what has been symbolically said may indeed be really true.

The myth speaks, then, of "constant relations" or continuities that are true. But each historical period has a dynamic and structure that varies and will select from the fable those aspects—those continuities—that illuminate its particular struggles. Furthermore, in stratified societies, not all social classes share the same myths, nor would the same truths apply. In Tristan and Isolde, according to de Rougemont's analysis, feudal rule, the Christian Church, Manichaeism heresies, the laws of chivalry and courtly love all did battle within its drama. Clearly, so too did the relations of power between men and women of that particular noble élite. When the myth surfaces in our own times, we may be sure our own divisions and struggles will be reflected there. Again, throughout this book, I notice both change and continuities traced to modern upheavals in structural and cultural arrangements.

Adultery as Story

In a concrete way, Phyllis Rose, in her analysis of five literary marriages in nineteenth-century England, has employed the idea of the myth as "imaginative patterns—(or) mythologies"²⁵ to explain how a marriage may be experienced as happy or miserable. For Rose, marriages, which she calls "parallel lives," are not so much objectively measurable as happy or miserable but share or fail to share a story. Sharing an imaginative construct or story line, the marriage that from the outside appears quite disjointed may be experienced as smooth and unruffled. Thus, the marriage of John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor—whom, in traditional courtly fashion, he had had to win, overcoming the obstacle of her first marriage—was, "objectively" speaking, far from happy, yet they clearly shared an "imaginative construct" of the rights of women which both believed they were truly *creating* and *living* together.²⁶

To create and live one's own story appears impossible. Despite social upheavals of great magnitude that permit a florid pluralism of dress, behavior, and manners, particularly to the young, there remain powerful constraining forces—material and cultural. Intimate relations and personal life, however, offer an adventure that *appears* unrestricted even as it deliberately and consciously breaches powerful norms. In a democratic age, no one need be a real princess or knight but may *live* this story for themselves. Each can have an adventure (in Italian, *l'avventura* also means "the future") that seems invented spontaneously but springs from the source of the adulterous love myth which for centuries has taught that the pursuit of passionate love is noble. Further, in a historical moment when the goal of self-

knowledge is itself morally good—even a moral imperative—passion promises the power of self-awareness in a way that is qualitatively different from other paths to such enlightenment because we think we shall discover “real life.” According to de Rougemont, however, this real life is impossible to know: “Suffering and understanding are deeply connected; death and self-awareness are in league.”²⁷ The modern story maker, excising death from the calculation, nonetheless recognizes these deep connections. It becomes worthwhile to risk pain and suffering in order to live this story, especially since it is in living this story that so many in my sample felt, sometimes for the first time, that they were “really alive” and, even, *why* they were alive.²⁸ Adultery “renarrativizes” lives that have come to feel empty of meaning without a sense of moving forward purposefully—lacking story.

Phyllis Rose puts strongly the need of human beings to create narratives that give coherence and meaning to their lives: she argues that it is not facts that give rise to the story, but vice versa; the story gives rise to the “facts.”²⁹ Similarly, the novelist-heroine of *Hotel du Lac*, describing her approach to her love affair, “sometimes thought that the time spent working out the plots of her novels had prepared her for this, her final adventure, her story come to life.”³⁰ Thus I understand adultery *as* story, a particular drama central to Western culture, but always, because it is a story, available for creative rewriting. The participants in this study created, lived, and narrated their own stories.

I have said that each historical period has a dynamic and a structure of its own, and that what is true for one class (or gender) within any one society may not be true for another. Clearly, to speak of Western culture also masks the divisions of nationality and language. In the twentieth century, television has become a major carrier of mass culture reaching into the living room of almost every household—and many bedrooms, too—simultaneously and paradoxically diffusing a “florid pluralism” and a small number of dominant, or—as Antonio Gramsci, the great Italian philosopher-revolutionary, called them—hegemonic ideologies that are powerful at every level, for both women and men and, I believe, across the Western world.³¹ One of the most important of the narratives told by television is again, according to Roland Barthes, the story of adultery—not, he suggests, just in fictional, dramatic form but also in talk shows and interviews. Describing an interview with an actor, Barthes wrote, “The interviewer *wants* the good husband to be unfaithful: this excites him, he *demand*s an ambiguous phrase, the seed of a story.”³² Television programs are sold from one nation to another; travel is no longer limited to the elite few; and in many hotels all over Europe and the English-speaking world, it is often difficult to know where one has landed. International and supranational corporations and institutions provide working environments that are more similar than dissimilar whether they are located in Rome, New York, or London. Often the same films are seen and books read in Paris as in San Francisco and Madrid. I do not wish to imply there are no differences for there are—

profound ones—but with respect to the place in culture of the Myth of Romantic Marriage which embraces so much of the adulterous love story, and the Myth of Me, the two mythologies central to my thesis, I emphasize what is shared.³³

I choose the term *mythology* or *myth*, rather than *ideology* or *value* or *belief system*, because in everyday thinking *ideology*'s marxist connotations might imply *false* political belief, while the functionalist and consensus connotation of *value system* fails to take account of the considerable conflict that is experienced as people employ the myths in competition as both justification and explanation for their actions, particularly in adultery. But especially I wish to capture the idea of adultery as story, and a myth is, above all, a narrative.

The Myth of Romantic Marriage and the Myth of Me

Romantic love, instead of being an accident to marriage, . . . [is] the basis on which all marriages must be built.

—Kenneth Walker, 1957

I remember consciously thinking, “I am thirty-five—that’s half way to threescore years and ten. What have you done with your life? I’ve got teenage kids. I’ve been married seventeen years. There must be more to life than this. What had I done so far? What had I achieved?” . . . I think I was very much aware of being my parents’ daughter; my husband’s wife; my children’s mother—but who was I? There must be more in it, I felt, for *me*.

—Fanny, study participant

Medieval courtly love had separated marriage and love: they were seen as in complete contradiction.³⁴ Scholars argue whether and, if so, when this essentially dark and dangerous passion became enclosed within the safety of conventional and institutionalized marriage, an arrangement that is expected to be creative and life giving. All agree that if the partners do not choose for themselves, romantic, passionate love cannot be the basis of marriage. C. S. Lewis, for example, noting that in past times many had little say in the choice of their marital partners, wrote that “where marriage does not depend on the free will of the married, any theory which takes love for a noble form of experience must be a theory of adultery.”³⁵ He was perhaps thinking of the kind of family depicted in 1818 by the writer Susan Ferrier in her novel *Marriage*. Her seventeen-year-old heroine was roundly scolded by her father, Lord Courtland, when she timidly suggested she might be

allowed to choose a "man of her heart," for it was her obligation "to marry for the purposes for which matrimony was ordained amongst people of birth—that is, for the aggrandizement of her family, the extending of political influence—for becoming, in short, the depository of their mutual interest."³⁶ Certainly this passage suggests that the landed gentry and aristocracy in early nineteenth-century England might desire romantic love within marriage but would not be free to choose it—especially where daughters were concerned.

The American historian of English love and marriage Lawrence Stone has traced four stages (that may not apply equally to all social classes, and that overlap to some extent) in the development of free choice by marriage partners:

In the first, marriage was arranged by the parents with relatively little reference to the wishes of children; in the second, parents continued to arrange the marriage, but granted children the right of veto; in the third, the children made the choice but the parents retained the power of veto; in the fourth—which was only reached in this century—the children arrange their own marriages, with little open reference to—but under a good deal of subtle influence from—their parents.³⁷

For Stone, marriage, instead of being founded upon rational choices not always or exclusively made by the two partners, became in the twentieth century a question of falling in love and marrying on the basis of that desire. In fact before the wedding, parents now may barely know the person their children have chosen: a student writing to her professor, Laurence Lerner, told him she was engaged "to a young man I was introduced to by my father: seems rather quaint in this day and age."³⁸

Meanwhile Alan Macfarlane has recently argued that England is a special case: just as, according to his earlier work, individualism developed much sooner in England than in the rest of Europe,³⁹ so English people—whether propertied or propertyless—have always (the period examined is 1300 to 1840) been relatively free of parental control in making marriage choices and have based them on a balancing of the desire for a long-lasting loving relationship of deep friendship and companionship with economic considerations.⁴⁰ This is because in England parents had much less control over their children and were separated from them through apprenticeship, tutoring, and domestic service from an early age, while the legal-economic structures expected and enabled the establishment of separate households by young couples. Macfarlane acknowledges, however, that he has few women's reports on which to base his analysis; yet their choices are likely to have been much less free than those of men.

In America, Ellen Rothman finds that while people have perhaps always hoped for love in marriage, from around the mid-eighteenth century "Americans were beginning to make love between men and women a neces-

sary rather than a desirable precondition for marriage."⁴¹ De Rougemont indeed, thought that "in America the terms 'love' and 'marriage' are practically equivalent; that when one 'loves' one must get married instantly."⁴² Perhaps this is somewhat exaggerated, yet it captures the *necessity* for marriage as well as the solid link between love and marriage made by Rothman: it is really only in very recent times—over the last two decades—that marriage *itself* may be relatively freely chosen or rejected, whether or not individuals make the choice largely unfettered (overtly) by parents. Particularly for women, few alternatives for economic advancement and security have been available; and for men who must work outside known communities and often far from families, marriage, too, has been not only their best choice for nurturance and security but even the "haven in a heartless world."⁴³

Furthermore, it was in England that Kenneth Walker, whose words appear in the first epigraph to this section, somewhat unexpectedly for a medical writer emphasized romantic love as the "basis for marriage."⁴⁴ And even Macfarlane seems to feel there has been something of a qualitative shift since love—or knowledge of it—became in the eighteenth century "instituted irrationality" at the heart of marriage.⁴⁵ Culture was turned into nature: that is, the most unnatural willed decision became felt as the most natural and most profound bond. This natural and most profound bond is inescapable as a moral goal for the modern person. Especially for women, to love and to be in love is to become the good and whole person, a hero.⁴⁶ To base a decision to marry on the feeling of love is part of the moral goal, while love has undeniably become the only publicly acceptable reason for marriage—or, indeed, for any long-term committed equivalent relationship.

While some of the people Macfarlane quotes wrote that, for the successful marriage, passion was necessary as well as esteem and affection, few stressed the passionate and erotic forms of love. Thus, it seems, the kind of love earlier generations hoped for in marriage was generally *agape*, creative and life-giving love, not much infused with *eros*, the dangerous passion (dark and of the night) that is adulterous love.

But *eros* and *agape* are not now divided into separate spheres: both are desired. As Robert Sternberg has suggested, the decision to marry is based on both passion and intimacy coupled with commitment: these are the points of the triangle of the romantic love that provides the basis for marriage.⁴⁷ No longer is it praiseworthy to yearn for another lady who is someone else's wife, but this ideal soulmate should be one's *own* wife. Romantic love has become the most desired experience of life—the fantasy of the West. Thus an ideal of Romantic Love has been bounded by the conventional form of marriage and a great modern myth—the Myth of Romantic Marriage—has been created.

Central to the Myth of Romantic Marriage is thus an ideal of a love for one other person—and only one—which will last. But for how long? Once

the answer was clear: as long as both live. Now permanence cannot be separated from the ideal of love: permanence means as long as love lasts—until the death, we might say, not of the body but of the soul. It is the quality of the relationship that must carry the weight of marriage; this is valued, not the solidity of the institution itself. Hence, the reasoning of those who choose not to marry, and see the contract as one only between two freely acting individuals more or less detached from families, communities, workplaces, religious and political institutions. Indeed, the institution of marriage has lost much of its solidity—the high divorce rate is proof enough of that. Nonetheless, those marrying (and the vast majority of people still spend at least part of their lives married) expect and hope for permanence: they do not, as they enter marriage, intend a temporary relationship.

Sexual exclusivity and permanence are the linchpins of the myth. Thus, at the broad, dominant cultural level, people are *expected* to find—that is, they *should* find—a love story within their marriages. This love story begins with an expectation that the relationship will be one of partnership between equals, not one of domination and subordination—one variously termed “companionate,” “egalitarian,” and “symmetrical.”⁴⁸ “Happy ever after” is thus a phrase containing whole sets of ideas and images about a future, patterned not randomly but according to expectations and fantasies. This is a commonly shared, if rather rough outline story because it is not unique to each person. Each of us brings to a partnership an idea of how the story of our lives together will go that has unique elements but it is set within these broad outlines.⁴⁹ It is the way in modern times to experience oneself as *good*—that is, as morally worthwhile. Loving and being loved, being “in love,” are virtuous conditions—the “proper” goal for every adult and particularly for every woman. In this sense, the story is a “public morality,” as described by Margaret Voysey explaining the ways families with handicapped children cope: they use accounts publicly well rehearsed but *not* false, ideas about what a happy or normal family *ought* to be like.⁵⁰ These “public moralities” appear to be spread much more widely across social class and ethnic lines than ever before. Certainly the desire for romance—which is, after all, a love story—is by no means the property of any one class.

The Myth of Romantic Marriage receives powerful support from a whole range of social institutions, many benefits, both economic and social accruing to the married⁵¹ and the message being powerfully broadcast in all the media. In particular, news stories of the ideal romances of real, living princes and princesses such as the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Duke and Duchess of York—romances that fascinate nations throughout the world—serve to perpetuate and enhance the mythology. Even rumors that suggest all is not well imply how important it is that these marriages survive. Similarly, gossip about the rich and famous—politicians or stars of rock, film and stage, for example—who are seen with people other than their spouses also serves to support the mythology of the permanent and

sexually exclusive marriage, for gossip, even as it indicates ambivalence about a rule, is simultaneously a technique of rule enforcement. It has often worked through its effect on the *reputation* of those who are the subject of gossip; indeed, the cuckolding of men (something the adulterous woman did *to* men) was one way that women exercised power over men. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, thousands of cases of *criminal conversation* (sexual intercourse) were brought in the courts both to protect the reputation of husbands by obtaining an adultery payment or fine from the wife's lover to compensate him for the damage he had suffered, and to obtain the necessary grounds to proceed to the ecclesiastical court for a divorce. I explore these ideas and consider the influence of the myth on modern women and men in chapter 2, “Marriage Lines,” and chapter 8, “This Telling Business.”

Once marriage became the place where love and sexual fidelity were linked, successful consummation and expression of this love was supposed to lead not to death but to creative life—the marriage providing the source of nurturance, both for the partners to it and for their children. Within marriage, therefore, a journey is now promised during which both wife and husband should find fulfillment. At marriage, the hope and expectation is that through this love the partners will grow together in such a way that they can and will help each other on the path to self-fulfillment: thus marriage should also provide for the fulfillment of the self, an ideal of its own.

The Myth of Me is the story of the development of the self throughout life. Although at the outset encompassed within the Myth of Romantic Marriage, this adventure, while encouraging interrelatedness, requires no one Other: it is a journey of and for the Self. The goal, requiring that each person risk the loss of secure and known positions for the danger of new and exciting challenges, is to achieve the peak of self-actualization⁵²—the height of maturity. The myth is not new but it has achieved new prominence in recent times; indeed, it was a modern writer, Tom Wolfe, who coined the phrase the “me generation” to describe the young most affected by the turbulent late 1960s and early 1970s. In the search for true self-knowledge, people must explore all facets of themselves, including their sexuality.

Self-development *need* not lead to estrangement from the chosen Other, for the strongest relationships may well be those that permit autonomy to each partner while encouraging a way of loving that Francesca Cancian has termed *interdependent* rather than *independent*,⁵³ but, alas, for many, and particularly for women, the pursuit of selfhood often does involve conflict since their self-interest is so frequently “at odds”⁵⁴ with the interests of their family members—both husband and children. Thus, it may become difficult to achieve the Myth of Romantic Marriage ideal while embracing a program to develop the self, for the exploration of one's many facets is unlikely to be accomplished with just one other life partner. If this life partner, too, is simultaneously engaged in the same quest, the chances of fitting facets becomes remote indeed, particularly since, in the West, life expectancy for

both men and women is so improved that death is most unlikely to intervene to shorten the marriage as once it did.⁵⁵ While such long lives lived with one other life partner may develop with various new themes and shared adventures, they may also become devoid of this necessary sense of "story": a life lacking narrative, the sense of moving through time purposefully, of adventure and of knowing that one is alive.

Marriage tames adventure to a journey involving hard work but little play, a space well if not impenetrably bounded against invaders, with little opportunity for heroism or rebellion, excitement or danger. Indeed, the only heroism may be in overcoming obstacles in making the marriage work and endure—still no playground. Hence, the Myth of Me, instead of being encompassed within the marriage story, may, as in a Venn diagram, slip out from under and then compete with the Myth of Romantic Marriage. Perhaps it still overlaps in parts with the marriage story, but it may also offer a justification for breaching the boundaries of marriage and for living a different story, the story of adulterous love where, perhaps because it is a theme of such importance in the West, it seems to the adventurer that the self may best be found. Some of the study members who most strongly espoused the Myth of Me are described in chapter 3, "Changing the Contract"; while the myth itself is further explored in chapter 4, "Keeping Faith."

In chapter 5, "The Debate," the way individuals shift adherence from the Myth of Romantic Marriage to the Myth of Me, and manage conflict as they contemplate a first adulterous liaison, is addressed. Fanny's words—the preamble to her first liaison—in the epigraph to this section indicate the importance the Myth of Me has had, particularly for women as, supported by newer humanistic psychologies and the women's movement, they have begun to feel entitled to pursue self-development even when to do so presents the conflicts I have outlined. Returning in such large numbers to paid employment outside the home, women have attended closely to such reasoning.

However, the appeal is not limited to women. Despite the profound narcissism implied in the Myth of Me, it couples quite comfortably with the notion of "openness." People who value this notion must be unrestrained, honest with one another at all costs for a proper flowering of their personalities. Maturity requires the ability to face unpleasant or difficult truths, "working through" them and not—to continue the jargon, "acting out." These ideas thus fit with the current stress on "communication," a catchword describing a general panacea. We live in a culture where talk seems the solution to all problems. But the necessary content of that talk and of that communication has been left ill defined. Nor is sufficient attention paid to the listener. What will the response be? What can be heard and taken in? Whose need is being met? What might be the speaker's underlying motives? People search for a sense of wholeness, of belonging, of being not jagged at the edges but rounded as a circle.

To become profoundly intimate with another person in both "body and

soul"—that is, in a sexual and an intellectual embrace—is a way, perhaps the most satisfying way of all, to attain that rounded wholeness. The Myth of Romantic Marriage is by no means opposed to this wholeness, but it should be achieved not by breaching the boundaries but by maintaining them and bringing into the marriage the talk, the honesty, the "integrity," and hence the "trust" which both those in traditional, sexually exclusive and those in the permissive, open marriage say they have.

The partners in the open marriage, expressing their feelings in chapter 3, recognize that passion declines over time and, perhaps, that obstacles are necessary to passion. In any event, by permitting the flame to be rekindled in new relationships, they seek to ensure that dwindling passion does not interfere with their long-term commitment to and intimacy between one another. But there is a difficulty. Love cannot generally be perceived as packaged in this way, and is seldom experienced as divisible. A new falling-in-love, then, becomes the justification for transgression of that marriage. "I couldn't help myself—I fell in love," becomes sufficient reason for divorce, even if the infidelity itself is not condemned.

Two or more loves at a time does not seem an easy or a much desired pattern for many people, and particularly not for many women, perhaps because the very concept of love includes sexual exclusivity. Tristan, remember, was faithful to his love for Isolde the Fair in his refusal to consummate his marriage to Isolde of the White Hands. Certainly people in this study (albeit more women than men) repeatedly explained, like Janet, a young woman in a northern industrial town, that "if you really love someone, you don't never want anyone else, never mind you go and sleep with them." Monogamy is preferred, and hence the serial monogamy of the person who will have no affairs but six marriages. Those who do manage more than one affair at a time seem to stress the "purely physical" over the emotional gains; they separate sex and psychology. Men, perhaps, have been frequent users of this theme, enjoying the bawdy house "for the sex" and claiming they have to have extramarital affairs to satisfy their sexual appetites, as if there were no relationship between the enjoyment of sex and the feelings engendered. This "scientific" and masculine argument that sex is a "drive" or "need," which must be "gratified" lest it erupt in violence, has been left in place, while another gentler idea of sex as sensuous pleasure, good for recreation and enjoyment and for the delight of the participants, has surfaced.⁵⁶ These different ideas of sex have an important function in defining the adulterous liaison: the various types of adultery I have identified are described in chapter 1. These are: *parallel* (to the marriage, often condoned), *traditional* (secret and potentially threatening to the marriage), and *recreational* (for the pleasure and enjoyment of participants, rarely perceived as a serious breach of the marriage). Each may be *supportive*, *dangerous*, or *transitional*—that is, serving to help the individual leave the marriage; there are no clear boundaries between them, and any one relationship may change as it proceeds.

The "Sexual Revolution" and the Masculinization of Sex

The idea that sex might be enjoyed purely for pleasure has permitted women as well as men to claim that sexual relationships can be enjoyed separately from profound (intimate) love and from any durable commitment. And women, too, have begun more often to use another argument stressing similarity rather than difference between the sexes: women, like men, have sexual needs to be satisfied, separately from any emotions they may have.

Indeed, the so-called sexual revolution was a revolution of—if not for—women. It is women's sexual behavior that has changed over recent decades. Women used (often) to be virgins at marriage. Now they are not, and they have sex with a greater variety of partners than once they did. Fewer married women used to have adulterous liaisons than married men; now the proportion who have such liaisons may nearly equal that of men. And those women who had liaisons, had many fewer than men (see chapter 2). Women still restrict the number of their lovers but, as can be seen in chapter 6, "The *When*, the *Where*, the *How*, and the *Who*," women married in the 1970s seem to be "catching up," perhaps even overtaking men in the speed with which they have their affairs. The earlier a person begins to have affairs, the more (generally) he or she will have. Thus, if this generation of women stay married (and many, of course do not), they may well have more liaisons than their older sisters and, perhaps, more than men of the same generation. Women used not to have "casual affairs" or "one-night stands"—this was male behavior. Now men describe their liaisons less often in this way; women more (see chapter 7, "Pleasures and Pains"). These changes are emphasized in the choice of partner—most being met through work—and in the feelings women and men have about intimacy in the workplace. Yet the liaison is generally conducted according to traditional expectations of, for example, who pays and where they may make love (see chapter 6).

There have also been some important changes in attitudes to fidelity, some general, some dependent on marital experience. Women, for example, who have been divorced and remarried adhere at least as firmly to sexual fidelity second time around as they did at the outset of their first marriages, and those who stay married to a first spouse but have at least one affair think fidelity unimportant; but men's attitudes do not vary with these experiences. Similarly, there has been a substantial increase in the numbers entering marriage with agreements that they may each have other sexual partners, but this is a much more important shift in opinion for women than for men since so few women ever agreed to *infidelity* in the past. In chapter 2, these changes are explored and analyzed in terms of the differ-

ential structural and emotional consequences for women as compared with those for men of adultery and divorce.

In chapter 7, women make it clear they have gained a great deal from a feeling that they are entitled to make decisions affecting their own bodies for themselves. Clearly, too, sex is often enormously pleasurable to women, and a sense of who they are and of their own value is gained from their sexual relationships. But the trends I have outlined seem, at the least, to make them appear *like* men and, in some cases, *as if* they were men. Certainly these changes appear to conform to male rather than female models of heterosexuality and to meet the needs and desires of men better than those of women, which have yet to be thoroughly and separately explored. Women have thus appropriated behaviors previously perceived as male. I therefore call this pattern, which I describe in chapter 7, the *masculinization of sex*.⁵⁷

The "Talking Revolution," This Telling Business, and the Feminization of Love

In the "open" marriage, the act of sexual intercourse, meaning both sexual passion and pleasure, and the gratification of sexual needs, is removed from the center and in its place is put the importance of talk and telling. In this arrangement (whether reached after years of a traditional marriage, or agreed at the outset) it seems as if intimacy, real intimacy, will be achieved through the sharing of secrets, the "knowing" of the intellect. The phrase *carnal knowledge* takes on new meaning in this context. What seems to be happening here, then, is that new boundaries are being created to replace those felt to be outmoded and constraining. This particular contract fits well with the explosion of information technology when information has become central and more widely available to more people than ever before, while the broad cultural trend is to value communication and speech. Symptomatic of these broad changes is the fact that, whereas almost no couples in this study sample marrying before 1960 discussed the possibility of extramarital sexual relationships or their feelings about fidelity before they married, few did *not* do so if they married in or after 1970. I call this general change the *talking revolution* and that between couples, the *telling business*, for it seems to me that knowledge has become the new commodity of exchange between intimate partners.

Once, men vied for possession of a woman's body in order to gain her reproductive and her productive labor. Her virginity was to be protected, gained, and taken, and her chastity jealously guarded. The code according

to which these exchanges were conducted was a code of honor. It is now information rather than the woman's body that is to be exchanged—secrets are valued; and the code of conduct is a code, not of honor, but of honesty.

Women have always valued speech, talk, and communication as the way to intimacy. Thus, just as men had less far to go in the sexual revolution because their starting point was different, so women have had fewer changes to make in the talking revolution. In any event, men seem to have changed more than women in this respect and are talking and telling more. After all, men are accustomed to dealing and would wish to master a new currency. With Cancian, I think this trend is well termed the *feminization of love*.⁵⁸ These ideas are elaborated in chapter 8, "This Telling Business."

This search for truth, for the sharing of sexual secrets, is not limited to the open marriage; it merely appears in its purest form there. Nor, although the rule to tell is a strong mechanism of control and a fierce boundary, is it an end in itself. Rather, access to information is intended to increase or to create intimacy between couples. Obviously, those who know nothing about one another, nothing about the other's thoughts and feelings, ideas and activities, can share little intimacy. If they are a circle, it cannot be a very rich or full one.

Those who seek "openness" often also assume a political equality between the partners. *Non-exploitation* is, indeed, the keyword for some couples (particularly those in open marriages and those who live in a long-term and committed relationship deliberately eschewing marriage because it has traditionally exploited women). In this sample, no one seriously believed any more that a man should possess a woman in order to exert power over her, owning her as he would any material object (or of they did, they did not express it); but in the struggle for more equality, access to knowledge has become real power. Yet no one person can know everything about another. Always choices must be made about what is to be said and what withheld, if only because there is neither time nor interest in all of another's activities or thoughts. In reality, few couples are politically equal, and it is hard to accept that greater intimacy is achieved when everyone sits round in a family circle discussing the affair, and the miscreant, having fulfilled the telling obligation, can return, reassured, to the lovers' bed, there to "feel alive."⁵⁹ Adultery is a particular relationship that is transformed when no longer secret. Make extramarital sex permissible, and require that what might otherwise have been kept secret be told, then this becomes the rule that will in turn be broken. Illicit sex becomes secret sex, and we are back where we started.

Perhaps some who give their spouses information about illicit relationships genuinely seek to reduce their own power and enhance equality, since it is true that many do experience a sense of power as they hug their secret to themselves and say (to themselves), "I've got a lover, I've got a lover, and you don't know that." Yet the motive for telling may not be so altruistic; rather, it may be a way not to give up power but to employ it against the

spouse, at the same time perhaps relieving guilty feelings. In either case, this is an emotional power, not real and concrete political power, not the kind of power that grants a woman economic independence, a real sharing of household responsibilities and child-caring tasks and seriously thought-out decision sharing. I address the issues of power and control in chapter 9. Emotional and political power are not identical; their elision is dangerous.

However, adultery can be a relationship where one or the other partner does gain real power, and it seems to me that it has, unlike marriage, often afforded women power. Women have been able to begin and end relationships, to refuse and reject advances, to set the pace of involvement, to gain material advantage, to achieve status, to travel, to expand the boundaries of their lives, and to know the extent of their powers of attraction. They have been able, on occasion, to exercise control over their marriages through their adulterous liaison. Maintaining a triangle and refusing to become a couple is also a form of power. These powers have not, of course, always been held by every married woman in an adulterous liaison, and they are often held by men. The situation is very different, too, for the woman who is not married but who forms the apex of her married lover's triangle.⁶⁰ But if marriage, as the legal and conventional form of the relationship between men and women, has generally reflected a society where men have held greater power than women, so adultery, as the breach of marriage and as the illicit form, has been able to turn these relations around. As equality within marriage grows, perhaps there will be greater power sharing in adultery, too.

There is another sense, too, in which power is hoped for but not always exercised in adultery: people begin their liaisons convinced they can control the outcome, but the experience, like that of Tristan and Isolde, often controls them. The "good" adultery becomes one where surrender to feeling is complete and the individual feels out of control.

At the end of the book, I assess the extent to which adultery remains toxic. If death or banishment is less often the outcome, divorce is more frequent and both women and men suffer still at the same time as they experience great joy in these relationships—pleasures and pains that arise at least in part from the very triangular structure of adultery.

Throughout I make it clear that adultery has always been a more serious problem for the adulterous married woman than for the adulterous married man, her punishment being greatly more severe than his. And throughout I stress substantial gender differences in behavior and feelings about both adultery and marriage. Yet there is also much overlap, much that is similar. Indeed, a *convergence* between women and men is apparent. Finding *both* change and continuity permits me to question underlying biological premises that argue for an unchanging and universal imperative in the differences between women and men, and to assert the overriding salience of

dynamic economic and social conditions that permeate—even construct—the unconscious as well as the more accessible desires and wishes of modern people as they continue to enact their adulterous dramas.

There remains a profound confusion about the shape and content of relations between women and men. This is seen in the confusion about what marriage is or ought to be; about the rules that should or should not be followed; about what consequences will flow from what action. Adultery is all about the setting, breaking, or maintaining and the creation of boundaries. It is about breaching the social order, about transgression. It is, as Tanner says, about “the wrong people in the wrong beds.”⁶¹ In the breach of a rule is the rule made clear: by studying adultery, what names it is called and why; what feelings it engenders; what place it holds in our society, marriage may better be understood. Yet adultery is about much more than marriage. It is about relations between women and men—indeed, it is about the nature of the whole society.

BOOK I

WHAT IS ADULTERY?

Sample and Methods

Most research is presented as if it had been carefully planned and organized from the outset—indeed, as if the work had actually been done before it had been started—and as if none of the problems that plague us all ever touched the researchers. This project, by contrast, took shape very much by chance and bit by bit. Like Topsy, it just grew, but it also suffered many a setback, filled many a wastepaper basket, and provided too many despairing moments to record.

Still, although my ideas were far from clear at the outset, I did approach my chosen topic with certain values and certain imperatives that I have pursued.

I have explained (in my prologue) that I wanted both figures and stories. Both depend on language, however: Language has to be translated into numbers for computer analysis, whereas stories can reach the page sifted (of course) through me but in the same form that I first heard them. For numbers, however, language has to be used in much stricter ways, categories imposed, interpretations limited in the interests of comparability and reliability, always in the hope that validity—truth—is minimally sacrificed. Indeed, the survey method is based on this systematic and careful standardization of question and answer, with categories for coding developed ahead of the answers. This, it has long been argued, best obtains and protects truth. In practice what it best achieves is *reliability* (that is, agreement among independent interviewers, coders, and observers on the interpretation of the answers) rather than *validity* (that the question is the right one and the answer accurately reflects a respondent's thought, feelings, or behavior). Thus, a reliability check that I carried out using two coders for a 5-percent random sample of questionnaires demonstrated very high agreement (96 percent) overall, but this masked very low agreement on "open-ended" questions where the categories could not be worked out in advance. Reaching a sample of people who would tell me their stories and complete questionnaires that could be translated into numbers, then, was but one of the problems, and, at the outset, not the most pressing, for *how* to ask the people questions, once selected, was more deeply problematic.

This problem is not specific to work on a taboo subject, but it is magnified there. Jessie Bernard, the doyen of American sociological and feminist scholarship on marriage, pointed out some time ago that researchers engaged in work on a taboo subject such as adultery necessarily also do some "de-tabooing"—even when, or perhaps especially because, we avoid those terms (like *adultery*) that carry connotations of sin and crime and hence are moral evaluations—and speak instead of the "extramarital" or even the "co-marital" relationship. Seeking objectivity, we may even valorize rather than condemn with our language choices.¹

I wanted to speak of adultery for two reasons: first, I wanted not to avoid but to point to its long history as sin and crime and, further, to dramatize the greater sin, the greater punishment inflicted on the married woman—that is, on the adulteress as opposed to the adulterer. In this sense, "adultery" is a feminist issue where the

"affair" or the "extramarital relationship" might not be. Second, the way words are used in everyday language indicates both the psychological and the sociological space the concept occupies. When someone says she (or he) has "committed adultery," they send a message about what it meant to them and, when substantial others like them use the same term, they suggest modern times might have changed less than first we thought. In any event, I wanted study participants to forge categories for me before I imposed my own on them. The early days of the study were therefore spent traveling around England and Scotland interviewing people in unstructured ways—seeking to listen to the stories they had to tell in their own words before a more formal questionnaire could be developed that would provide the frame for answers that could be translated into numbers.

But I had also to think about my own motivation and about how I might be perceived, about the way I spoke, for how I couched even the most open of questions would elicit certain and not other responses. Since, too, adultery is illicit, and hence usually secret, the narration of these stories would often have a special place in the lives of the storytellers—something difficult yet important to grasp. Was I engaged in vicarious adulteries as I listened to these tales—indeed, as I became the confidante and, for couples, the third party to their adventure in telling? Were there things I especially wanted to hear, things that would fulfill my own but not necessarily their needs and hence—albeit unwittingly—lead them to consider issues not central to their concerns? Like the psychoanalyst, it seemed important to me that I be as fully aware of these things as the analyst must be before listening to the secrets of the analysand. I cannot be certain how successfully I accomplished this, but people raised issues that I had not thought important, and, within a range of ideas, seemed readily prepared to reject as well as proffer interpretations. I certainly learned much about adultery that I had not even suspected. Much that was said resonated strongly with me; I could identify readily with the speaker. Sometimes I had to struggle to follow where the speaker led, to empathize with his (and it was more difficult for me to get inside the heads, never mind the hearts, of the men who contributed to this study) or her experience.

For the contributors, I think the telling did, on occasion, perform a vital role in their whole adventure. Some gave excuses in order to attend a small-group discussion in the evening in just the same terms as if they had been meeting a lover: "I told him I was going to a meeting about my job. Well, 'e knows we've got troubles down there." "I often have to work late and I'm on the road, so being late back tonight won't cause any raised eyebrows." I have suggested in the book that telling plays a central role in the lived adulterous experience, and that adultery itself can be understood as "renarrativizing" lives that have become interminably dull, merely "good enough" (or worse, not good enough), and lacking moral goals. To speak of their experience was to make it come true but also to end the adventure, to encapsulate it and, as it were, to put it to bed.

I cannot tell in what role I was cast by some storytellers—but if I was mistress, wife, sibling or parent, lover or husband, child or friend, or, perhaps, counselor, so long as I was also researcher, so be it.

Before turning to an analysis of the sample, let me return briefly to the chronology of the study, for I had initially thought the best way to proceed might be to interview a relatively small number of middle-class people over some time and in depth—people who, because they were like me, might be prepared to speak and whom I would have little difficulty in understanding, though how to reach them, since some, at least, would have to be adulterous, was unclear. By chance, I was offered the opportunity through a friend, who was also a free-lance journalist, to appeal for volunteers through a newspaper article describing my ideas. Appearing first, early in 1981, in the London *Sunday Times*, a paper with a readership of over four million, I some months later was afforded similar openings in the *Guardian* and the *Sunday*

Mirror—the latter reaching an even bigger and more working-class population.² It was the response to the first article that dictated the subsequent shape of the study, for I decided that more than six hundred replies should not be wasted and to pursue both quantity and quality—to develop a postal questionnaire and to conduct in-depth tape-recorded interviews and hold small group discussions where themes could emerge as participants addressed one another as much as responding to questions from me.

About two thirds of the replies to the first article were from women; of the remaining third, most came from men; and the rest from people writing in as couples—usually married, sometimes adulterous. Letters and cards varied from a few cryptic remarks handwritten on a scrap of paper: “Kindly send six questionnaires,” to ten double-sided, single-spaced pages of autobiography. Three cases seemed not seriously intended. Apart from these, even the one open proposition was, nonetheless, serious about being interviewed: he had, after all, experiences to relate relevant to the “problem.”

Given this distribution, I decided to sample all the men and couples and one in three of the women. I used the *Guardian* to attempt to reach more men, more “victims,” and people in business and the media as I had begun to develop my ideas about the institutionalized settings for adultery and about the institutionalized practices that might be “part of the job.” For example, a study participant had reported her ex-TV director husband as having been profoundly offended by her serious affair and yet as seeing no incompatibility in that attitude and one entirely accepting of the mundane, repetitive “affairs” of his colleagues on the set and after.

During this time (1981–82), I developed the questionnaire in response to the way people spoke in interview, permitting still as much freedom to the respondent to comment on my choice of words, questions, and layout as was compatible with this method of data collection, but requiring them to answer as if they were replaying their entry into adultery, concentrating on the first and the most recent liaison and choosing the term *adulterous liaison* to cover the long affair, the one-night stand or visit to a prostitute, or the affair of the heart only—a term not in common use and, hence, more inclusive.

In interviews I had discovered that people wanted a framework—preferably a chronology within which to locate their story. They could not respond when I asked, “Why not tell me why you wrote? What was it you wanted to tell me?” but wanted me to “ask questions.” Some made their need for a clear biographical beginning explicit: “Well, I was born in 19—, the third of three children,” and so forth. In our psychological and medical age, what was once moral deviance has become psychopathology, so people feel comfortable with an interpretation that begins with childhood. The questionnaire similarly locates people within their families and moves to feelings, beliefs, and attitudes about marriage and adultery.

In the small group, however—a technique common in market research but not in sociology—I thought it might be less necessary to set a biographical framework; that people would talk as much to one another as to me. It seemed to offer an economic and elegant way both to pursue certain themes and also, through the very use of the method itself, to test the idea that people did still engage in a moral debate about the issue and, if they did, to know more clearly what form the debate took and what content it had. It might be argued that such a group is nothing like a model of any real-life situation where such debates as surround adultery do actually take place; and, therefore, the group did not and could not perform this function. Certainly, the context in which debates or actions occur profoundly influences the outcome; it would be absurd to suggest otherwise. And the group is not in any sense set up as a natural model of, say, discussion with a spouse, with a potential lover, or with friends. Nor, obviously, as a model for internal debates. But enough is known from the conduct of therapeutic groups to know that patterns of response—“nor-

mal” for a particular person—are displayed; that, given leadership in certain directions, the interactions are typical of those occurring in other settings. In the therapeutic group, however, individuals often feel threatened because their self-esteem may be attacked through the analysis of what they say or how they say it. I felt one of my primary tasks had to be to prevent anyone becoming the scapegoat of any group; to prevent interpretation of motive at a level that someone might experience as threatening; to insist on the research nature of the group. If I was successful in that, then the focusing on the topic; the motivation of those who came to participate; the fact that, without exception, everyone shared with me a wish to “understand” themselves and the topic, led me to believe that we would hear in these varied groups (varied in membership, by size and by the sex of those present, as well as by the source from which people had come, by their stance to adultery, by the presence of different graduate students, by time of day), whether debates occurred and, if they did, then the content, accurately portrayed.³

In the event, certain themes did recur: the moral dilemma, the fear of aging and death, the importance of honesty, and yet the need for secrecy, privacy and personal space, for autonomy and the desire for intimacy. Certain themes were also avoided—in particular, sex. From Dennis, a man who disturbed a whole group with his opening remarks about his “carnal” first wife, his amazing exploits in California, and his regular Wednesday dash up the stairs to his mistress’s room where they watched pornographic films and made love as if it was the last time—his deep fear—I learned what was not being said and to ask about it (see pages 184 and 203–4).

The questionnaire breaks all the rules of postal questionnaires. It is absurdly long and demanding to answer. However, my self-selected sample was highly motivated—though no one was paid for participating—and highly educated. The length and difficulty, therefore, perhaps held fewer terrors for them than it would have done with a differently constituted sample. However, I think it important not to simplify this topic. Adultery is not simple: it touches on people’s deepest emotions and on areas of their lives that some will not share with anyone, others with only a few people within certain well-defined roles. Of course, some have no such inhibitions but they are in the minority. Recently feminists have questioned the applicability of traditional (and hence patriarchal) social research techniques to women; and particularly to women when the subject matter is of the kind in this study—pertaining to private and personal areas of social life that are intimately concerned with the development and expression of female sexuality.⁴ Laurel Richardson, for example, called her method a “communal research model,” aiming to avoid non-interactive “expert” cuts at knowledge that predetermine the relevance of *parts* of experience, and to achieve a more equal power balance between researcher and researched. She reports that two thirds of the women in her sample experienced her interview as “therapeutic.”⁵ Similarly, some of the participants in this study experienced relief even in just filling out the questionnaire. Perhaps this goes some way to explaining the relatively high response rate—66 percent.

The Sample

Comparison with National Population

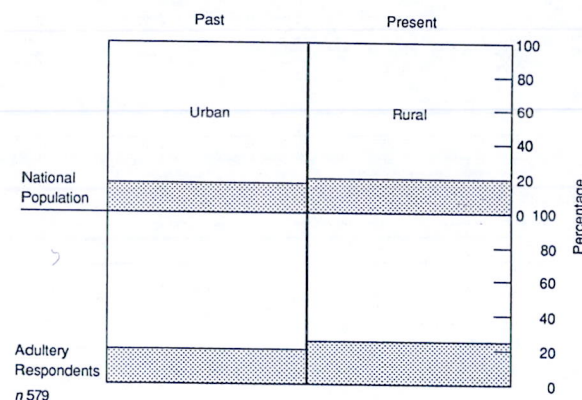
The people in the sample are distributed by sex, social class, and level of education, quite differently from the ways we would expect if they had been randomly drawn from the population. I have a ratio of 59:41 women to men, rather than 51

percent women to 49 percent of men—this despite the sampling procedures aimed at increasing the numbers of men. There are good sociological reasons why more women than men would come forward for a study of this kind since adultery has always been more problematic for women than men. It remains more central to women's concerns, more salient as a matter affecting the family and their role in it as moral guardians as well as their own deepest feelings and needs. More pragmatically, the first newspaper article appeared, as did the second, on the "women's" pages of the newspapers—thus, in a way, excluding men although many read those sections. Men have greater difficulty in talking about these areas of their lives, too, and may have been particularly reluctant to come forward because I was a woman. In addition, the sample is overwhelmingly middle-class as measured by the kinds of occupation in which people are engaged (82 percent of my respondents are in nonmanual occupations, as compared with 48 percent in a sample of the national population).⁶ My sample is also, compared with their brothers and sisters in the general population, highly educated. Only 11 percent of my sample have left school with *no* educational qualifications, and 31 percent had a first degree. No less than 13 percent attained higher degrees. As would be expected, this was differently distributed between the men and women, the men being better educated than the women. Thus, while 9 percent of the men had left school without any formal academic qualifications, 13 percent of the women had none; while 22.5 percent of the men had achieved a higher degree and another 35 percent had a first degree, only 7 percent of women had a higher degree, although 23 percent had achieved at least a first degree. In the age groups, twenty-five to sixty-nine years covered in the national sample used for comparison, we could expect 15 percent of men and only 10 percent of women to have achieved a first degree; yet in my sample in these age groups, no less than 54 percent of the men and 36 percent of the women have reached this level. Thus, nearly four times as many people in the adultery study as in the general population have a degree.

Again, there are both good sociological and more pragmatic reasons why few working class people came forward—even in response to the *Sunday Mirror* articles. These articles were placed near pictures of a nude woman and had a much less serious tone than the earlier two. Still, the whole newspaper is written much as were these two articles. Working-class people may feel they have less to contribute to a middle-aged, middle-class academic in a university, and there is a more customary silence about such personal-sexual areas of their lives. Thus, even the ordinary "facts of life" passed on as a matter of course by middle-class mothers to daughters may, according to some recent oral histories of the experience of working-class women, be less often passed on to them.⁷ Although researchers have found the numbers engaging in adultery to vary according to social class—working-class men, for example, beginning sooner after marriage, and middle-class men later—the overall incidence may not be different. Given the pervasive influence of the Myth of Romantic Marriage and the customary distress suffered in all classes when infidelity is discovered and still to be witnessed every week in the pages of newspapers and advice columns addressed especially to women, I think class differentiates adulterous experience less than do gender and age.

The age range of the study population is wide—from twenty-two to eighty-three years old at interview; but respondents are not distributed across this age range as they would be had they been selected to represent the general population from which they were drawn: there are fewer in the age groups to thirty-five and more in those years until about fifty-five. Because *Guardian* respondents were slightly younger than *Sunday Times* respondents, there are two modal ages: that is, the most common age for *Guardian* readers was thirty-four and for *Sunday Times* readers, forty-two years. Adultery, depending on when people marry and how soon following

FIGURE 1
Urban/Rural Distributions over Time



marriage they are prepared to have affairs, tends to be a problem for those aged thirty to fifty-five; in this respect, the sample is well suited to the purpose.⁸

Study members are distributed throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, with only slight differences from those expected. Although there is an excess of people responding from the Greater London area, the southwest, the southeast, and East Anglia—and less than might be expected, given the distribution in the population as a whole, from northern areas and from Scotland and Wales—each area is well represented, the average difference from expected distributions being around 2 percent. Furthermore, the people in the study are drawn from rural and from urban areas almost exactly as we would expect (see figure 1). Historians who have studied particular villages or towns in great detail would, I think, expect there to be variation at least as between town dwellers and country dwellers in adulterous behavior and attitudes.⁹ People gave the name of the town, village, or other place where they were brought up for the greatest length of time (Q_4 (b)), and where they now live (Q_4 (a)). This provides a measure of "past" and "present" rural and urban dwelling. In the population as a whole, in 1961, just under 20 percent were country and just over 80 percent town dwellers. In 1981, country dwellers had risen to 23 percent. There has been a rather general shift out of the towns, though there are considerable variations in different parts of the country and from and to towns of different sizes and character. My sample reflects this change.¹⁰

1961 does not provide a direct comparison, since my study includes people who were children before the First World War as well as those born only twenty-five years ago; but, in the "past," 21 percent of study members were rural dwellers, while *now* (1982–83), 26 percent live in rural areas. Since the study members are almost entirely middle-class (Registrar General's social classes I and II)* where an excess of country

* The Registrar General classifies individuals in the United Kingdom into classes: I (professional)–V (unskilled manual workers), subdivided at III into nonmanual and manual occupations.

dwellers is likely to be found, the small excess in the study over total population figures is probably correct for their social class.

Having looked at the rural-urban distribution, it remains to be said that there is no difference in the number of adulterous liaisons reported by people according to the region in which they used to live (for most of their lives) or in which they now live.

The critical question to be asked about any sample is not whether they do or do not represent the general population from which they are drawn, but whether the characteristics on which they vary *matter*, given the focus and purposes of the study. The way such a question has to be answered is dependent on the theory or theories held about the topic under study, and upon the kinds of statement it is intended to make as a result of the study. Social class, age, sex, and other critical demographic measures are normally included in sociological work because they repeatedly discriminate among groups. That is, people from different social classes of different ages, and depending on whether they are men or women, behave in very different ways. This is so, whether what is being studied is health, housing, attitudes to work and play, voting patterns, child rearing, or, perhaps, adultery.

Furthermore, if it is intended that general statements about the incidence and prevalence of "adultery in Britain today" are to be made, then a sample would need to be drawn that represented the distribution of people "in Britain today." However, when a study is being undertaken in a new area, when it refers to an illicit behavior surrounded by much secrecy, when it is intended not to make such grand statements but rather to look in depth and in detail at adultery, then this sample has certain advantages. Looking in depth and in detail means to explore the way adultery is being defined, to examine how people enter into adulterous relationships, to try to describe the place it has in their lives and how it relates to their marriage, to delineate its natural history, noticing the words used to describe the various adulterous relationships, and the explanations people proffer for their actions and the stories told of the joys and tribulations experienced, and then to try to relate all that to the world in which these people live, then a relatively homogeneous group has considerable advantages.

A well-educated group does not, of course, have any monopoly of feeling, nor of capacity to express themselves, but given my own background, there are considerable advantages in being able to take for granted certain meanings, certain ways of using words. In a study of this kind, there are advantages in the sharing of experience, as discussed by Jennifer Platt, between researcher and researched.¹¹ I would find less difficulty in understanding and interpreting what was said—and they would, similarly, take more for granted about my knowledge of their lives—than if our shared experience were more dissimilar. The problem of shared language and of shared meaning is much debated by anthropologists; sociologists have, until recently, been more assured about their work, given that they normally work only in their own society and hence in their own language; but the problem of providing accounts that differ from those provided by the actors themselves has become of central concern to sociology and of particular concern to ethnomethodologists.¹²

Throughout the study I have been consistently interested in feelings and attitudes; and, although I am suggesting there are advantages in my sharing understanding with the respondents, I have not relied only on my own interpretations and judgments. Eight different people have helped with the study, four employed as research assistants, three men and two women, and three from different age groups from myself. Although, by definition, they are all now well educated, they come from a wide range of social backgrounds; they also vary by marital status and by whether or not they have children. They have worked at different stages, for different lengths of time, on different tasks. Some have helped to derive measures and to assess the content of group discussions and interviews. Clearly, such researchers are not wholly

independent of me; yet there has been a high level of agreement about the nature of the stories being told, about the "right" and "wrong" or "possible" and "not possible" interpretations to put on things.

Given my hypothesis about the role of values in people's decisions—that individuals creatively employ the Myth of Romantic Marriage in competition with the Myth of Me as both motivation and justification—we might expect those from different religious backgrounds, those with different current faiths, and those for whom religion is more important to vary in their adulterous liaisons (see pages 106–7). Questions were asked that provide that breakdown (appendix A, question 5(a)–6). The study sample follows neatly the general "secularization" of modern society with 58 percent having been brought up in the Church of England, 11 percent as Roman Catholics, and another 16 percent in "other Christian faiths," but only 26 percent, 6 percent, and 9 percent, respectively, now answering that they still believe in those faiths. David Martin in 1967 quoted a similar distribution for the "population of Great Britain identifying itself as . . ." but the adultery study has about 4 percent altogether reporting they were brought up as Jews, while his figure is 1 percent.¹³ Whereas 6 percent considered they had been brought up as agnostics, humanists, or as atheists (none), as many as 51 percent classified themselves in those ways now.¹⁴ In answer to the question "How important a part, if any, does religion or other belief system play in your life?"—and the scale against which the answer could be given ranging from "no part at all" to "an important part"—more than twice as many said "no part" as "an important part" (32 percent to 14 percent).¹⁵

Finally, this is a study of adultery. Adultery occurs only in relation to marriage. (Its meaning is varied and for many it includes all and any infidelity, including that of the heart. Nevertheless, given its history, its general meaning clearly is consequential on marriage.) The sample must, therefore, cover the range of marriage patterns, including people who have been divorced and whose family sizes and household composition is representative at least of age group and social class. In each of these respects, the sample is adequate.

Furthermore, since one hypothesis expects the increasing participation of women in the marketplace to be important for their sexual patterns and to have consequences for the feelings of both men and women about themselves and about each other, the sample must include reasonable proportions of women in various modes of employment. My sample turns out to have fewer than expected in part-time employment but very similar proportions indeed of women "economically active"—that is paid, excluding the retired, students, and full-time housewives but including the unemployed—in the labor force to those that would be expected. Thus, nationally, in 1981 in England and Wales, 62 percent of the currently married (regardless of the number of previous marriages) were "economically active," as were 72 percent of "non-married women" aged sixteen to fifty-nine (that is, single, divorced, and widowed in 1979–80). The comparable figures for the adultery sample are 64 percent and 74 percent (taking the current date as 1982–83).¹⁶

So far as family size and household composition is concerned, the numbers of children born to respondents needed calculation by year of marriage (to provide a "marriage cohort" for which there were comparable figures), by the numbers of women of "fertile" (that is, child-bearing) age, and by current age. The calculations were complex but, insofar as I have been able to find comparable material and to compute these figures for the women (there are no such national figures for fathers), the numbers of children in these families is much as expected.¹⁷ I also analyzed the numbers of "grown-up" children and asked specifically about where the children generally live. These figures are used to examine the effects on adultery of having children of different ages at home. See chapter 5, pages 136–38.

In a study of adultery, it is not surprising that those who have been divorced and separated are overrepresented compared with the general population. But it is

important to be able to draw inferences about the part adultery plays in separation and divorce; and, for this, the "excess" in this sample is an advantage.⁴⁸ The law relating to divorce changed in England in 1971. Of men and women divorcing for the first time, 24 percent and 20 percent, respectively, were divorced before 1971. Of those divorced at any time, 54 percent said adultery was cited in court. Nationally, men more commonly give adultery as the "fact" that demonstrates their marriage has irretrievably broken down.⁴⁹ In the adultery study, 92 percent of men and 72 percent of women, divorcing for the first time before 1971, said adultery had been cited. After 1971 the proportions dropped to 61 percent of men and 43 percent of women. Finally, a sample that did not include the "faithful" in marriage when exploring the "unfaithful" would be deficient. They act as "controls" for each other. The number of adulterous liaisons, regardless of meaning, turns out to be an excellent measure, correlating highly with many of the dimensions in which I am interested. But it would not be enough to have only those with, say, one to three liaisons and those with four or more for comparison. We need those with none; in the sample, about 27 percent had no liaison; 42 percent, one to three; and 31 percent, four or more.

Any conclusions about work, or about the effects of the "mid-life crisis" on adultery, without a comparison of the effects (if there are any) on the non-adulterous, could easily be spurious. For the same reason, those who have experienced the adultery of a spouse and may feel themselves to be "victims" of adultery are a necessary ingredient in telling the tale. Eighteen percent describe themselves as having responded as "victims" of another's adultery. This was given as a first reason by 15 percent and by another 24 percent as a second reason. Not all, however, had been faithful themselves. Of these people who described themselves as victims, 52 percent had also had at least one adulterous liaison.

In sum, the sample is different in its educational and social-class composition from that expected in the general population. (However, working-class people are not unrepresented: there are forty-five. Simply, they are underrepresented in order to be able to make sensible generalizations about them.) The composition of the sample by where people live (rural/urban areas), by religious affiliation, by age (the most important ages for adultery are well represented), by marital experience, including the separated, divorced, and remarried but with few widows (largely because the population is younger than in the general population), by working patterns, and by the proportion of non-adulterous as well as adulterous people, is—given the topic and the intentions about the kind and generality of statement to be made—appropriate.

However, given adultery's special place, even in modern life, as breaching important social norms, the sample was further tested for the probable reliability of the accounts given by those who were self-selected compared with a "snowball sample" reached via the volunteers.

The Snowball Sample

We can never know for certain to what extent those who chose not to come forward and participate in this study are like or unlike those in the study. Of course, in all samples (except in covert observational studies), at the point of cooperation everyone is self-selected. No one can be coerced into a study if they do not wish to be, although the kinds of pressure that can be brought to bear are substantial. A patient in a hospital bed has numerous reasons for agreeing to participate in research, not least anxiety about the possible ill effects if she or he refuses to do so. It sometimes takes very little for the words "uncooperative patient" to be written on a report. And such words carry consequences for the way people react and deal

TABLE 1
Number of Adulterous Liaisons

	None %	One to Three %	Four or More %
Snowball	26	47	28
<i>Sunday Times</i> (A)	15	47	38
<i>Sunday Mirror</i> (B)	42	39	19
<i>Guardian</i> (C)	36	26	28
Total of A + B + C	27	32	42

subsequently with that patient.⁵⁰ A person accosted on the threshold of her or his house by a market researcher may be flattered that their opinions are valued, and likely to think, when assured it will only take a few minutes, that it is easier to answer the questions than refuse. However, when the topic is as delicate as this is, when the whole area is surrounded by secrecy and the practice itself is illicit, when people have very good reasons for not wanting their "affairs" to be known, then the problems about just who is responding, and who not, become more acute. Furthermore, we should distinguish between a refusal to cooperate (a deselection of oneself) and not volunteering (*nonselection* of oneself).

I decided to use one well-known technique, the "snowball" sample, for reaching people who had not responded to any direct appeal from me, either via a newspaper article or the radio. In the main survey of *Sunday Times* readers, which went out in October 1982—later than a pilot survey—I enclosed an additional questionnaire, a stamped, addressed envelope, and a letter in which I asked the recipient to try to find someone, preferably not a *Sunday Times* reader and preferably male, who would complete the form and return it to us, anonymously if desired. In the event, this produced another forty-five completed questionnaires which are different in certain respects from those not gathered in this way. However, the figures all fall within the very large ranges observed within the rest of the sample. For example, 26 percent of the snowball were non-adulterers, compared with 15 percent of the *Sunday Times* group as a whole. But then, 36 percent of the *Guardian* and 42 percent of *Sunday Mirror* respondents were also non-adulterers. Since my letter requesting *Sunday Times* readers to pass a questionnaire on specifically requested a search for "victims," it is not surprising that there should have been an increased number of non-adulterous people in the snowball. Table 1 sets out the comparison between the snowball and the rest of the sample (that is, non-self-selected and self-selected) according to the number of "adulterous" liaisons they reported.

Since the snowball contains proportionately more men than the *Sunday Times* group does (the proportions are 51:49, as would be expected in a sample drawn randomly from the population), the pattern of the proportions reporting low and high numbers of adulterous liaisons is not explained by gender. This pattern (most falling into the one-to-three ["low"] group) is typical of women in the sample as a whole; while men, if they were adulterous, were more commonly "high" adulterers (four or more adulterous liaisons).

The social-class distribution of the snowball group is similar to the rest of the study group,⁵¹ but their stated reasons for responding are not. Since I had made a special request for "victims," the snowball contains a higher proportion of people giving this as their first reason for responding to the study (24 percent) than in the rest of the survey (14 percent). The exception is provided by the *Sunday Mirror* read-

ers who are very similar in this respect (35 percent), as they are in other ways. First, they contain higher proportions of people who have been married twice (14 percent), compared with the *Sunday Times* and *Guardian* groups; and their first spouses were much less well educated, only about 13 percent achieving a first degree, whereas 31 percent of the spouses of *Sunday Times* respondents had a first degree. Furthermore, their first spouses also fell heavily into those who left school with a certificate of secondary education at around "Ordinary" level, with none gaining "Advanced" level examinations as their highest educational achievement, compared with 2 percent of the spouses of *Sunday Times* respondents reaching this level. Thus, while the snowball differed from their contact people (*Sunday Times* respondents), they were similar, in these respects, to another self-selected group—the *Sunday Mirror* respondents.

The snowball group also has a disproportionately high number of respondents brought up as Roman Catholics (23 percent) as compared with the average for all self-selected groups (10 percent). However, the *Sunday Mirror* group had 19 percent reporting that they, too, were brought up as Roman Catholics. This difference disappears when "religion now" is considered, the snowball group following all others (apart from the *Sunday Mirror* respondents, who rarely categorized themselves as having "no" religion now). The average over all source groups who reported that religion played no part in their lives now (on a scale ranging from "a very important part" to "none") was 30 percent, but 46 percent of the snowball said it played no part in their lives.

Further, only 35 percent of the snowball were still married and living with their first spouse when they took part in the study, compared with an average of about 60 percent. The corollary follows that there were also considerably more snowball people who were divorced or separated—over half, as compared with only one quarter of *Sunday Times*, one fifth of *Guardian*, and one third of the *Sunday Mirror* groups. It is this "naturally" selected group that varies most in terms of marital status from the general population, and *not* the self-selected groups. In this sense, it is the snowball, and not the self-selected, sample that is "biased."²⁵ This fits well with the fact that one quarter of the snowball group were responding as "victims" of another's adultery, were people who had had rather less sexual experience before marriage,²³ and, as we have seen, were less adulterous than some of the other groups. However, we should also note that, despite their claim to having primarily responded as "victims" of another's adultery, *fewer* than in other groups thought the term *victim* applied to them or had used it in speech about themselves.

As might be expected, given their status as victims and as people who were separated or divorced from their spouses, they scored lower on permissiveness (adherence to the Myth of Me) and higher on adherence to traditional values (adherence to the Myth of Romantic Marriage) than either the rest of the *Sunday Times* population or than the average, but were less traditional in the past and more permissive now than were the *Sunday Mirror* group. Nevertheless, with only four exceptions, their scores were all within the ranges of other source groups.²⁴ Furthermore, the differences between the non-adulterous snowball and non-adulterous other sample groups, and between those who were in the "low" and "high" adulterous groups according to whether they came via the snowball or from other sources, are slight.

There is, however, one important variable that distinguishes the snowball people from others. They were people who rarely, if ever, discussed their feelings and attitudes about the possibility or the actuality of adulterous liaisons with others. Ninety percent said they had not discussed with their spouse the possibility of an affair before having one; and, of the thirty-two people for whom there is this information, only three discussed with their spouse an affair in which they were then engaged. Fewer went to professional helpers or talked to work colleagues, although similar proportions (slightly more) to those responding from other sources did talk to same-

sex friends.²⁵ Thirty-one percent regarded no one as a confidante (compared with 21 percent of *Sunday Times*, 17 percent of *Guardian*, and 24 percent of *Sunday Mirror* respondents). Perhaps, however, they were, if not talkers, then listeners, since about 76 percent had at least one person who confided in them! In this respect, they hardly differed from the *Sunday Times* readers who had enlisted their cooperation, were slightly better listeners than *Guardian* readers, and very much more commonly confided in about an affair than were *Sunday Mirror* respondents. I draw some support from these figures in my assertion that those who did not respond to the study differ from those who do in one important way: they did not choose to respond, perhaps because they do not like to discuss these matters, particularly not with professionals. Because the snowball people differed significantly only in this respect, they have been included in the total of 579 for analysis.

Premarital Sexual Experience

There are also particular demographic features of the sample members that, on theoretical grounds, are important to compare with the population from which they are drawn. The most directly relevant facts are those about *premarital* sexual activity. If this sample reported very different experience from others of the same age and class, we might, for two reasons, expect their postmarital behavior also to be atypical. First, reporting sexual activity itself may, because these are private matters and sometimes heavily sanctioned, be particularly unreliable; and hence, if the people in this study give very different accounts from others in their age and class groups about their premarital sexual activity, they are more likely to be unreliable about their extramarital sexual activity. Secondly, existing studies show a strong relationship between premarital sexual behavior and extramarital sexual behavior. Thus, Lynn Atwater, in her *Extra-Marital Connection*, summarizes the position: "The impact of premarital sexual experience stands out as the first factor in the path to extramarital involvement."²⁶

The sample members reported the number and variety of their sexual partners before their (first) marriage. This information was compared with the expected rates derived from earlier national and representative samples studied by Geoffrey Gorer and Michael Schofield (see table 2).

The average age at marriage has varied very little over these years, but Schofield's sample were all "young people"—that is, people in their twenties who married during the 1960s; and Gorer interviewed only those whose age was less than forty-five at the time of his study. The percentage difference between the most nearly comparable groups—that is, Gorer's sample married before 1969 (although he includes single people in his calculation) and my sample married before 1970—is only one percentage point, and between Schofield's sample of young people and my sample marrying at similar ages (but including some slightly older) during the 1960s is two percentage points. Since my sample was slightly older, we might expect them to be minimally more experienced. These figures are so close that *we can assume that my sample members are reliable in describing their sexual experience; and that they are typical of others of their age and marriage cohort, at least up to the time of marriage, in their sexual behavior.*

In fact, the relationship between premarital and postmarital sexual behavior is strongest in this study when the *number* and *variety* of premarital lovers is considered. Thus, the most adulterous were rarely "virgins" at (first) marriage (23 percent, compared with 35 percent of those who had no liaison during this marriage), and they also had experienced the most variety in the marital status and sex of their lovers at that time (61 percent, compared with 55 percent of those who later had between one and three liaisons, and 40 percent of those who stayed faithful). In particular, none

TABLE 2
Percentage of Women and Men Reporting "Virginity"
(or "No Intercourse") at First Marriage
over Time in Three British Studies

Gorer	Lawson		Schofield
	Year of First Marriage		
Before 1969	Pre-1960	1960-1969	1960s
(Aged up to 45)	40%		("Young People")
34%	33%	27%	29%
N (100%) = 1986*	169	207	267
All marrying before 1970: 376†			

* Gorer calculates all his percentages from this total, which includes all respondents—that is, the married and those still single at the time of his study.

† No sample including both women and men was available for comparison with those in my sample married in the 1970s, of whom only 11 percent were still "virgins" at marriage. However, Karen Dunnell (1979) reports that 26 percent of women marrying in the early 1970s had not had sex with their husbands before marriage (though they might have had other premarital partners) at that time which compares well with my figure of 28 percent marrying as virgins between 1960 and 1969 and does not yet reflect the drop to a mere 9 percent of women marrying as virgins throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s (to 1982).

Sources: Geoffrey Gorer, *Sex and Marriage in England Today* (London: Nelson, 1971), p. 273, table 20; Michael Schofield, *The Sexual Behaviour of Young Adults* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), p. 161; Karen Dunnell, *Family Formation* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979), p. 7.

of those reporting any premarital sexual relationship with someone of their own sex (about 4 percent) remained faithful after marriage, as can be seen in table 3.

Yet the striking increase in premarital experience is not directly reflected in adulterous behavior. Only 9 percent of women and 14 percent of men marrying in 1970 or later were virgins at that time, compared with 42 percent of women and 36 percent of men marrying before 1960; yet those marrying in the 1970s or later have reported fewer liaisons overall (perhaps because their marriages are of shorter duration). The detailed picture shows that those men marrying before 1960 who were virgins remained the most faithful, and that those who were most experienced before marriage were the most adulterous subsequently. The same trend continues but to much less marked degree for the men married in the 1960s. Among the men who married in the 1970s, however, there is no clear relationship between premarital and post-marital behaviour. The picture for the women is reversed: the older women (those marrying earlier) do not show a clear relationship between premarital experience and the number of subsequent liaisons until the 1970s, when the most experienced had the most liaisons.

This suggests that, during the period covered by the study, in this, as in other respects, men are beginning (statistically speaking) to "look like" women and vice versa—and indicates that future researchers need to reconsider the relationship

TABLE 3
Premarital Sexual Experience and Number of Liaisons

	Number of Liaisons						
	None		One to Three		Four or More		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Virgins:	51	35	57	25	40	23	148
Future spouse only:	36	25	46	20	28	16	110
A variety of lovers:*	57	40	124	55	107	61	288
Total	144	100	227	100	175	100	546

* Sexual relations reported with future spouse and combination of at least two of the following categories: other single persons, married people, divorced or widowed, and same sex (less than 10 percent).

$X^2 = 15.59$ with 4 degrees of freedom. $p < .005$

between sexual behavior before and during marriage or in and out of committed relationships.

There is also a more sensitive measure of representativeness. Blumstein and Schwartz, who, in America, interviewed both spouses in a marriage, give information on the extent to which they knew about one another's extramarital liaisons.²⁷ The similarity with that data from my sample is striking (see table 4).

Of course, my study participants could have been lying or not revealing things because they were not asked about them or because they seemed irrelevant. They might have come forward for bravado or for other reasons more complex or unconscious leading them to stress some and not other feelings, attitudes, beliefs, and actions. Acknowledging this possibility does not invalidate the findings, for all social

TABLE 4
Spouses' Knowledge of Extramarital Liaisons

	Blumstein and Schwartz		Lawson	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
	%	%	%	%
Spouse knew	65	64	61	61
Spouse did not know	28	27	33	33
Spouse suspected/not sure if spouse knew	7	9	6	6
N = 100%	716	914	154	122

Source: Blumstein and Schwartz 1983, p. 273.

communications are organized in this way. Stressing anonymity helps the shy or ashamed person to reveal what otherwise might be kept hidden, and lessens the opportunity for gain from boasting; but everyone must (because there is no other choice) respond from within an available repertoire of cultural beliefs. Sociologically speaking, I believe that these accounts are accurate representations of what people have done and of what they feel about those actions.

Notes

Prologue

1. Donald Winnicott used this expression to describe the ordinary mother's capacity to care for her baby and to provide what he termed a "facilitating environment." She might not be perfect; she would be "good enough." (See Winnicott 1965.)
2. Walter Kiechel (1984, p. 91) makes a similar point.
3. As defined between "economically active and inactive" in the OPCS (Office for Population Censuses and Surveys) Labour Force Survey and excluding those over retirement age (*Social Trends* 1984, p. 57, chart 4.1).
4. *Social Trends* 1984, p. 58, table 4.3. Figures include all women over school-leaving age.
5. For example, Finch 1983; Fonda and Moss 1975; Martin and Roberts 1984; Swidler 1980, pp. 120-47.
6. Hunt 1969; Linda Wolfe 1975; Neubeck 1969; Lake and Hills 1979; Yablonsky 1979; Atwater 1982.
7. Further reasons are given in appendix B, pages 355-60; see also table 2, page 364, for the figures on premarital sex.
8. A racecourse near Windsor. At the beginning of June, a week of racing is attended by members of the royal family who stay at Windsor Castle. Those with tickets to the Royal Enclosure have to follow a dress code: men wear morning dress (tail coats); and women, exotic hats.
9. In 1857, in England, the first act permitting divorce in the civil, as compared with the ecclesiastical courts, was passed. This did permit women to divorce their husbands but not on the grounds of adultery alone; and for practical purposes, divorce continued for some time to be something attainable for husbands, not wives.
10. In Jewish law, although followed rarely, a man may still "put away" his wife after ten years if she remains barren.
11. In England in 1987, the government had a pamphlet about AIDS delivered to every household. The surgeon general of the United States has announced a similar plan.
12. De Rougemont 1983, p. 25. Denis de Rougemont first published *L'Amour et l'occident* in 1939. It has been translated twice, first as *Passion in Society*, but is commonly known by its later title, *Love in the Western World*. This change in title aptly captures the conflict: de Rougemont emphasizes that passion—the *eros* of love—is deadly, while the *agape* of love, altruistic or nurturant loving, is creative.

Introduction

1. De Rougemont (1983 [1939]) argues throughout that passion is inseparable from suffering and death. Further, desire is kept aflame by not having conquered; it must meet successive obstacles or invent its own. There is a debate in the literature about whether the great epic pair, Tristan and Isolde, ever consummated their love, particularly since, after finding them sleeping in the forest, King Marc—Tristan's uncle, foster father, and liege lord—replaces Tristan's with his own weapon. The symbolism is scarcely veiled. In addition to de Rougemont, see, for example, C. S. Lewis 1959; Lerner 1979.
2. De Rougemont 1983, p. 18.
3. Bedier 1965. See also accounts by de Rougemont (1983, pp. 26-30) and Robert A. Johnson (1983, pp. 9-15 and passim).
4. To borrow Tony Tanner's term (1979, p. 377).

Archival list for research material generated by the study:
Annette Lawson - ADULTERY - An Analysis of Love and Betrayal
(Basic Books, 1988)

Catalogue Abstract: This study centred on six hundred mainly white, and mainly middle-class women and men, either married or involved in long-term live-in relationships. It used structured questionnaires, individual interviews and small group discussions to examine the views, motivations and experiences of respondents involved in, or affected by, extra-marital affairs.

Storage Details: The data is contained in five large 'archive' boxes (numbered Law:1 to Law:5); plus nine smaller 'transfer' files containing the completed questionnaires (numbered Q.1 to Q.9).

Box No: LAW:1 'Respondents Correspondence'

Explanatory Note: Annette Lawson gave several interviews about adultery to various newspapers and one radio station; through which she invited letters of response from readers; these letters often took the form of very personal accounts of adulterous affairs and their individual consequences. This box contains those letters, sorted by the newspaper responded to, and gender of the respondent. Those people subsequently sent questionnaires were predominantly drawn from this group. Reference numbers were assigned to the letter writers, so individual questionnaires, or interviews and transcripts may be followed up. This box also contains some less specific correspondence. All these letters have been anonymised.

File No:	Contents:
LAW: 1.1	'Sunday Times' Women
1.2	'Sunday Times' Men
1.3	'Sunday Times' Couples
1.4	'Guardian' Women
1.5	'Guardian' Men
1.6	'Guardian' Couples
1.7	'Sunday Mirror' Women
1.8	'Sunday Mirror' Men
1.9	'Sunday Mirror' Couples
1.10	'Radio London' Men & Women
1.11	Women not sent Questionnaires
1.12	Correspondence about Group Discussions
1.13	Correspondence sent to 'Sunday Times' in response to an article by Suzanne Lowry 'Is an Affair a Forgivable Sin?'
1.14	Miscellaneous correspondence/ offers of help with research etc.
1.15	Miscellaneous correspondence
1.16	Miscellaneous and anonymous correspondence

Total: 16 files.

Box Name: LAW: 2 - Contents: Interview Transcripts

Explanatory Note: In addition to questionnaires and letters Annette Lawson conducted both individual face-to-face interviews and group discussion meetings; most of these were recorded and transcribed. Both the ALC – 'I' individual and 'G' group codings, and the four-figure reference numbers shown here in brackets were given by the original researcher; the latter connect with questionnaires and correspondence. The presence of a [T] indicates that we also have the original audio-tape of the interview or group discussion.

File No:	Interview Reference:	Gender:	D.O.B.:	Occupation:	Tape:
Law 2:1	ALCI 01	f	1929	social worker	x
2:2	ALCI 02	f	x	nursery nurse	x
2:3	ALCI 03	m&f	x	engineer/housewife	x
2:4	ALCI 04	f	1936	magistrate	[T]
2:5	ALCI 05	f	1932	housewife	[T]
2:6	ALCI 09	f	1960	receptionist	[T]
2:7	ALCI 10	m	x	lecturer	[T]
2:8	ALCI 11	m&f	1947	probation officer/ counsellor	[T]
2:9	ALCI 12	f	1899	writer/teacher	[T]
2:10	ALCI 13	m	1931	social worker	[T]
2:11	ALCI 14	m&f	1946/1950	x	[T]
2:12	ALCI 15	m	1959/1962	nurses	[T]
2:13	ALCI 16	m	x	x	[T]
2:14	ALCI 20	m&f	1931/1956	businessman/secretary	[T]
2:15	ALCI 22a	f	1944	medical secretary	[T]
2:16	ALCI 22b	m	1944	garage worker	[T]
2:17	ALCI 24	f	1941	student/nurse advisor	[T]
2:18	'Kate'	f	1954	beautician	[T]
2:19	'Patrick'	m	1937	school teacher	[T]
2:20	ALCG 1	m&f	1925-1947	various	[T]
2:21	ALCG 2	m&f	1917-1929	various	[T]
2:22	ALCG 3	m&f	1936-1951	various	[T]
2:23	ALCG 4	m&f	1929-1948	various	[T]
2:24	ALCG 5	m&f	1918-1951	various	[T]
2:25	ALCG 6	m&f	1930-1940	various	[T]
2:26	ALCG 7	m&f	1943	various	[T]
2:27	ALCG 8	f	1915-1938	various	[T]
2:28	ALCG 9	x	x	various	[T]
2:29	ALCG 10	f	x	students	[T]
2:30	ALCG 11	m&f	1918-1941	various	[T]
2:31	ALCG 12	m&f	1921-1926	various	[T]
2:32	ALCG13	various	[notes only]		
2:33	Selected Quotes from Group Discussions				
2:34	Selected Quotes from Interviews				

Total: 34 files

Box LAW: 3 Background Material

File No:	Contents:
LAW: 3.1	Miscellaneous notes and correspondence
3.2	Miscellaneous notes and correspondence
3.3	Hand-written analyses & statistical footnotes
3.4	Six questionnaires from the pilot study - with comments
3.5	Appendices: a) The Questionnaire b) Sample C) Method
3.6	Assorted acetates: graphs and tables
3.7	Correspondence about book (re: publishing/legal points)
3.8	Five bound questionnaires - titled: i) 'Guardian and independents' ii) 'snowball Times' iii) 'Sunday Times & pilot' iv) 'Radio London & Sunday Mirror' vi) 'men'
3.9	Folder containing 'Frequencies Questionnaires'
3.10	'Notes for a talk', 9/3/86; plus three Conference Papers: i) 'The Adulterous Encounter' ii) 'Competing Myths' ✓ (iii) 'How to Cope with Infidelity'
3.11	Blank questionnaires
3.12	Coding sheets
3.13	Newspaper cuttings, including Polly Toynbee's Guardian article; and Elle Magazine 9/92 which has an article referring to the Lawson study; plus two conference posters.

Box LAW: 4 Index Cards

File No:	Contents:
LAW: 4.1	Quotations from group discussions
4.2	a) Index of books and magazine references A - K b) Index of books and magazine references L - Z
4.3	Coding references
4.4	Quotations from individual interviews: a) ALCI 01 - 11 b) ALCI 12 - 18 c) ALCI 19 - 22b d) ALCI 23 - 27

Box LAW: 5 Audio Cassette Tapes

Transcribed Tapes:

Individual interviews:

ALC I4
ALC I5
ALC I9 (plus 0562)
ALC I10
ALC I11
ALC I12/1
ALC I12/2
ALC I13
ALC I14
ALC I15/1
ALC I15/2
ALC I16
ALC I20/1
ALC I20/2
ALC I22/a
ALC I22/b
ALC I24/1
ALC I24/2

Group Discussions:

ALC G1/1
ALC G1/2
ALC G1/3
ALC G1/4
ALC G2/1
ALC G2/2
ALC G3/1
ALC G3/2
ALC G3/3
ALC G3/4
ALC G5/1
ALC G5/2
ALC G6/1
ALC G6/2
ALC G7/1
ALC G7/2
ALC G8/1
ALC G8/2
ALC G9
ALC G10
ALC G11/1
ALC G11/2
ALC G12/1
ALC G12/2

0259/1
0259/2 (+0532)

Sub-total 44 subscribed tapes.

Box LAW: 5 Audio Cassette Tapes (Continued)

Un-transcribed Tapes

Individual Females:

0077/1
0077/2
0081/1
0081/2
0186
0192/1
0220
0337/1
0337/2

Individual Males:

0515
0568
0587/1
0587/2 (& Female: 0192/2)
0690
0794/1
0794/2

Group Discussions:

'Students'

Group Discussion [X/1]
Group Discussion [X/2]
Group Discussion [Z/1]
Group Discussion [Z/2]

Sub-total: 23 un-subscribed tapes

Total: 67 tapes

Questionnaire Boxes

Explanation: All the questionnaires completed as part of this study are filed in numerical order with the exception of those completed by respondents who took part in group discussions; these are filed separately in Box Q.9. The original investigator made this separation, indicating the importance of this sub-group within the study as a whole. Remember this when searching.

Box Q.1	Box Q.2	Box Q.3	Box Q.4
0008	0202	0555	1055
0010	0207	0556	1061
0014	0216	0558	1075
0019	0227	0559	1085
0020	0233	0560	1119
0030	0246	0564	1142
0032	0248	0566/1	1156
0038	0257	0566/2	1165
0040	0259	0576	1167
0041	0266	0577	1170
0044	0292	0579	1172
0045	0297	0581	1175
0049	0299	0583	1180
0053	0300	0590	1185
0055	0315	0596	1195
0062	0333	0597	1222
0065	0335	0603	1252
0066	0340	0604	1255
0075	0350	0605	1262
0080	0354	0609	1309
0081	0360	0610	1334
0085	0364	0613	1353
0087	0369	0705	1360
0090	0403	0716	1361
0091	0502	0725	1544
0095	0506	0726	1548
0099	0516	0735	1552
0103	0527	0736	1554
0108	0531	0737	1564
0113	0532	0748	1566
0121	0540	0755	
0133	0542	0799	
0138	0544	0800	
0141	0545	0804	
0143	0549	0852	
0149	0550	0924	
0151	0551		
0156	0552		
0163	0553		
0165	0554		
0166			
0167			
0171			
0172			
0173			
0182			
0185			
0187			
0194			
0196			
0199			
Total: 51	Total: 40	Total: 36	Total: 30

Questionnaire Boxes (Continued)

Explanation: All the questionnaires completed as part of this study are filed in numerical order with the exception of those completed by respondents who took part in group discussions; these are filed separately in Box Q.9. The original investigator made this separation, indicating the importance of this sub-group within the study as a whole. Remember this when searching.

Box Q.5	Box Q.6	Box Q.7	Box Q.8
2002	2104	2558	4002
2004	2105	2559	4004
2008	2502	2561	4005
2009	2509	2562	4006
2011	2511	2563	4008
2013	2512	2564	4009
2015	2513	2565	4012
2017	2514	2566	4014
2018	2515	2568	4019
2020	2518	2570	4021
2022	2524	2571	4023
2024	2526	2572	4027
2026	2527	2573	4028
2033	2528	2574	4029
2036	2529	2575	4031
2037	2530	2576	4032
2038	2531	2586	4035
2041	2532	2587	4037
2042	2533	2590	4039
2043	2534	2591	4044
2044	2535	2701	4048
2047	2536	2702	4053
2048	2537	2705	
2050	2538	2716	+ 2 'lost' sheets
2051	2539	2728	& 7 questionnaires
2054	2540	2740	from OU students,
2055	2541	2741	not included in survey.
2056	2544	2747	
2057	2545	2750	
2060	2546	2751	
2063	2547	2757	
2064	2548	2758	
2066	2549	3001	
2068	2550	3003	
2070	2551	3008	
2076	2553	3012	
2078	2554	3013	
2080	2555		
2085			
2086			
2091			
2092			
2095			
2099			
	Total: 44	Total: 38	Total: 38
			Total: 29

Questionnaire Boxes (Continued)

Explanatory Note: All the questionnaires completed as part of this study are filed in numerical order with the exception of those completed by respondents who took part in group discussions; these are filed separately in Box Q.9. The original investigator made this separation, indicating the importance of this sub-group within the study as a whole. Remember this when searching.

Box Q.9

Contains 58 completed questionnaires from group discussion participants; numbers run from 0002 to 6222.

Total number of completed questionnaires: 364

Respondent's names and addresses; and any other identifying information have been removed from these questionnaires.

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