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5	The crux of cognitive load: Constraining deliberate and effortful decision processes in
6	romantic jealousy
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25	

Abstract

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DeSteno, Bartlett, Salovey, and Braverman (2002) challenged the evidentiary support for the hypothesis of evolved sex differences in jealousy. They attribute this support emanating from studies forcing men and women to choose between sexual and emotional infidelity as generating more negative emotional responses to a methodological artifact. This attribution is based on the results of their study allegedly demonstrating that sex differences in jealousy emerge in the forced-choice response format only when participants employ deliberate and effortful decision processes but disappear when using automatic or simple decision processes. The present study offers and tests an alternative account of their results. Specifically, the participants were forced to employ a simple decision process by either a substantial time pressure or a jealousy-related word load or jealousy-unrelated digit-string load imposed on the participants while choosing between sexual and emotional infidelity as causing more jealousy. The sex differences predicted by the evolutionary hypothesis were found in the time pressure and word-load condition and they were attenuated in the digit-string condition. Additionally, only in the digit-load condition was sexual infidelity selected more frequently when it appeared as the first response option, indicating that the empirical basis of DeSteno et al.'s (2002) challenge of the evolutionary view of jealousy is in all likelihood attributable to a methodological artifact. Key words: jealousy, sex differences; evolutionary psychology; evolved psychological

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mechanism; cognitive load

1. Introduction

Several evolutionary psychologists (Buss, Larsen, Westen, & Semmelroth, 1992; Daly, Wilson, & Weghorst, 1982; Symons, 1979) proposed the hypothesis of a sex-specific evolved jealousy mechanism (EJM) because different infidelity types have recurrently threatened male and female reproductive success. Specifically, a woman's sexual infidelity deprives her mate of a reproductive opportunity and may burden him with years of investment in a genetically unrelated child. In contrast, a man's sexual infidelity does not burden his mate with unrelated children, but he may divert resources from his mate's progeny. This resource threat may be signaled by his level of emotional attachment to another female. As a consequence, men are predicted to be more concerned than women about a mate's sexual infidelity. Conversely, women are predicted to be more concerned than men about a mate's emotional infidelity.

An impressive body of research during the past 15 years has been primarily devoted to testing the hypothesis that men respond with stronger negative emotions than women to a mate's sexual infidelity whereas women respond with stronger negative emotions than men to a mate's emotional infidelity. Studies employing a forced-choice response format consistently supported the hypothesis (e.g., Buss et al., 1992; Buss et al., 1999; Buunk, Angleitner, Oubaid, & Buss, 1996; DeSteno & Salovey, 1996; Pietrzak, Laird, Stevens, & Thompson, 2002; Sagarin, Becker, Guadagno, Nicastle, & Millevoi, 2003). In contrast, studies using continuous ratings of the intensity of negative emotional responses elicited by emotional and sexual infidelity yielded less consistent results (e.g., Bohner & Wänke, 2004; DeSteno, Bartlett, Braverman, and Salovey, 2002; Edlund, Heider, Scherer, Farc, & Sagarin, 2006; Pietrzak et al., 2002; Sabini and Green, 2004, 2006; Sagarin et al., 2003; for reviews see Harris, 2003; Penke & Asendorpf, in press).

This lack of correspondence between the findings obtained with the forced-choice response format and the continuous ratings of emotional intensity led DeSteno et al. (2002) to question the validity of the empirical support for the evolutionary hypothesis of sex differences in jealousy. These authors argue that the limitation of the emprirical support for the evolutionary hypothesis to a single methodology always carries the risk of dealing with an artifact of measurement. This possible limitation, "takes on greater weight when one considers that the use of a forced-choice response format ... is known to induce different and more effortful decision strategies in the production of preference judgments" (DeSteno et al., 2002, p. 1105). As a consequence, "the previous findings used to support the evolutionary view might not represent differential jealousy resulting from sex-specific evolved modules, but a methodological artifact resulting from a specific and effortful decision strategy invoked by the format of the question" (DeSteno et al., 2002, p. 1105).

DeSteno et al. (2002) proposed three assumptions that in combination try to partially reconcile the diverging results obtained with the two response formats. (1) Men and women actually share the same default distress response that is greater to sexual than emotional infidelity. (2) Continuous ratings invariably elicit rather simple decision strategies which revert to this default distress response towards sexual infidelity. (3) The forced-choice response format invariably generates deliberate and effortful considerations of the possible trade-offs of the two events which asymmetrically affect men's and women's decisions: The output of these trade-off considerations does not affect men's final decision inasmuch that most men continue insisting on their default distress response towards sexual infidelity. In complete contrast, the same trade-off considerations have an extremely profound impact on women's choices inasmuch that the vast majority of women uses the output of these considerations to override their default distress response they share with men and now claims that emotional infidelity generates more intense jealousy feelings. This presumed asymmetry

in the influence of the deliberate and effortful trade-off considerations on men's and women's responses is finally made responsible for a method-specific sex difference in jealousy obtained with the forced-choice response format.

DeSteno et al. (2002, Study 2) tested these assumptions in an experiment in which the participants based their decision in the forced-choice response format either on deliberate and effortful or automatic (simple) decision processes. Specifically, in the deliberate and effortful condition, the participants were instructed to carefully consider their response before choosing between sexual and emotional infidelity. In the automatic condition, the deliberate and effortful decision processes were supposedly suppressed by a cognitive load in terms of a digit-string memory task imposed on the participants while choosing between the two response alternatives, thus forcing the participants to make their choice using simple decision processes.

DeSteno et al. (2002) consider their cognitive load study a crucial test contrasting their assumptions with the evolutionary hypothesis of jealousy. They argue that the operation of the EJM as an evolved cognitive mechanism does not depend on deliberate and effortful decision processes but necessarily operates automatically. Thus, when forcing the EJM to operate automatically by imposing a cognitive load in terms of a digit-string memory task while choosing between the two response alternatives, the sex differences predicted by the evolutionary view of jealousy should emerge unmasked. In contrast, their assumptions predict that the majority of both men and women under cognitive load engage in simple decision strategies and select sexual infidelity in accordance with their shared default distress response towards this infidelity type. Sex differences should emerge only when decisions in the forced-choice response format are based on deliberate and effortful decision processes which lead women but not men to turn towards emotional infidelity. As predicted by DeSteno et al.

(2002), in the deliberate and effortful condition 96% of the men but only 36% of the women selected sexual jealousy. In contrast, in the automatic condition, the majority of not only the men but also of the women chose sexual infidelity (92% and 65%, respectively). Note, however, that contrary to DeSteno et al.'s (2002) claim that "the sex difference on the forced-choice measure disappeared under conditions of cognitive constraint," (p. 1103) which has been repeated by DeSteno, Bartlett, and Salovey (2006; see also Berman and Frazier, 2005; Harris, 2003, for the same claim), a reanalysis of their data shows that the sex difference in the cognitive load condition was merely attenuated but did not completely disappear inasmuch as still significantly more women than men chose emotional infidelity (35% vs. 8%), $\chi^2 = 6.20$; df = 1; N = 57, p = .013 (see also Sagarin, 2005).

The goal of the present study is to test an alternative account of the results of DeSteno et al.'s (2002) cognitive load study. According to this alternative account, their results are attributable to an artifact in measurement that is based on a conceptual misapprehension and methodological peculiarities boosting decision processes which are irrelevant for the EJM. Concerning the conceptual misapprehension, being considered an evolved information processing mechanism does not necessarily imply that the EJM operates automatically. As recently pointed out by Barrett, Frederick, Haselton, and Kurzban (2006), many evolved mechanisms including the EJM probably depend on specific input (e.g., imagining a mate's emotional and/or sexual infidelity) from deliberate and effortful processes in order to operate properly. The digit-string memory task which is completely unrelated to the EJM probably interfered with or suppressed these deliberate and effortful processes and thus prevented the availability of the input that the jealousy mechanism needs to come up with a valid decision.

Additionally, the requirements of the digit-string memory task together with methodological peculiarities of the cognitive load condition might have led the participants to

adopt decision strategies that are not guided by the operation of the EJM and thus do not contribute to our understanding of how the EJM works. Specifically, the participants could reproduce the digits upon a decision in a forced-choice scenario or after 10 seconds without a response. Thus, in order to do well on the memory task, the participants might have used rather simple decision strategies to speed up with the forced-choice task to reproduce the digits as quickly as possible. A first methodological peculiarity that might have promoted the use of a simple decision strategy especially in the infidelity scenario concerns the description of the pertinent two response alternatives. The description of the response alternatives in the infidelity scenario (the third of five forced-choice scenarios) and hence the required reading time was considerably longer than in any of the other scenarios. In fact, it consisted of 68 letters ("had passionate sex with someone else; formed a deep emotional bond to someone else"), whereas the length of the other scenarios varied between only 19 and 36 letters (e.g., "ignored me; insulted me", "lied to me; stole from me"). The time for reading the response alternatives and for making a decision was confined to 10 seconds at most for all scenarios. Thus, the comparatively high cognitive demands imposed by the lengthy infidelity scenario might have particularly promoted the use of a simple decision strategy, namely to take the first response alternative. However, a second methodological peculiarity is that as described by DeSteno et al. (2002) the first response alternative in the infidelity scenario happened to be always sexual infidelity. In this context, it is also informative that none of the men (for whom, according to the evolutionary hypothesis of jealousy, the first response alternative matched their initial response tendency) but 6 out of 37 women (for whom, according to the evolutionary hypothesis, the first response alternative conflicted with their initial response tendency) failed to make a decision within the allotted 10 seconds.

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In sum, the jealousy unrelated digit-string memory task possibly interfered with the proper functioning of the domain-specific EJM in the infidelity trial. Instead, this task might

have promoted a simple, jealousy-irrelevant decision strategy to select the first of the two response alternatives. The first response alternative was always sexual infidelity. The purpose of the present research is to test this alternative interpretation and its implications. The basic idea was to manipulate the cognitive load task such that its content was either completely unrelated to jealousy (i.e., the original digit-string memory task) or was related to jealousy (i.e., a memory task for relationship-oriented words including those referring to infidelity). Additionally, the participants in the no-load control condition simply answered the forced-choice questions. However, in contrast to DeSteno et al.'s no-load control condition with unlimited time for the preference judgments, decisions in the present no-load condition had to be made also within the same 10 seconds time limit as the cognitive load conditions. Thus, although the EJM is not distracted by an additional load, the 10 seconds time limit also imposes a noticeable time pressure. In fact, Schützwohl (2004) reported considerably longer decision times in the forced-choice paradigm without an explicit time limit than the allotted 10 seconds as women and men were found to need on average 16.4 seconds and 20.8 seconds, respectively, for their decision.

According to DeSteno et al.'s (2002) assumptions, in both cognitive load conditions the majority of men and women should select sexual infidelity as generating more jealousy, because both manipulations of cognitive load enhance the use of simple, automatic decision strategies which should rely on men's and women's shared default distress response towards sexual infidelity. The same result is expected in the no-load condition as the considerable time pressure should also prevent deliberate and effortful decision processes. In contrast, the evolutionary hypothesis predicts sex-specific differences in the no-load condition, because of the absence of processes interfering with the proper functioning of the EJM. In fact, the time pressure should urge men to rely on their initial response tendency towards sexual infidelity and women to rely on their initial response tendency towards emotional infidelity (Penke &

Asendorpf, in press; Schützwohl, 2004). Furthermore, the word-load condition allowed to investigate whether relationship-oriented words including those referring to infidelity, which might not interfer with the functioning of the EJM as much as the digit-string load, also result in the effect documented by DeSteno et al. (2002). Finally, based on these considerations, sexual infidelity should be selected more frequently if this response alternative appears as the first response alternative in the digit-load (and possibly in the word-load) condition but not in the no-load condition.

2. Method

2.1 Procedure

Unless noted otherwise, the procedure followed strictly that of DeSteno et al. (2002, Study 2). On arrival, the participants were assigned randomly to either the no-load, digit-load or word-load condition and then seated in front of a computer screen. The participants were informed that the experiment was designed to assess their responses to different types of actions by romantic partners. All subsequent instructions, measures, and forced-choice responses were presented and collected using Experimental Runtime Systems (BeriSoft Corporation).

The participants were first instructed to think of a committed romantic relationship in which they had previously been involved, are currently involved, or would like to be involved. They were then informed that they would be presented with a series of questions that would require them to select which of two actions, if engaged in by their romantic partner, would elicit more negative emotions. In contrast to DeSteno et al. (2002, Study 2), the participants were not simply asked for the general level of upset, but instead asked for a specific emotion in each scenario. In the critical trial, following their own recommendation, the participants were asked specifically for jealousy in order "to asses the impact of these

events [i.e., sexual vs. emotional infidelity] on the more complex emotional experience of jealousy " (DeSteno et al., 2002, p. 1105). At this point, the participants in the digit- and word-load conditions received one of two sets of instructions based on their group assignment.

2.2 *Manipulations*

The participants in the cognitive load conditions were informed that the experimenters were interested in how people make relationship-relevant judgments when they are distracted. To simulate distraction, they would be asked to remember a string of digits (words, respectively) at the same time that they were responding to a series of preference questions. Participants were told that a string of seven digits (five words) would appear on the screen before each question. They would then have to answer the preference question concerning the actions of a relationship partner, immediately after which they would have to recall the digits (the words) that had preceded the question. To guard against strategies involving extended rehearsals over long periods of time, participants were told that they would have 10 seconds to answer each preference question. The participants in the no-load condition were informed about the time allotted for each decision. In addition, all participants were told that it was extremely important to provide the most accurate answer possible to both the recall and preference questions.

The experiment consisted of two additional practice trials followed by the five trials used by DeSteno et al. (2002). After the completion of the two practice trials, participants were asked to notify the experimenter if they were confused by the tasks. In the cognitive load conditions, each trial started with a note on the screen to start a trial by pressing the space bar. After the key press, a string of seven randomly selected digits (five words randomly selected from a list of 30 words; for the complete list of words see the Appendix) appeared on the

screen for 3 seconds. Five words were used because a pretest revealed that more words strained the participants. The digits (words) were then followed by a preference question. Upon a response, or a 10 second duration without a response, the participants were asked to recall the digits (words). No feedback was provided concerning the accuracy of their response.

2.3 Jealousy measure

This measure consisted of five questions (one target and four distractors). Each question was accompanied by two response alternatives. The five questions were presented in the following order: (a) It would displease me more, if my partner: was rude to my family, was rude to my friends; (b) It would hurt me more, if my partner: lied to me, stole from me; (c) It would make me more jealous, if my partner: had passionate sex with someone else, formed a deep emotional bond to someone else; (d) It would disappoint me more, if my partner: forgot my birthday, forgot our anniversary; (e) It would hurt me more, if my partner: insulted me, ignored me. The position of the two response alternatives in the jealousy question was counterbalanced across the participants' sex and conditions. After the completion of the last memory trial, the participants in the cognitive load conditions were asked to indicate on a 10 point rating scale how difficult the memory task had been. The rating scale ranged from 1 (very easy) to 10 (very difficult).

2.4 Participants

A total of 308 students (153 men and 155 women) of various disciplines at the University of Bielefeld participated in this study. Fifty-one participants (6 in the no-load, 22 in the word-load and 23 in the digit-load condition) could not be included in the ensuing analyses because they failed to answer the jealousy question within the allotted time. This loss of 20% of the participants as compared to 11% in the DeSteno et al. (2002) study is presumably owed to the

281 fact that the German language is more long winded than the English language. However, this loss was accepted for the sake of an as exact replication of their study as possible. 282 283 Nevertheless, the remaining sample size is still considerably larger than that in the DeSteno et 284 al. study. The resulting sample consisted of 257 individuals (126 men and 131 women) who 285 were unpaid for their participation. Their age ranged from 20 to 35 years (M = 23.9; SD = 286 3.5). 287 288 **3. Results** 289 290 3.1 Difficulty of memory task 291 A two-way ANOVA of the difficulty ratings of the memory task with sex and type of 292 cognitive load (digits vs. words) as between-subjects factors yielded a marginally significant main effect for cognitive load type, F(1, 175) = 2.84, p = .09, partial $\varepsilon^2 = .016$, indicating that 293 the word memory task was rated marginally more difficult than the digit memory task (8.33 294 vs. 7.99). The interaction effect was also marginally significant, F(1, 175) = 3.65, p = 0.058, 295 partial $\varepsilon^2 = .020$. Women judged the word and digit memory task equally difficult (8.14 vs. 296 297 8.19), t(90) = 0.15, d = .03. In contrast, men rated the word memory task significantly more 298 difficult than the digit memory task (8.52 vs. 7.71), t(85) = 2.80, p = .006, d = .58. 299 **Insert Table 1 about here** 300 301 302 Forced choice 3.2 303 The mean percentages of women and men selecting sexual infidelity in the no-load, the word-304 load and the digit-load condition depending on the position of the sexual infidelity response 305 option are presented in Table 1. In each condition, more men than women selected sexual

infidelity as generating more jealousy. Overall, this sex difference was highly significant, $\chi^2 =$

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307 17.25; df = 1; N = 257, p < .001, which represents a moderate to fairly large effect size 308 (Hasselblad & Hedges, 1995), d = .62. However, the sex difference was significant in the noload and the word-load condition, $\chi^2 = 8.69$; df = 1; N = 78, p = .003, d = .77, and $\chi^2 = 6.05$; df 309 = 1; N = 90, p = .01, d = .67, respectively, but only marginally significant in the digit-load 310 condition, $\chi^2 = 3.53$, df = 1; N = 89, p = .06, d = .48. Moreover, only in the digit-load 311 312 condition was sexual infidelity selected significantly more frequently when it appeared as the first response option, $\chi^2 = 4.27$; df = 1; N = 89, p = .039, d = .54 (see Table 1). In both the no-313 314 load and the word-load condition, the selection of sexual infidelity was unaffected by the position of sexual infidelity as first or second response option, $\chi^2 = 0.0$; df = 1; N = 78, and χ^2 315 316 = 1.1; df = 1; N = 90, ps > .29.

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Comparisons across load conditions separately for men and women revealed that men's but not women's choices were differentially affected by how deliberate and effortful decision processes were constrained, $\chi^2 = 6.20$; df = 2; N = 126, p = .045 and $\chi^2 = 2.59$; df = 2; N = 131, p > .27, respectively. Specifically, as shown in Table 1 significantly more men in the no-load condition than in either the word-load or digit-load condition selected sexual infidelity as causing more jealousy, $\chi^2 = 5.27$; df = 1; N = 85, p = .022, d = .56, and $\chi^2 = 4.11$; df = 1; N = 80, p = .043, d = .51, respectively. Men's choices in the word-load and digit-load did not significantly differ, $\chi^2 = .05$; df = 1; N = 87, p > .80, d = .05. In contrast, in each load condition, the clear majority of women select emotional infidelity as causing more jealousy (see Table 1).

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4. Discussion

- The sex differences in jealousy predicted by the evolutionary hypothesis were significant in the no-load and word-load condition and were attenuated in the digit-load condition.
- Furthermore, only in the digit-load but not in the no-load and the word-load condition was

sexual infidelity selected significantly more frequently if it appeared as the first response option. Additionally, the time pressure in the absence of any distracting tasks in the no-load condition resulted in the most pronounced sex differences with the majority of men selecting sexual infidelity. This is revealing as in the word-load and digit-load conditions as well as in previous forced-choice studies allowing unrestricted decision times with German samples (Buunk et al. 1996; Schützwohl, 2004), the majority of men selected emotional infidelity.

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Taken together, the present results raise serious doubts about the conceptual and methodological adequacy of the procedure employed by DeSteno et al. (2002) to test the functioning of the sex-specific EJM under conditions that enhance the use of automatic decision strategies. Rather, it suggests that the findings of DeSteno et al. (2002) are, in all likelihood, attributable to a methodological artifact: Their findings can be explained by assuming that their digit-load condition led men and women alike to adopt a decision strategy that is irrelevant to the functioning of the EJM and that favored the selection of the first response option which was sexual infidelity. Additionally, the present findings did not reveal any support for their assumption that men and women share the same default distress response towards sexual infidelity. In fact, despite the severe constraints on the decision processes in each condition which should promote simple decision strategies relying on the default distress response towards sexual infidelity, women clearly and consistently preferred emotional infidelity across all conditions. This finding is also difficult to reconcile with DeSteno et al.'s central assumption of an asymmetrical effect of different experimental conditions on men's and women's final decisions. Rather, contrary to DeSteno et al.'s assumption it appears that women were less susceptible than men to influences of task demands on their decisions. Finally, the exceptionally high percentage of men selecting sexual infidelity in their cognitive load study (92% and 96% in the load- and no-load condition, respectively) sets it distinctively apart from dozens of studies (including their own Study 1) reporting that approximately 40%

to 60% of the men select sexual infidelity (cf. Harris, 2003). This remarkable deviation in men's decisions suggests additional methodological peculiarities that artificially inflated the percentage of men selecting sexual infidelity, thus undermining the reliability of these findings.

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In addition to these failures to support DeSteno et al.'s assumptions, Schützwohl (2004) provided evidence questioning the adequacy of their assumption that the forced-choice response format invariably induces elaborate decision strategies. In this study briefly mentioned earlier, unbeknown to the participants, decision times were assessed in the standard forced-choice question as an indicator of the elaborateness of the pertinent decision processes. It was found that women selecting emotional infidelity made their decision significantly faster than women selecting sexual infidelity. Analogously, men selecting sexual infidelity made their decision significantly faster than men selecting emotional infidelity. From an evolutionary view, these findings suggest that women selecting emotional infidelity and men selecting sexual infidelity simply relied on their sex-specific initial response tendency activated by the respective EJM, whereas both women opting for sexual infidelity and men opting for emotional infidelity needed to engage in more elaborate decision processes to override their initial response tendency. Thus, contrary to basic assumptions of DeSteno et al. (2002), (1) the forced-choice response format apparently does not invariably induce the same elaborate decision processes in all participants; (2) less elaborate decision strategies do not reveal same-sex default distress responses towards sexual infidelity but instead sex-specific initial response tendencies for men (sexual infidelity) and women (emotional infidelity); (3) suggesting an asymmetry in decision strategies in the forced-choice response format which is not associated with the participants' sex as implied by DeSteno et al. (2002) but which within each sex is associated with the final choice (Schützwohl, 2004). Moreover, Schützwohl (2005) reported that men were significantly faster than women in

deciding whether infidelity cues would elicit either a first pang of jealousy or intolerable jealousy if these cues were more diagnostic of sexual jealousy. Conversely, women made these decisions significantly more rapidly than men for cues more diagnostic of emotional infidelity. Together with the pronounced sex differences in particular in the present no-load condition with time pressure but without distraction, these findings suggest that the sex differences obtained with the forced-choice task are due to fast, spontaneous decisions rather than long deliberation (see also Penke & Asendorpf, in press).

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	Constraining deliberate and effortful decision processes		
454	Appendix		
455	The words used in the word-load condition.		
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	tender	crisis	
	kiss	infidelity	
	honest	dispute	
	faithfulness	sloppy	
	reliable	separation	
	love	narrow minded	
	lust	stingy	
	forgive	dominant	

generous

romantic

respect

passionate

spontaneous

amusing

embrace

selfish

aggressive

impatient

deceit

capricious

disgrace oneself

authoritarian

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