

**INTEGRATING ATTACHMENT STYLES
AND CORRESPONDENCE BIAS**

A Senior Honors Thesis

by

KIMBERLY ANNE SAUSER

Submitted to the Office of Honors Programs
& Academic Scholarships
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the

UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE
RESEARCH FELLOWS

April 2002

Group: Psychology 2

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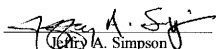
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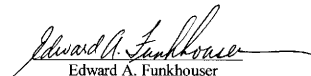
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ABSTRACT

Integrating Attachment Styles
and Correspondence Bias. (April 2002)

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Based on Daniel Gilbert's research on the correspondence bias, I hypothesized that securely attached individuals, (who have had positive experiences with others in the past) would be less likely than insecurely attached individuals (who have had negative experiences with others in the past) to attribute a stranger's negative behavior to his or her disposition, or personality. Participants in the present study were randomly assigned to a high cognitive or no cognitive load condition, received either a positive or negative prime, and were given a logical or illogical explanation for the witnessed negative behavior. All participants viewed two videotape clips of individuals behaving negatively and then rated the actors' behavior as they believed it occurred "in day to day life." Analyses revealed that situational context (i.e., reasons given for a person's behavior) has a very strong effect on person perception, especially for securely attached individuals. Also, as expected, securely attached individuals rated one of the actors most positively while insecurely attached individuals rated the same negative behavior less positively, though this difference was not statistically significant.

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Special thanks go out to Dr. Jeff Simpson, my advisor, who never seemed bothered by my many questions, whose faith in my ability far exceeds my own, and whose endless encouragement and willingness to help made this project truly enjoyable. I am grateful to have had the opportunity to work with such an extraordinary researcher who is also an extraordinarily effective teacher.

I have learned that research requires teamwork and cannot be done without a great deal of help from many people. I would like to thank my six research assistants, Noelle Howland, Rhylan Rowe, Ryan Tuggle, Lindsay Hooten, Kristin Souers, and Anne Hargrove for their reliability and conscientiousness, and graduate student Carol Wilson for her keen responses to my inquiries.

Finally, I thank my family and loved ones for their support. Somehow they all seem to know when I need chocolate or flowers, and their voices, smiles, and hugs are always available, and always appreciated.

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INTRODUCTION

Objectives

The goal of this project was to test predictions from attachment theory by integrating experimental techniques and principles from past research on the correspondence bias. I predicted that individuals' chronic attachment styles and their underlying working models might affect the attributions they make about the behavior of others involved in stressful social situations.

The proposed research is significant in that it is the first attempt to document relations between attachment styles and correspondence bias. It is also the first study to examine how individual characteristics (e.g., personal dispositions) might affect the way in which people arrive at attributions of others' behavior. For more than two decades, research has focused on how correspondence bias processes occur. The present study was designed to clarify *why* it occurs. If the predicted results emerge, we will be one step closer to understanding why certain people fail to understand others.

The History of Correspondence Bias

The correspondence bias¹ is the tendency for people to overestimate the extent to which others' behaviors are caused by their dispositions (or personalities) while underestimating the extent to which those behaviors are caused by others' situations or circumstances. In 1995, Gilbert and Malone published a paper outlining the three mental steps people engage in when making attributions of others. First, people categorize

¹ Although this phenomenon was first referred to as the *fundamental attribution error*, Gilbert prefers the term *correspondence bias*. Since the present study was modeled after Gilbert's work, I will refer to this mistake in social inference as the correspondence bias.

observed behavior (e.g., "That was aggressive behavior."). Second, they characterize the actor or assume the actor's personality caused the behavior (e.g., "Andy is an aggressive person."). Finally, if a person has ample cognitive energy, he or she will make situational corrections for the observed behavior (e.g., "Andy hit Mike with a pillow because Mike's snoring was keeping Andy awake. He didn't intend to give Mike a bloody nose, so maybe Andy isn't an aggressive person."). This third step can only be engaged in when observers are not cognitively overloaded (i.e., performing other tasks while simultaneously trying to judge others' behavior). This theory was developed following a series of experiments that examined cognitive busyness (i.e., the extent to which people are cognitive engaged in other tasks) and its consequences for making personal judgments (attributions) about others. A brief review of this literature is necessary to understand the present study.

One of Gilbert's first publications pertaining to the correspondence bias (Gilbert, Jones, & Pelham, 1987) differentiated between passive perceivers (those who cannot influence the behavior of the individuals they observe) and active perceivers (those who can). In experiment 1, they found that individuals who were motivated to assess the extent of their influence on a person (active perceivers) made significantly more dispositional (or personal) inferences about the person (target) when their influence was weak rather than strong, whereas individuals who were not motivated to assess their degree of influence (passive perceivers) rated the target the same, regardless of whether

This thesis follows the style and format of the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

their influence was weak or strong. This finding provided evidence that active perceivers concentrate only on information relevant to their goal of influencing the target and ignore other potential sources of influence (e.g., situational factors) that could explain the target's behavior. Experiment 2 confirmed that passive perceivers used "second-source" information (information about other potential sources of influence on the target) when judging the target, whereas active perceivers did not use second-source information. Presumably, those who had the potential to influence the target's behavior were too busy concentrating on the success of their influence attempts to take into consideration other sources of influence on the target.

In another study, Gilbert, Krull, and Pelham (1988) found that individuals who were told they *must* ignore an "irrelevant" stimulus were significantly less likely to make situational corrections for a target's behavior than individuals who were told they *could* ignore the irrelevant stimulus. Anyone who has been told not think about a particular object (e.g., a pink polar bear) knows how difficult this task is because trying to suppress the thought of an object makes the object more dominant in one's thoughts. Subjects told they must ignore the stimulus in the Gilbert et al. (1988) study most likely experienced a substantial cognitive load, making it more difficult to make situational corrections when judging the target.

Both of these studies were important in that they documented the effect of a *specific kind* of cognitive load on participants' ability to make accurate (or "correspondent") attributions of others, namely, self-regulation. Trying to influence another person's actions (and having to monitor one's own actions) and trying not to

perform a specific task are both forms of regulating one's own behavior. The question that remained was whether a type of cognitive load not involving self-regulation would produce the same pattern of results. As expected, a third study (Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988) found that participants who rehearsed a string of words while observing a woman behaving anxiously were less likely to take into consideration the situational constraints (i.e., that the woman was allegedly discussing her sexual fantasies) than participants who did not engage in the word-string rehearsal task, and cognitively busy participants rated the woman more dispositionally anxious.

The above studies also included logical versus illogical explanation manipulations, initially implemented as a way to prove that making situational corrections for others' behavior (mental step 3 in making attributions) was affected by cognitive busyness while characterization (step 2) was not (Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988). If characterization takes place before corrections are made, attributions made by individuals given an illogical explanation for a person's behavior should not differ under no cognitive load versus high cognitive load given that a dispositional inference is warranted in illogical situations. If the situation does not explain the behavior, a failure to make situational corrections (a failure to engage in step 3) should lead to the same attributions one would make when one takes situational factors into consideration (engages in step 3), but decides the situation could not have accounted for the witnessed behavior. Both groups of people should arrive at a dispositional attribution. Conversely, attributions made by individuals given a logical explanation *should* differ between individuals under no cognitive load versus high cognitive load. If the situation explains

or justifies the person's behavior, people who cannot take the situation into consideration (i.e., those under high cognitive load) should arrive at an incorrect dispositional attribution while those who can take the situation into consideration (i.e., those under no cognitive load) should correctly infer that the behavior is due to the situation, not the person's disposition. This logical versus illogical explanation manipulation was used in the present study as a way of determining whether participants adequately accounted for the targets' situations.

In the studies discussed above, only cognitively busy subjects had trouble correcting initial attributions made about others, providing suggestive evidence for the idea that the correcting of initial attributions takes considerable cognitive energy. In other words, when mental energy is in short supply, the correcting of initial attributions is the first cognitive process to be disrupted.

With all of these experimental results in hand, Gilbert, Pelham, and Krull (1988) proposed a formal model by which individuals judge the actions of others. The model, briefly discussed above, suggests that when individuals observe strangers behaving, the process by which they make judgments or attributions occurs in three mental steps. First, people categorize, or label, the actor's behavior. Second, they characterize the actor in trait terms, or assume the actor has personal traits that generated the observed behavior. Third, they may or may not engage in a final mental step that requires them to make "situational corrections." These situational corrections factor in extenuating circumstances (e.g., situational norms or the behavior of other actors in the situation) and often override pure dispositional inferences. The first two mental steps are so over-

practiced in everyday life that they are nearly automatic and require very little, if any, cognitive energy. Making situational corrections for others' behaviors, however, is not automatic; it necessitates a fair amount of cognitive energy. Thus, only individuals who have sufficient cognitive energy or resources (i.e., those who are not cognitively overloaded when observing and evaluating others) are able to take situational factors into account when making attributions. When individuals have sufficient mental capacity to make situational corrections, they typically do so. However, when they are made "cognitively busy" by having to perform simultaneous, complex tasks that deplete their attention and cognitive capacity, individuals may observe strangers' behavior less carefully and fail to make proper situational corrections. As a result, individuals misjudge others by assuming that their personalities—rather than situational forces—caused their behavior.

In a thorough review of the correspondence bias literature, Gilbert and Malone (1995) illustrated four ways in which the social inference process can be disrupted, resulting in what has been called the "fundamental attribution error": (1) an observer might not be aware of the actor's situational constraints, (2) an observer might have unrealistic expectations for the actor's behavior (i.e., s/he may underestimate the power of the situation), (3) knowledge about the situation might cause an observer to make a more extreme categorization of the behavior than is warranted, and/or (4) an observer might make incomplete corrections of initial dispositional judgments because s/he lacks motivation or sufficient cognitive resources. The research discussed above provides direct evidence for this fourth possible cause.

As Gilbert and Malone (1995) admit, these four causes are "proximal" in that they explain *how* correspondence bias occurs, but not *why* it occurs. One reason for *why* it occurs, according to the authors, is based in a functionalist perspective: Making dispositional inferences about observed behavior (while ignoring situational influences) often results in correct judgments, often does no serious damage, and is therefore a cost-effective inference strategy. People have a limited amount of mental energy to expend, and correspondence bias may often be the best solution for typically making relatively accurate judgments of other people.

New Directions

At least in Western cultures, virtually all people are prone to making unwarranted dispositional inferences, and cognitive load is one factor that facilitates this bias. Other important factors, however, may also promote the correspondence bias. To date, studies of correspondence bias have focused on either causes due to the situation at hand, or characteristics attributable to people *in general*. Could it be that certain individuals are more likely than others to make correspondence-based errors when evaluating others? The remainder of the introduction will suggest ways in which attachment theory might be relevant to underlying individual differences in susceptibility to the correspondence bias.

Overview of Attachment Theory

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980) claims that adults develop different attachment styles (i.e., secure, preoccupied, fearful-avoidant, or dismissive-

avoidant) depending on how they have been treated by past attachment figures, including parents, close friends, and former dating partners.

Secure individuals tend to have been treated well by others in the past. Their caregivers were generally responsive to their needs and consistent in their love and support giving. Consequently, these people develop positive working models of both themselves and of others in adulthood (Bowlby, 1973). Preoccupied individuals had caregivers who were inconsistent or unreliable, causing them to develop negative self-views and uncertain views of others (Cassidy & Shaver, 1999). Both types of avoidant individuals (fearful and dismissive) have endured rejection from past attachment figures, causing them to think negatively of significant others who, in the past, were largely unsupportive. The principle difference between fearful-avoidant individuals and dismissive-avoidant individuals lies in their self-views. Dismissive-avoidant individuals have stronger defenses that protect their self-esteem and, thus, they have more positive self-views compared to fearful-avoidant individuals (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991).

In the past decade, attachment researchers have found that two continuous dimensions underlie the four attachment styles identified by Bartholomew and Horowitz (see Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998). The first dimension, labeled avoidance, measures the extent to which individuals yearn to be psychologically and emotionally independent from others in close relationships. The second dimension, known as anxiety, assesses the extent to which individuals worry about losing their current attachment figures or being abandoned by them. People who are prototypically secure score low on both dimensions. These two dimensions are uncorrelated (Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan,

1992). The present study uses the avoidance and anxiety dimensions as the primary measures of chronic attachment styles.

According to attachment theory, individuals develop secure versus insecure attachment styles as a result of their experiences with past attachment figures. These experiences should lead individuals to harbor certain expectations about how others (especially attachment figures) are likely to behave in the future. Indeed, attachment styles are often conceptualized as interactions between how one views himself or herself and the expectations that one has for how others will behave toward them (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). John Bowlby (1973) stated that:

It is plausible to suppose that each individual builds working models of the world and of himself in it, with the aid of which he perceives events, forecasts the future, and constructs his plans... Thus, an unwanted child is likely not only to feel unwanted by his parents but to believe that he is essentially unwanted, namely unwanted by anyone. Conversely, a much-loved child may grow up to be not only confident of his parents' affection but confident that everyone else will find him lovable too. Though logically indefensible, these crude overgeneralizations are nonetheless the rule. Once adopted, moreover, and woven into the fabric of the working models, they are apt henceforward never to be seriously questioned. (p. 203-205)

Similar logic provides the foundation for the hypotheses of the present research. As discussed above, individuals with secure attachment styles have had positive experiences with attachment figures in the past. Thus, they should expect that people generally have positive personal attributes. These positive expectations should make secure people less likely to attribute a stranger's negative behavior to his or her dispositions, meaning that secure people should be less likely to fall prey to the correspondence bias when observing negative behavior in others. In contrast, individuals who have had unpredictable caregivers (e.g., highly anxious people) or who have been rejected by close others (e.g., highly avoidant people) should expect strangers

to behave more negatively. As a result, these insecure individuals should be more inclined to attribute a stranger's negative behavior to his or her underlying personal dispositions. That is, insecure individuals should be more likely to exhibit the correspondence bias when seeing negative behavior in others.

Attachment researchers have recently begun priming (i.e., temporarily activating) attachment working models using different techniques (see Shaver & Mikulincer, in press). Recent research has documented that if people are asked to think about certain positive or negative experiences they have encountered with significant others in the past, they tend to behave in line with these primes. For example, when asked to think about negative experiences such as being betrayed or rejected, all people (regardless of their chronic style of attachment) should perceive strangers in a more negative light. On the other hand, if asked to think about positive experiences such as being supported in the past, all people ought to perceive strangers more positively. Therefore, individuals who are primed with positive attachment-related memories or who possess a secure chronic attachment style should make more positive (situationally-corrected) inferences when observing negative behavior displayed by others, perhaps even if they perform a competing, complex cognitive task. Conversely, individuals who are primed with negative attachment-related memories or who possess insecure chronic attachment styles (i.e., those who score high on either or both the anxiety and avoidance attachment dimensions) should make more negative (dispositional) inferences about the same negative behavior, perhaps especially when they do a competing, complex cognitive task.

The Present Study

In the present study, participants' chronic attachment styles were assessed using Brennan, Clark, and Shaver's (1998) self-report measure. Participants also completed a measure of the Big Five personality traits (John & Srivastava, 1999), which were treated as covariates. Before viewing two videotape clips of people behaving negatively, participants were randomly assigned to one of sixteen experimental conditions (high vs. no cognitive load, logical vs. illogical explanation, positive vs. negative prime, and videotape order (the videotapes were counterbalanced)). After completing the personality and attachment inventories, participants wrote an essay about a time in their past during which they felt either loved and supported (the positive prime condition) or unloved and unsupported (the negative prime condition). They then watched the first videotape and rated the principle actor's behavior "in day to day life" (see Gilbert et al., 1992). Finally, participants viewed and rated the second videotape. These ratings of what the actors were like "in day to day life", which were the dependent measures in the study, were used to test the extent to which each individual attributed the negative behavior they saw to the actor's dispositions or the situational context in which the actor's behavior took place.

Summary of Hypotheses

Adopting Gilbert's cognitive load paradigm and logical versus illogical explanation paradigm (Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988; Gilbert, Krull, & Pelham, 1988; Gilbert & Osborne, 1989; Gilbert et al., 1992), two primary sets of hypotheses were tested:

1). Participants who report having insecure (chronic) attachment styles, who are primed with negative personal memories, who are given an illogical explanation for the witnessed negative behavior, and who are cognitively overloaded (i.e., those in the high cognitive load condition) should make the most negative, dispositional attributions of strangers' behavior;

2). Participants who report having a secure (chronic) attachment style, who are primed with positive personal memories, who are given a logical explanation for the witnessed negative behavior, and who have the cognitive capacity to make situational corrections (i.e., who are in the no cognitive load condition) should make the most positive (i.e., the strongest situationally-corrected) attributions for the same negative behavior.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 238 students attending Texas A&M University. In exchange for participation, they were given 1 hour of experimental credit toward fulfillment of an introductory psychology course requirement. After omitting 17 participants from the study (14 who failed to follow instructions, 2 who were not native English speakers, and 1 who did not understand the experimental procedures), final analyses included 221 participants (89 males and 132 females), aged 17 - 24.

All participants were tested individually. Upon arriving at the experimental lab room, participants read and completed informed consent forms. Next, the experimenter left the room while participants completed two self-report scales that assessed their attachment styles (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998; Simpson, Rholes, & Phillips, 1996), and their personality traits (Berkeley Personality Profile: John & Srivastava, 1999).

Prime Manipulation

Half the participants were randomly assigned to receive a positive prime. After finishing the self-report scales, these participants were asked to think about a time in their past when they felt very loved and supported by close others, and they were instructed to write a short essay about these memories. The other half of the participants were randomly assigned to the negative prime condition in which they were asked to think about a time in their past when they felt very unloved and unsupported by close others, after which they wrote a short essay about these memories. In both conditions, the experimenter left the participant alone to write and returned five minutes later to see

how the participant was doing. If the participant needed more time to write, up to five more minutes were given.

Explanation Manipulation

All participants watched two videotape clips of interactions between two people. One clip involved an extremely emotional daughter crying hysterically and placing blame on her mother for things in the past. In the other clip, an angry husband made some crude and potentially hurtful comments to his wife. Each clip was about 45 seconds in length. Participants were forewarned that they would not hear the actors' voices but would read subtitles that appeared at the bottom of the screen. The two videotapes were counterbalanced so that half the participants viewed the mother/daughter interaction first and half viewed the husband/wife interaction first. The daughter and the husband were the primary "actors" for whom ratings were made.

Following Gilbert's methodology as closely as possible, participants were given either a logical explanation or an illogical explanation for the actor's behavior they were about to see on the videotape (Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988; Gilbert, Krull, & Pelham, 1988; Gilbert & Osborne, 1989; Gilbert et al., 1992). See Appendix A for the specific logical and illogical explanations/instructions. In the logical explanation condition, the situations the actors were allegedly in should, for most people, justify or "explain" their negative behavior. In the illogical explanation condition, the alleged situations the actors were in should not, for most people, justify or "explain" the actors' negative actions.

Load Manipulation

While watching the videotape clips, half the participants were asked to perform a second task. Immediately before writing their essay about feeling either loved or unloved, participants assigned to the high cognitive load condition went through a practice session with the experimenter. In this session, each participant was told that while watching the videotape clips, s/he also had to listen to tone sequences played through the television speakers and to raise his/her hand when the "correct tone sequence" was heard. The experimenter then played the tone sequence participants were to listen for and told each participant to raise his/her hand when s/he heard the sequence (the tone task used in the present study was borrowed from Karen Ruggiero and has been used by others in previous cognitive load studies). A practice sequence was then played. If the participant did not respond or responded incorrectly, the experimenter played the correct tone sequence and the practice sequence again until the participant understood and responded correctly.

After writing the essay and immediately before viewing the first videotape clip, the experimenter played the correct tone sequence for the participant again, just to refresh his/her memory. Additionally, before viewing each videotape clip, each participant was reminded to raise his/her hand every time the correct sequence was played. While the videotape clips and tone sequences were playing, the experimenter sat behind the participant and recorded all responses. If a participant did not raise his/her hand after a correct tone sequence was played, the mistake was recorded as a "miss". When a participant raised his/her hand after an incorrect tone sequence was played, the

experimenter recorded the response as a "false positive." Instances in which a participant raised his/her hand after a correct tone sequence was played were recorded as "hits."

The other half of the participants (those randomly assigned to the no cognitive load condition) did not listen for tone sequences; they simply watched the videotapes.

Dependent Measures

After watching each videotape, all participants were given a paper with twelve statements on it, each beginning with the phrase, "When I think about how the woman/man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think s/he..." (adopted from Gilbert et al., 1992) and ending with phrases such as "is a hostile person" and "is generally fair when dealing with others." Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a scale of 1 (disagree strongly) to 13 (agree strongly). Items that ended with a negative attribution (e.g., "is a hostile person") were reverse-scored and answers to all twelve items were summed to create a total positive attribution score. These ratings, which served as the dependent variables, measured the degree to which positive vs. negative (and, therefore, situational vs. dispositional) attributions were made for the verbal and nonverbal behaviors displayed by the primary actors in the videos. The experimenter left the room while participants filled out these measures.

Manipulation Checks

After completing the twelve-item questionnaire, participants were given recall questions pertaining to the videos just viewed. This was a manipulation check to test

whether participants in the no cognitive load condition answered significantly more recall questions correctly than did those in the high cognitive load condition. Such evidence would suggest that participants in the high cognitive load condition were, in fact, cognitively overloaded.

The last number on both sets of recall questions asked participants, "To what extent was his/her [the actor's] behavior 'justified' given the circumstances of the situation?" Participants answered on a scale of 1 (not at all justified) to 9 (very well justified). This question served as the logical versus illogical manipulation check.

Lastly, after completing the recall questions for the second videotape clip, all participants (in all conditions) were asked the extent to which they felt loved and supported while writing their essays. This was done to assure that the essay task was an effective prime.

In sum, the basic experimental design of the study was a 2 (Prime Condition: Positive vs. Negative) X 2 (Explanation for Behavior: Logical vs. Illogical) X 2 (Cognitive Load Condition: Load vs. No load) X 2 (Order of Videotapes) X 2 (Self-reported Chronic Attachment Style: Secure vs. Insecure) X 2 (Sex: Women vs. Men) between-subjects ANOVA. The first four variables were experimentally manipulated. The fifth and sixth variables were measured individual difference factors. The Big 5 trait measures were treated as covariates to ensure that any significant effects were not confounded with general personality traits. Analyses revealed that two interactions became marginally significant when one or more personality traits were treated as covariates: 1) The 2-way interaction between Explanation and Prime became

marginally significant when agreeableness, neuroticism, and openness were included in analyses; 2) The 4-way interaction between Cognitive Load, Explanation, Prime, and Anxiety became marginally significant when neuroticism was included in the analysis. Because these personality traits had only a small effect on two interactions, they will not be discussed further.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

I first calculated descriptive statistics for all variables in the study. The results are presented in Table 1. The means, standard deviations, and ranges for both attachment scales and all personality scales were similar to past studies (e.g., Simpson, Rholes, & Phillips, 1996). Overall, participants rated the daughter more positively than the husband. This might be attributable to the nature of the two videotapes. Whereas the daughter was angry and emotional, the husband was angry and calm. Even when given an illogical explanation for the daughter's behavior, participants may have pitied her because she was so obviously upset. On the other hand, the husband, who made some very crude comments to his wife while maintaining a calm and apathetic demeanor, was not likely to have evoked pity.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for All Scales (*Note:* Dependent measures, or "positive attribution scales," were answered on a scale of 1 to 13. Lower scores indicate more negative (dispositional) attributions; higher scores reflect more positive (situational) attributions. Both the Brennan et al. (1998) measure of avoidance and anxiety and the Simpson et al. (1996) measure of avoidance and ambivalence were answered on scales of 1 to 7; higher scores indicate greater avoidance and anxiety/ambivalence. Finally, personality measures were answered on a scale of 1 to 5; higher scores reflect more extroversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, openness, and conscientiousness. All numbers presented reflect individuals' average [mean] score for the items on each scale.)

	α	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Positive attribution scale for daughter	.9325	1.92	12.08	7.62	2.28
Positive attribution scale for husband	.9482	1.00	12.00	6.52	2.44
Brennan avoidance scale	.9180	1.00	5.67	2.87	1.00
Brennan anxiety scale	.8703	1.50	6.11	3.81	0.94
AAQ avoidance scale	.7581	1.25	5.75	3.22	0.97
AAQ ambivalence scale	.8239	1.00	6.33	3.51	1.05
Extroversion	.8590	1.43	5.00	3.40	0.82
Agreeableness	.7171	1.57	5.00	3.75	0.65
Conscientiousness	.7524	1.86	5.00	3.44	0.64
Neuroticism	.8161	1.14	4.71	2.72	0.79
Openness	.6989	2.00	5.00	3.53	0.68

Correlations

Next, I calculated Pearson correlations between all variables in the study. The results are presented in Table 2. Ratings of daughter and ratings of husband correlated positively and significantly. This was expected since participants were given the same type of explanation (logical or illogical) for both videotapes (i.e., participants in the logical condition received a logical explanation for both the daughter's and the husband's negative behavior, and those in the illogical condition were given an illogical explanation for both actors' behavior). Explanation was significantly correlated with ratings of both the daughter and the husband, such that those in the logical condition rated both people more positively. Again, this was expected.

More females than males viewed the mother/daughter videotape first. However, because participants were randomly assigned to each experimental condition and there were no main effects or interactions involving participants' gender on ratings of either the daughter or the husband, this imbalance is not problematic.

Finally, there was a correlation between videotape order and ratings of the daughter, such that participants who viewed the mother/daughter videotape second rated the daughter more positively than those who rated the daughter first.

Table 2: Correlations between all Independent Variables and the Dependent Variables

		Sex	Load	Explanation	Prime	videotape order	Daughter DV (positive ratings of daughter)
Load	Pearson Sig. (2-tailed)	-.076 .262					
Explanation	Pearson Sig. (2-tailed)	-.079 .240	.005 .946				
Prime	Pearson Sig. (2-tailed)	.087 .199	-.014 .842	-.014 .841			
Videotape Order	Pearson Sig. (2-tailed)	-.308* .000	-.023 .737	-.005 .947	-.023 .738		
Daughter DV (positive ratings of daughter)	Pearson Sig. (2-tailed)	.035 .600	-.023 .737	.309* .000	.060 .375	-.176* .009	
Husband DV (positive ratings of husband)	Pearson Sig. (2-tailed)	.074 .276	.074 .274	.591* .000	-.063 .350	.032 .631	.265* .000

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Manipulation Checks

Independent *t*-tests were conducted for each manipulation check. All of the manipulation checks worked as expected. Participants in the high load condition answered significantly fewer recall questions for both the mother/daughter and the husband/wife videotape (see Tables 3 and 4). Those in the logical explanation condition rated the actors' behavior as significantly more justified than those in the illogical explanation condition (see Tables 5 and 6). As can be seen in Tables 7 and 8, participants correctly answered significantly more recall questions for whichever videotape they viewed second. Because participants were not warned before viewing the first videotape that recall questions would follow and they knew that recall questions might follow the second videotape clip, participants probably paid more attention to the second videotape clip. Finally, as expected, participants assigned to the positive prime condition reported feeling significantly more loved and supported while writing their essays than did those assigned to the negative prime condition (see Table 9).

Table 3: Cognitive Load Manipulation for Mother/Daughter Videotape

Condition	N	Mean (# of recall questions answered correctly out of 6)	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
High load	112	2.54	1.451	.137
No load	109	3.64	1.118	.107

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
-6.336	219	.000	-1.11

Table 4: Cognitive Load Manipulation for Husband/Wife Videotape

Condition	N	Mean (# of recall questions answered correctly out of 6)	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
High load	112	1.64	1.089	.103
No load	109	3.18	1.409	.135

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
-9.109	219	.000	-1.54

Table 5: Explanation Manipulation for Mother/Daughter Videotape

Explanation	N	Mean (on a scale of 1-9, the extent to which each individual felt that the daughter's behavior was justified)	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Logical	110	7.35	1.289	.123
Illogical	111	5.37	1.763	.167

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean difference
9.548	219	.000	1.99

Table 6: Explanation Manipulation for Husband/Wife Videotape

Explanation	N	Mean (on a scale of 1-9, the extent to which each individual felt that the husband's behavior was justified)	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Logical	109	7.06	1.583	.152
Illogical	111	4.13	1.959	.186

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean difference
12.222	218	.000	2.94

Table 7: Videotape Order Counterbalancing (# of mother/daughter videotape recall questions answered correctly out of six)

Videotape viewed first	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mother/daughter	111	2.70	1.475	.140
Husband/wife	110	3.46	1.232	.117

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
-4.161	219	.000	-.76

Table 8: Videotape Order Counterbalancing (# of husband/wife videotape recall questions answered correctly out of six)

Videotape viewed first	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mother/daughter	111	2.68	1.401	.133
Husband/wife	110	2.12	1.495	.142

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
2.907	219	.004	.57

Table 9: Prime Manipulation

Prime	N	Mean (on a scale of 1-9, extent to which each individual felt loved and supported while writing the essay)	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Positive	110	8.16	1.113	.106
Negative	111	4.17	2.178	.207

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
17.136	219	.000	3.99

Tests of Major Predictions

Because preliminary tests indicated that there were no main effects involving participant's sex and there was only 1 uninterpretable interaction involving sex, tests of the major predictions were analyzed using a 2 (Explanation: Logical vs. Illogical) X 2 (Load: High load vs. No load) X 2 (Prime: Negative vs. Positive) X 2 (Anxiety: Anxious vs. Not Anxious) X 2 (Avoidance: Avoidant vs. Not Avoidant) between-subjects ANOVA in SPSS Version 10.1. Although two different measures of attachment styles were taken, only the Brennan et al. measure was used in the analysis. Individuals were labeled "Avoidant" if their scores on the Avoidance dimension fell above the median of the sample, and those who fell below the median were labeled "not Avoidant." The same median-split procedure was used for the Anxiety dimension. Because participants rated the daughter and the husband separately, 2 ANOVAs were conducted (one for each set of ratings).

Main effects. Main effects emerged for the explanation manipulation for ratings of both the daughter and the husband (see Tables 10 and 11). As predicted, if given a logical explanation for the witnessed negative behavior, participants viewed the actor (daughter and husband) more positively.

Table 10: Main Effect for Explanation Manipulation on Ratings of Daughter

Explanation	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Logical	110	99.96	26.06	2.48
Illogical	111	83.05	26.20	2.49

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
4.810	219	.000	16.91

Table 11: Main Effect for Explanation Manipulation on Ratings of Husband

Explanation	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Logical	110	95.55	23.05	2.20
Illogical	111	61.00	24.26	2.30

T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
10.853	219	.000	34.55

A main effect also was found for videotape order, such that those who viewed the mother/daughter videotape second rated the daughter more positively than those who viewed the mother/daughter videotape first. Because this finding did not emerge for ratings of the husband/wife videotape, videotape order was not included in the remaining analyses. Furthermore, because there were no significant main effects for sex, all of the remaining analyses were collapsed across sex as well.

Interactions. Several interactions were found involving various combinations of independent variables. Almost all of the interactions involved ratings of the husband.

Table 12: 2-Way Interaction between Explanation and Prime on Ratings of Husband

	Conditions			
	Logical, Positive	Logical, Negative	Illogical, Positive	Illogical, Negative
Mean	92.26	98.73	61.00	61.00

As shown in Table 12, Scheffe post hoc test suggested that, for the husband, mean ratings for both logical groups differed significantly from both illogical groups, $F(3,189) = 40.718, p < .001$. The two logical groups did not differ significantly from each other, but the prime manipulation seems to have gone in the opposite direction than was predicted. As can be seen in Table 12, a significant explanation by prime interaction revealed that participants who received a logical explanation and negative prime rated the husband more positively (but not significantly so) than those who received a logical

explanation and positive prime. This suggests that when asked to think and write about feeling unloved and unsupported, people were more able to sympathize with a person who had just been betrayed.

In addition, a 3-way interaction involving cognitive load, explanation, and anxious attachment also was found, $F(1,189) = 7.984, p < .01$ (see Table 13). It revealed that for various combinations of cognitive load and explanation (e.g., no cognitive load/illogical), those who are more anxiously attached rated the husband less positively in three out of four cases.

Table 13: 3-Way Interaction between Cognitive Load, Explanation, and Anxiousness on Ratings of Husband

	No Cognitive Load				High Cognitive Load			
	Illogical		Logical		Illogical		Logical	
	Not anxious (1)	Anxious (2)	Not anxious (3)	Anxious (4)	Not anxious (5)	Anxious (6)	Not anxious (7)	Anxious (8)
Mean	63.80	56.00	94.26	90.78	55.14	69.71	103.46	94.31

Scheffe post hoc tests revealed significant differences between groups 1 & 3, 1 & 4, 1 & 7, 1 & 8, 2 & 3, 2 & 4, 2 & 7, 2 & 8, 3 & 5, 3 & 6, 4 & 5, 5 & 7, 5 & 8, 6 & 7, and 6 & 8.

A four-way interaction involving cognitive load, explanation, prime, and anxious attachment also emerged, $F(1, 189) = 4.033, p < .05$ (see Table 14). Closer inspection of Table 14 reveals that two cells had very different means. Less anxious people in the high cognitive load and negative prime conditions who were given logical explanations for the husband's behavior viewed him most positively, while less anxious people in the high load and negative prime conditions who were given illogical explanations viewed him most negatively. This interaction pattern suggests that people who tend to be more secure (less anxious), who have just thought about negative past experiences and do not have sufficient cognitive resources to make fully situational corrections are highly affected by the reasons given for the observed negative behavior. Logical explanations produce very positive ratings, whereas illogical explanations produce negative ones.

Table 14: 4-Way Interaction between Cognitive Load, Explanation, Prime, and Anxiety on Ratings of Husband (Note: Anx. = Anxious, Not Anx. = Not Anxious.)

	Illogical Explanation							
	Negative Prime				Positive Prime			
	No Load		High Load		No Load		High Load	
	Not Anx. (1)	Anx. (2)	Not Anx. (3)	Anx. (4)	Not Anx. (5)	Anx. (6)	Not Anx. (7)	Anx. (8)
Mean	65.00	55.20	45.09	73.59	62.69	56.80	61.65	63.73

	Logical Explanation							
	Negative Prime				Positive Prime			
	No Load		High Load		No Load		High Load	
	Not Anx. (9)	Anx. (10)	Not Anx. (11)	Anx. (12)	Not Anx. (13)	Anx. (14)	Not Anx. (15)	Anx. (16)
Mean	95.50	95.22	106.46	98.06	92.54	87.93	99.91	90.56

Scheffé post hoc tests revealed significant differences between groups 2 & 11, 2 & 12, 3 & 9, 3 & 11, 3 & 12, 3 & 15, 6 & 11, and 7 & 11.

A four-way interaction involving cognitive load, explanation, prime, and avoidant attachment also emerged, $F(1, 189) = 4.927, p < .05$ (see Table 15). Closer inspection of Table 15 reveals that two cells had very different means. Less avoidant people in the no cognitive load and negative prime conditions who were given illogical explanations for the husband's behavior viewed him most negatively, while less avoidant people in the no cognitive load and negative prime conditions who were given a logical explanation viewed the husband's behavior significantly. Once again, the logical versus illogical nature of the situational context produced the greatest mean difference.

Table 15: 4-Way Interaction Between Load, Explanation, Prime, and Avoidance on Ratings of Husband (Note: A = Avoidant, NA = Not Avoidant.)

	Illogical Explanation							
	Negative Prime				Positive Prime			
	No Load		High Load		No Load		High Load	
	NA (1)	A (2)	NA (3)	A (4)	NA (5)	A (6)	NA (7)	A (8)
Mean	46.10	67.47	63.00	61.87	66.21	52.86	60.00	65.31

	Logical Explanation							
	Negative Prime				Positive Prime			
	No Load		High Load		No Load		High Load	
	NA (9)	A (10)	NA (11)	A (12)	NA (13)	A (14)	NA (15)	A (16)
Mean	96.72	92.78	97.36	104.56	91.50	89.07	102.50	82.55

Scheffe post hoc tests revealed significant differences between groups 1 & 9, 1 & 11, 1 & 12, 1 & 15, 4 & 12, 6 & 9, 6 & 12, 6 & 15, 7 & 12, and 7 & 15.

Finally, four additional significant interactions emerged but failed to show any significant differences in the post hoc analyses: Avoidance X Anxiety for ratings of the husband, Prime X Avoidance X Anxiety for ratings of the husband, Load X Explanation X Prime X Anxiety for ratings of the daughter, and Prime X Avoidance X Anxiety for ratings of the daughter.

DISCUSSION

This study was conducted to examine possible relationships between attachment styles and the way in which people make inferences about the behavior of others. Borrowing principles from Gilbert's correspondent inferences theory, the present study found that situational context (i.e., explanations or reasons given for a person's behavior) has a very strong effect on person perception. This may be particularly true for secure (i.e., less avoidant or less anxious) individuals.

In two analyses, interesting 4-way interactions emerged for ratings of the husband's behavior. The interaction involving the attachment anxiety dimension indicated that people who are less anxious (more secure), who have thought about negative past experiences and do not have sufficient cognitive resources to make situational corrections are strongly affected by the reasons given for the observed negative behavior. Logical explanations produced very positive ratings of the husband, whereas illogical explanations produced negative ones. A second interaction involving the avoidance attachment dimension revealed that less avoidant people in the no cognitive load and negative prime conditions who were given an illogical explanation for the husband's behavior viewed him most negatively, while less avoidant people in the no cognitive load and negative prime conditions who were given a logical explanation viewed the husband's behavior significantly more positively. Once again, the logical versus illogical nature of the situational context produced the greatest mean difference. In the remainder of the discussion, the major findings as well as null results are discussed.

Cognitive Load Manipulation

Although participants in the high cognitive load condition answered significantly fewer manipulation check recall questions both for the mother/daughter and the husband/wife videotapes (see Tables 3 and 4), the cognitive load manipulation did not show up as a main effect as predicted. Of 112 participants in the high cognitive load condition, 37 of them (33%) correctly identified the correct tone sequence every time it was played and did not raise their hands when an incorrect tone sequence was played, meaning that 75 people (66%) made one or more mistakes (misses or false positives). Thus, the tone task probably was not too easy if two thirds of the participants made at least one mistake.

In Gilbert's experiments, the type of load used was always some kind of cognitive rehearsal task. Whether his participants silently rehearsed an eight-digit number (Gilbert & Osborne, 1989), tried to memorize discussion topics that appeared at the bottom of a television screen (Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988), or had to perform some kind of self-regulation task (Gilbert, Krull, Pelham, 1988; Gilbert Jones, & Pelham, 1987), all were busy thinking about things other than (or in addition to) the person they were observing and judging.

In the present study, the cognitive load task was purely auditory. It is possible that participants were able to devote a great deal of cognitive resources to the videotape and still pick out the tone they were to listen for. The two tasks participants in the high load condition engaged in, namely, watching the actor or actress and listening for an

auditory tone sequence, may not have used the same cognitive resources as did participants who were cognitively overloaded in Gilbert's experiments.

One alternative explanation for the conspicuous and troublesome absence of an effect for cognitive load can be illustrated by taking a closer look at some of the interactions. Table 13, for example, might provide a clue. Both the most positive and least positive attributions were made by individuals in the high cognitive load condition, the former by individuals given a logical explanation and the latter by those given an illogical explanation for the husband's negative behavior. It seems plausible that participants who were in the high cognitive load condition were in fact overloaded, and therefore relied more heavily on the explanation, which was read to them before the videos began, and before they became overloaded. In other words, the auditory tone task did work, but led participants to rely on information given to them before they became overloaded, accounting in part for the huge main effect seen for the explanation manipulation. The same pattern appeared in the 4-way interaction between load, explanation, prime, and anxiety (see Table 14). Again, the most positive and least positive attributions were made by individuals in the high cognitive load condition.

Prime Manipulation

The highly significant difference between answers to the manipulation check question regarding how loved and supported participants felt while writing their essays (see Table 9) was misleading. Prime alone did not predict participants' ratings of either the daughter or the husband. In fact, when prime showed up in interactions, its effects were opposite to what we had predicted. Instead of leading people to think more

negatively about others after writing an essay about feeling unloved and unsupported, these negative memories led to make more positive ratings of the husband. In the Prime X Explanation interaction (see Table 12), for example, the prime only mattered for those in the logical condition. When given a logical explanation for the husband's negative behavior, participants who wrote an essay about feeling unloved and unsupported were able to identify more with the husband's woes, and as a result, rated him more positively on average (but not significantly more positively) than those who were also given a logical explanation for his behavior but wrote an essay about feeling loved and supported.

Explanation Domination

The only manipulation that appeared as a main effect was the explanation for the husband's and daughter's behavior. As predicted, those who received a logical explanation for the actors' negative behaviors rated them significantly more positively than those who received an illogical explanation for the behaviors. This manipulation appears to have overshadowed effects that may otherwise have appeared with regard to the other manipulated variables. Indeed, even in the 2-, 3-, and 4-way interactions, not one significant difference appeared between two means that were both part of the illogical or both part of the logical explanation condition. All means that were significantly different were logical condition/illogical condition pairs.

One reason why the explanation variable was so powerful might have to do with its direct relevance to the actors' negative actions. Unlike other manipulated variables, the explanation (logical vs. illogical) was tailored to the specific context of each

videotaped interaction. Prime, by comparison, may not have shown up as a main effect because participants would have had to generalize their own experiences (positive vs. negative) to the people they were judging. No generalization was necessary for the explanation manipulation because the information given was about the actors themselves.

Anxiousness

Attachment anxiety did not appear as a main effect, but did appear in one significant 3-way and one significant 4-way interaction. For most combinations of Cognitive Load and Explanation (e.g., high cognitive load/logical explanation), highly anxious individuals rated the husband less positively (but not significantly so) than did individuals that were not Anxious (see Table 6). As discussed above, attachment anxiety often results from either unreliable caregiving (in preoccupied individuals) or rejecting caregivers (in fearful-avoidant individuals), and highly anxious people are likely to expect others to behave negatively. This expectation may lead them to see what they expect to see and perceive situations differently than individuals who are not anxious and have not had similar negative experiences with caregivers.

It is difficult to interpret the 4-way interaction involving attachment anxiety. The pattern of means revealed that people who were less anxious (more secure), who had thought about negative experiences in the past and did not have sufficient cognitive resources to make situational corrections were strongly affected by the reasons given for the observed negative behavior. Logical explanations produced positive ratings of the husband, whereas illogical explanations produced very negative ones. This effect

appears to have been driven by less anxious participants in the illogical/negative prime/high load condition, who reported very low (negative) attributional ratings ($M = 45.09$) compared to the sample mean (61.00 , across all illogical conditions). Given that less anxious (securely attached) people automatically assume that others will behave positively (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990), they may have been more disappointed or surprised by unwarranted negative behavior than more anxious individuals in other conditions, particularly when they were cognitively taxed by both negative memories and peripheral cognitive tasks.

Avoidance

Similarly, a second interaction involving the avoidance attachment dimension revealed that less avoidant people in the no cognitive load and negative primes conditions who were given illogical explanations for the husband's behavior viewed him most negatively, while less avoidant people in the no cognitive load and negative prime conditions who were given a logical explanation viewed the husband's behavior significantly. Once again, the logical versus illogical nature of the situational context produced the greatest mean difference. This effect appears to have been driven by less avoidant participants in the illogical/negative prime/no load condition, who reported very low ratings ($M = 46.10$) compared to the sample mean (61.00 , across all illogical conditions). Given that less avoidant (securely attached) people automatically assume that others will behave positively (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990), they also may have been more disappointed or surprised by unwarranted negative behavior than more avoidant individuals in other conditions. What makes this

interaction pattern different from the previous one is that it occurred in a no load condition. One plausible explanation for this finding is that avoidant individuals, who have been treated poorly by close others in the past, might be less willing to excuse negative behavior presumably because they identify with the person being attacked (i.e., the wife in the husband/wife videotape clip).

It is worth noting that, although post hoc testing did not find any significantly different cell means, the overall 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVA did reveal a significant interaction between anxiety and avoidance on the ratings of the husband, such that secure individuals (who are neither anxious nor avoidant) rated the husband most positively, followed by preoccupied individuals (who are anxious but not avoidant), dismissive-avoidant individuals (who are avoidant and not anxious), and finally fearful-avoidant individuals (who are both anxious and avoidant). Perhaps with slightly altered experimental procedures (regarding explanation and load manipulations), this effect might be more robust.

Videotape Order Counterbalancing

Tables 13 and 14 reveal an unintended but explicable finding. Participants who viewed the mother/daughter videotape second were able to answer significantly more recall questions pertaining to that videotape than those who viewed that clip first. Likewise, participants who viewed the husband/wife interaction second were able to answer significantly more recall questions about that clip than those who viewed it first. Experimental procedures were such that participants were not warned before viewing the first videotape clip that they would later be answering recall questions about it. It is

likely that after viewing the first videotape clip and being surprised by receiving recall questions on it, participants perked up and paid more attention to the second clip, correctly assuming that recall questions would follow that one, too. This finding would be a cause for alarm if all participants viewed the clips in the same order and thus paid more attention to and remembered more about one videotape clip. However, the counterbalancing of the tapes eliminated any possibility that one tape was favored over the other.

Miscellaneous

A careful reader might have noticed that all of the interaction effects occurred with participants' ratings of the husband in the husband/wife videotape. Although explanation showed up as a main effect with ratings of the daughter in the mother/daughter videotape, no interactions were significant for that dependent variable. As pointed out above, the two videotapes were very different. The husband coolly and calmly made crude and hurtful comments to his wife (e.g., speaking and referring to his wife, "I often used to think, Jesus how I hate her!") that cannot be interpreted as anything other than negative. Conversely, while speaking to her mother, the daughter is extremely emotional, so much so that, even if the explanation given for her behavior is illogical, one would be tempted to pity her or wonder what part of the story they have not yet heard. A person making nasty comments to a spouse, unless he or she has a good reason to do so, is a mean and nasty person. But, a person so obviously and deeply upset must have had *something* terrible happen to him or her. In this way, the daughter's behavior evoked pity from observers, and ratings of her behavior were much less split

between the logical and illogical groups than were ratings of the husband. Whereas the husband's behavior is purely negative, it could be argued that behavior such as the daughter's is not unquestionably negative. Thus, measuring attributions made about how positive or negative she behaves in everyday life might not make sense.

Conclusion

Since attachment theory emerged in the 1970s with John Bowlby's trilogy, attachment researchers have focused on attachment styles and their implications for relationship quality. The present research attempts to take attachment theory one step further. Attachment theory is not only important in the context of close relationships, but may also have important implications for the way we interpret the actions of strangers in everyday life.

Misinterpreting others' behavior, on a small scale, may result in incorrectly judging the actions of strangers or failing to notice when a roommate has had a bad day and needs some space. On a larger scale, however, misjudging others can result in broken friendships or other close relationships, losing a job due to miscommunication with a boss, or losing war due to miscommunication with a country.

The present study also has huge implications for correspondence bias. Thus far, researchers have focused solely on causes generated by the immediate situation, such as how much cognitive energy the observer has available, how obvious situational constraints are to the observer, and how easy the behavior is to interpret (Gilbert & Malone, 1995). It is possible that a meaningful variable has been left out of the equation, namely, causes attributable to individual differences in observers. Actors often

choose the situations in which their behavior is manifested (Gilbert & Malone, 1995). So, too, might individual observers bring something unique into each situation they encounter, including those situations in which they observe and make inferences about other people. Correspondence bias is likely a function not only of characteristics of the immediate situation, but also of what observers *bring* into the situation beforehand: their self-views and their views or expectations of others, the defining elements of an attachment style.

Although the findings of the present study regarding the relationship between attachment styles and correspondence bias were not as strong as expected, they should not be overlooked. The procedural setbacks could easily have accounted for the small effect sizes and absence of main effects for Anxiety and Avoidance. A follow-up experiment using a different type of load, perhaps a cognitive load involving rehearsal of some kind, and logical and illogical explanations given *while* participants are already cognitively overloaded might produce the effects we hoped to find.

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APPENDIX A

Manipulations

Prime Manipulation

Negative Prime instructions:

"You have one more thing to do before you watch the videotapes. I want you to think about a time in your life during which you felt very unloved, unsupported, and unaccepted by someone close to you (maybe a parent, close friend, or dating partner). This can be a time when you were hurt, upset, or down and someone close to you was insensitive and rejected your need to feel supported. I am going to leave the room for a few minutes to give you time to think and then write about this. Please describe in as much detail as possible the situation, the person to whom you are referring, and what he or she did to make you feel unsupported and unloved. I will be back in five minutes to see how you are doing."

Positive Prime instructions:

"You have one more thing to do before you watch the videotapes. I want you to think about the time in your life during which you felt most loved, supported, and accepted by someone close to you (maybe a parent, close friend, or dating partner). This can be a time when you were hurt, upset, or down and someone close to you was comforting and understanding. I am going to leave the room for a few minutes to give you time to think and then write about this. Please describe in as much detail as possible the situation, the person to whom you are referring, and what he or she did to make you feel supported and loved. I will be back in five minutes to see how you are doing."

Explanation Manipulation

Logical explanation for husband/wife videotape:

"The man you are about to see on videotape is speaking to his wife. They have been married 10 years, and for over five years he has suspected that his wife was having an affair. Immediately before the clip you are about to see, he breaks down and finally asks her about it. She confesses not only to having an affair, but tells him it has been going on for nearly eight years and since the start of the affair she has been in love not with her husband, but with the other man. You will now see the husband's reaction."

Logical explanation for mother/daughter videotape:

"The young woman you are about to see on videotape is speaking to her mother. Since childhood, her mother has put her career before her daughter, the speaker. While the daughter was growing up, the mother would frequently leave her with her father and not return for months. The little time the mother did spend at home, she spent ridiculing her daughter, who wanted nothing more than to please her mother and maintain some kind of a positive relationship with her. After keeping her feelings bottled up inside for years, her mother questions her about growing up. You will now see the daughter's reaction."

Illogical explanation for husband/wife videotape:

"The man you are about to see on videotape is speaking to his wife. They have been married 10 years, but the relationship began deteriorating after a couple years of marriage. Immediately before the clip you are about to see, his wife suggests that they make some changes in the relationship. Now you will see the husband's reaction."

Illogical explanation for mother/daughter videotape:

"The young woman you are about to see on videotape is speaking to her mother. In the scene immediately before the one you are about to see, they were engaged in a casual conversation about growing up. The mother remembers a time when the daughter was young. The mother disapproved of the daughter's behavior and imposed a curfew. The daughter also remembers that day, and you will now see her reaction."

APPENDIX B

Experimenter Scripts and Materials

Experimenter Set-Up Instructions:

1. Look at which condition your participant is in.
2. Find out which videotape you will use (use videotape #1 for conditions 1-8 and videotape #2 for conditions 9-16).
3. Read over the verbatim sheet you will use.
4. If subject is in a high load condition (condition 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, or 15):
 - A. Get a tape player from staging room and get the practice sequence cassette tape.
 - B. Make sure the cassette tape is rewound.
 - C. Set the volume on the television at "15."
 - D. Make sure the videotape is rewound.
 - E. Get a sheet to record tone-task responses on.
5. If participant will NOT do the tone task (i.e., if participant is in condition 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, or 16):
 - A. Make sure videotape is rewound.
 - B. Turn volume on television all the way down.
6. Set up papers in correct order.

**Verbatim Script for Participants in
High Cognitive Load/Negative Prime/Illogical Explanation/Videotape
Order 1(view mother/daughter videotape first) Condition**

"Hello! My name is _____. Welcome to the study of perceptions. Please read over the informed consent form and sign it. Both sheets on your desk are exactly the same. One copy is for our records and the other is for you to keep."

Give the subject the informed consent forms, collect a signed form when subject is finished, and put form in the packet.

"Please remember that all of your responses will be confidential, identified only by a subject number on each of the materials used in this study. Also, if you feel at all uncomfortable at any time during the experiment, you have the right to stop participating, and you will still receive full credit. Do you have any questions about the consent form? (*Answer any questions.*)

"Okay, we are ready to begin. In the first part of this study, you will fill out some personality inventories. Notice that the scale changes from 1-7 on page one to 1-5 on page two, and back to 1-7 on page three. Use the scale given at the top of each page for the questions on that page.

"Please take your time and answer the questions as honestly and accurately as possible. I know this is a really long questionnaire. Some participants get sick of reading all the questions and begin randomly filling in answers. Please do not do that. These experiments are real, they are a lot of work, and random answers can really mess up the data. So please, take your time, read each question carefully and answer them honestly. When you are finished, press this brown button. It will buzz me in a nearby room and I will know you are finished."

Distribute attachment/personality measures. Leave the room. When buzzed, return and collect the measures. Put them in the packet.

Directions for tone task:

"In a few minutes, you will be watching videotape clips of people interacting with other people. You will learn more about these videotapes soon. While you watch these clips, you will perform a task in which you will identify certain tone sequences that will play through the television speakers. Each time you hear the correct tone pattern, you will raise your hand indicating that you have heard the tone pattern. I am going to go through a practice session with you to make sure you know how to do this."

"Now you will hear the correct three-tone sequence, the one you will be listening for, played twice in a row."

Press play on cassette tape. When correct sequence has played twice, press stop.

"Now I want you to listen to the next few tone patterns, and when you hear the correct sequence, the one you just listened to, raise your hand."

Play practice sequence. If subject does not respond correctly, play the correct tone pattern again and then repeat the practice sequence. Do this until you are sure he or she understands it.

"Good. In a few minutes, when you watch the videotapes, you will be listening for the exact same three-tone sequence, but it will be played through the television speakers. Respond exactly the same way--by raising your hand **every time** you hear the correct tone sequence."

Give subject paper and pen to write with.

"You have one more thing to do before you watch the videotapes. I want you to think about a time in your life during which you felt very unloved, unsupported, and unaccepted by someone close to you (maybe a parent, close friend, or dating partner). This can be a time when you were hurt, upset, or down and someone close to you was insensitive and rejected your need to feel supported. I am going to leave the room for a few minutes to give you time to think and then write about this. Please describe in as much detail as possible the situation, the person to whom you are referring, and what he or she did to make you feel unsupported and unloved. I will be back in five minutes to see how you are doing."

Leave the room for five minutes.

Re-enter and ask if they need more time.

Leave the essay on his or her desk.

"It is now time to watch the first videotape clip. You will not hear the character's voice. Instead, you must read the subtitles that will appear at the bottom of the screen. Remember, while you are watching the video, you will be hearing tone patterns through the television speakers. Raise your hand every time you hear this pattern, the same pattern you practiced with a few minutes ago."

Play correct tone sequence again.

"Do you have any questions about the tone sequence or the tone task?"
(Answer any questions.)

"The young woman you are about to see on videotape is speaking to her mother. In the scene immediately before the one you are about to see, they were engaged in a casual conversation about growing up. The mother remembers a time when the daughter was young. The mother disapproved of the daughter's behavior and imposed a curfew. The daughter also remembers that day, and you will now see her reaction."

Play the first videotape clip and record subject's correct and incorrect responses.

"I am giving you a questionnaire to fill out. It is important that you answer these questions honestly and as accurately as you can. The questions refer to the daughter in the videotape you just watched."

Leave room for two minutes.

When they are finished, collect the measures and put them in the packet.

"Here are a few questions to measure how much you remember and what you thought about the videotape clip you just watched. Be as specific as possible."

Hand out recall questions for first videotape and collect the paper when subject is finished.

"Since it will take me a minute or so to get the next part of the experiment ready, feel free to reread your essay to make sure it's complete."

Get second video ready.

"Now you will watch the second videotape clip. You must read the subscripts that will appear at the bottom of the screen. Again, you will be listening for the same tone pattern while you watch the video, and you will raise your hand each time you hear it. The man you are about to see on videotape is speaking to his wife. They have been married 10 years, but the relationship began deteriorating after a couple years of marriage. Immediately before the clip you are about to see, his wife suggests that they make some changes in the relationship. Now you will see the husband's reaction."

Play the second videotape clip and record subject's correct and incorrect responses.

"I am giving you a questionnaire to fill out. Again, it is important that you answer these questions as honestly and accurately as you can. The questions refer to the man in the videotape clip you just watched."

Leave room for two minutes.

When he or she is finished, collect the paper and put it in the packet.

"Here are some questions that measure how much you remember and what you thought about the videotape clip you just watched. Be as specific as possible."

Hand out recall questions for second videotape and collect when subject is finished.

Hand out the last question about the essay, and collect when subject is finished.

"Okay, you're finished with our experiment. Before you leave, do you have any guesses about what this study was about?"

If the subject does not indicate knowledge about the study he or she should not know, read the debriefing form out loud to the subject. If the subject does have such knowledge, write down what he or she thought or knew in the study log book.

Thank the subject for participating in the study.

WHEN SUBJECT HAS LEFT:

1. Make sure the subject ID number is on every sheet he or she wrote on, including the BACK of the scantron.
2. Rewind all cassettes and videotapes.
3. Return everything, including the master key, to our storage space in the staging room.
4. Make sure the door locks behind you when you leave.

**Verbatim Script for Participants in
No Cognitive Load/Positive Prime/Logical Explanation/Videotape
Order 2(view husband/wife videotape first) Condition**

"Hello! My name is _____. Welcome to the study of perceptions. Please read over the informed consent form and sign it. Both sheets on your desk are exactly the same. One copy is mine and the other is for you to keep."

Give the subject the informed consent forms, collect a signed form when subject is finished, and put the form in the packet.

"Please remember that all of your responses will be confidential, identified only by a subject number on each of the materials used in this study. Also, if you feel at all uncomfortable at any time during the experiment, you have the right to stop participating, and you will still receive full credit. Do you have any questions about the consent form? *(Answer any questions.)*

"Okay, we are ready to begin. In the first part of this study, you will fill out some personality inventories. Notice that the scale changes from 1-7 on page one to 1-5 on page two, and then back to 1-7 on page three. Use the scale given at the top of each page for the questions on that page.

"Please take your time and answer the questions as honestly and accurately as possible. I know this is a really long questionnaire. Some participants get sick of reading all the questions and begin randomly filling in answers. Please do not do that. These experiments are real, they are a lot of work, and random answers can really mess up the data. So please, take your time, read each question carefully and answer them honestly. When you are finished, press this brown button. It will buzz me in a nearby room and I will know you are finished."

Distribute attachment/personality measures. Leave the room. When buzzed, return and collect the measures. Put them in the packet.

Give subject paper and pen to write with.

"You have one more thing to do before you watch the videotapes. I want you to think about the time in your life during which you felt most loved, supported, and accepted by someone close to you (maybe a parent, close friend, or dating partner). This can be a time when you were hurt, upset, or down and someone close to you was comforting and understanding. I am going to leave the room for a few minutes to give you time to think and then write about this. Please describe in as much detail as possible the situation, the person to whom you are referring, and what he or she did to make you

feel supported and loved. I will be back in five minutes to see how you are doing."

Leave the room for five minutes.

Re-enter and ask if they need more time.

Leave the essay on his or her desk.

"It is now time to watch the first videotape clip. You will not hear the character's voice. Instead, you must read the subtitles that will appear at the bottom of the screen. The man you are about to see on videotape is speaking to his wife. They have been married 10 years, and for over five years he has suspected that his wife was having an affair. Immediately before the clip you are about to see, he breaks down and finally asks her about it. She confesses not only to having an affair, but tells him it has been going on for nearly eight years and since the start of the affair she has been in love not with her husband, but with the other man. You will now see the husband's reaction."

Play the first videotape clip.

"I am giving you a questionnaire to fill out. It is important that you answer these questions honestly and as accurately as you can. The questions refer to the man in the videotape clip you just watched."

Leave room for two minutes.

When they are finished, collect the questionnaires and put them in the packet.

"Here are a few questions to measure how much you remember and what you thought about the videotape clip you just watched. Be as specific as possible."

Hand out recall questions for first videotape and collect the paper when subject is finished.

"Since it will take me a minute or so to get the next part of the experiment ready, feel free to reread your essay to make sure it's complete."

Get second videotape ready.

"Now you will watch the second videotape clip. Again, you will read the subtitles that will appear at the bottom of the screen. The young woman you are about to see on videotape is speaking to her mother. Since

childhood, her mother has put her career before her daughter, the speaker. While the daughter was growing up, the mother would frequently leave her with her father and not return for months. The little time the mother did spend at home, she spent ridiculing her daughter, who wanted nothing more than to please her mother and maintain some kind of a positive relationship with her. After keeping her feelings bottled up inside for years, her mother questions her about growing up. You will now see her reaction."

Play the second videotape clip.

"I am giving you a questionnaire to fill out. Again, it is important that you answer these questions honestly and as accurately as you can. The questions refer to the daughter in the videotape clip you just watched."

Leave room for two minutes.

When he or she is finished, collect the paper and put it in the packet.

"Here are some questions that measure how much you remember and what you thought about the videotape clip you just watched. Be as specific as possible."

Hand out recall questions for second videotape and collect when subject is finished.

Hand out the last question about the essay, and collect when subject is finished.

"Okay, you're finished with our experiment. Before you leave, do you have any guesses about what this study was about?"

If the subject does not indicate knowledge about the study he or she should not know, read the debriefing form out loud to the subject. If the subject does have such knowledge, write down what he or she thought or knew in the study log book.

Thank the subject for participating in the study.

485's: WHEN SUBJECT HAS LEFT:

1. Make sure the subject ID number is on every sheet he or she wrote on, including the BACK of the scantron.
2. Rewind all cassettes and videotapes.
3. Return everything, including the master key, to our storage space in the staging room.
4. Make sure the door locks behind you when you leave.

Record Sheet for Tone Task Responses

First Video (circle which video): mother/daughter husband/wife

1st correct sequence: hit miss

2nd correct sequence: hit miss

3rd correct sequence: hit miss

Track false positives:

Second Video (circle which video): mother/daughter husband/wife

1st correct sequence: hit miss

2nd correct sequence: hit miss

3rd correct sequence: hit miss

Track false positives:

APPENDIX C

Participant Data Sheets

Berkeley Personality Profile

For each of the following items honestly indicate whether you agree or disagree that each statement applies to your personality. Using the following scale, bubble in your response on the given scantron.

1	2	3	4	5
disagree strongly	disagree a little	neither agree nor disagree	agree a little	agree strongly

37. I am outgoing, sociable
38. I tend to find fault with others
39. I am a reliable worker
40. I remain calm in intense situations
41. I value artistic, aesthetic experiences
42. I am reserved
43. I am considerate and kind to almost everyone
44. I can be somewhat careless
45. I am relaxed, handle stress well
46. I prefer work that is routine and simple
47. I am full of energy
48. I can be cold and aloof
49. I do things efficiently
50. I get nervous easily
51. I have an active imagination
52. I am sometimes shy, inhibited
53. I like to cooperate with others
54. I tend to be disorganized
55. I am emotionally stable, not easily upset
56. I have few artistic interests
57. I am talkative
58. I am sometimes rude to others
59. I do a thorough job
60. I am depressed, blue
61. I am sophisticated in art, music, or literature
62. I tend to be quiet
63. I am generally trusting
64. I am lazy at times
65. I worry a lot
66. I am ingenious, a deep thinker
67. I generate a lot of enthusiasm
68. I have a forgiving nature
69. I am easily distracted
70. I can be tense
71. I am inventive

Adult Attachment Questionnaire (Simpson, Rholes, & Phillips, 1996)

Please indicate how you typically feel toward romantic (dating) partners *in general*. Keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers. Use the 7-point scale provided below and darken the appropriate number for each item on the scantron.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I strongly
disagree

I strongly
agree

72. I find it relatively easy to get close to others.
73. I'm not very comfortable having to depend on other people.
74. I'm comfortable having others depend on me.
75. I rarely worry about being abandoned by others.
76. I don't like people getting too close to me.
77. I'm somewhat uncomfortable being too close to others.
78. I find it difficult to trust others completely.
79. I'm nervous whenever anyone gets too close to me.
80. Others often want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.
81. Others often are reluctant to get as close as I would like.
82. I often worry that my partner(s) don't really love me.
83. I rarely worry about my partner(s) leaving me.
84. I often want to merge completely with others, and this desire sometimes scares them away.
85. I'm confident others would never hurt me by suddenly ending our relationship.
86. I usually want more closeness and intimacy than others do.
87. The thought of being left by others rarely enters my mind.
88. I'm confident that my partner(s) love me just as much as I love them.

Final 2 questions:

89. What is your gender? (Fill in 1 if you are female, 2 if you are male.)
90. Write your age in the final two columns. For example, if you are 19, write a "1" in column 179 and a "9" in column 180.

Dependent Measures for Mother/Daughter Videotape

Use the following scale to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Write directly on this sheet. Place the appropriate number in the space next to each statement.

Disagree strongly

Agree strongly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

1. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is a hostile sort of person.
2. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is probably an empathetic person (concerned about others' feelings).
3. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is generally argumentative with people.
4. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is probably a cold, rejecting type of person.
5. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is a pleasant sort of person.
6. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is generally nonconfrontational with people.
7. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is probably an insensitive person.
8. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is probably a warm, accepting type of person.
9. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is generally a rational person.
10. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is probably fair when dealing with others.
11. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is a reasonable type of person.
12. _____ When I think about how the woman in the film actually is in day to day life, I think she is probably a disagreeable person.

Dependent Measures for Husband/Wife Videotape

Use the following scale to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Write directly on this sheet. Place the appropriate number in the space next to each statement.

Disagree strongly
strongly

Agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

1. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is a hostile sort of person.
2. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is probably an empathetic person (concerned about others' feelings).
3. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is generally argumentative with people.
4. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is probably a cold, rejecting type of person.
5. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is a pleasant sort of person.
6. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is generally non-confrontational with people.
7. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is probably an insensitive person.
8. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is probably a warm, accepting type of person.
9. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is generally a rational person.
10. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is probably fair when dealing with others.
11. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is a reasonable type of person.
12. _____ When I think about how the man in the film actually is in day to day life, I think he is probably a disagreeable person.

Recall Questions and Explanation Manipulation Check
for Mother/Daughter Videotape

1. The daughter says she didn't dare to _____.
 - a. speak
 - b. argue
 - c. disobey her mother
 - d. be herself

 2. How was the daughter's hair done?

 3. The daughter describes "those years" as being _____.

 4. The daughter says she grew more and more _____ and annihilated.
 - a. frustrated
 - b. afraid
 - c. depressed
 - d. angry

 5. The daughter says, "I didn't know I hated you, as I was quite sure we _____."

 6. What does the daughter say happens to her when she thinks of "those years"?

 7. To what extent was her behavior "justified" given the circumstances of the situation?
- Not at all justified very well justified
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Recall Questions and Explanation Manipulation Check
for Husband/Wife Videotape

1. What does the husband say he hates about his wife?
2. The husband says he could have done what to his wife?
3. The husband says he hates his wife especially when _____.
4. What was the wife doing as her husband spoke to her?
5. What does the husband say he felt when he and his wife made love?
6. The husband says, "I often used to think: _____."
7. To what extent was his behavior "justified" given the circumstances of the situation?

Not at all justified

very well justified

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Manipulation Check for Prime (Essay)

When you wrote your essay, to what extent did you feel loved or supported?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

not at all loved/
not at all supported

a great deal loved/
a great deal supported

VITA

Kimberly Anne Sauser

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Houston, TX 77005

Education:

Texas A & M University
Degree: B.S. Psychology
Graduation Date: May 2002
Overall/Major GPA: 3.83/4.00

North Carolina State University
GPA: 3.88

Memberships, Honors and Awards:

- ◆ Distinguished University Fellowship Recipient, Ohio State Univ., 2002
- ◆ 2nd place winner in poster competition, TAMU Student Research Week 2002
- ◆ Academic Excellence Scholarship, 2000 - 2001, 2001 - 2002
- ◆ Texas A & M Honors College, January 1999 - present
- ◆ Member of National Society of Collegiate Scholars, May 2000 - present
- ◆ Nominated for one of top 5 psychology undergraduates, Fall 2001

Experience:

Department of Psychology, Texas A & M University

Undergraduate Honors Research Fellow, 2001-2002

Summary of work: Dr. Simpson and I examined how primed and chronic attachment styles contribute to the correspondence bias. Aside from factors already known to contribute to the correspondence bias, we hypothesized that individuals with insecure attachment styles, because they tend to have negative views of others, are more likely to attribute a stranger's negative behavior to his or her dispositions. Similarly, we hoped to find that secure individuals, who think positively about others, are more likely to assume the same negative behavior is a consequence of the situations in which strangers find themselves. As a Research Fellow, some of my responsibilities included planning and organizing the experiment, writing to the IRB, training research assistants, analyzing the data, and writing a thesis summarizing the experiment's findings. The thesis is titled, "Integrating Attachment Styles and the Correspondence Bias."

Undergraduate Research Assistant, January 2000-May 2000, August 2000-December 2000

Summary of work: The Relationship Diary study led by Dr. Deborah Kashy and Dr. Jeff Simpson investigated patterns of conflict resolution among people with different attachment styles and relationship histories. Participants filled out diary questionnaires probing for conflicts couples experienced during a fourteen-day period. At the end of the two weeks, each couple was videotaped while attempting to resolve a relationship-based conflict.

Undergraduate Teaching Assistant, January 2000-May 2000, August 2000-December 2000

Summary of work: As a Teaching Assistant for a statistics course for psychology majors, I prepared for students' questions by completing the course assignments before my weekly office hours. Students taking statistics voluntarily came in if they had any questions about their homework or any of the concepts discussed in the course.