

FUNCTIONALITY OF INSECURE ATTACHMENT IN CULTURAL CONTEXT  
AS AN EARLY ALARM AND ESCAPE SYSTEM

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## ABSTRACT

### FUNCTIONALITY OF INSECURE ATTACHMENT IN CULTURAL CONTEXT AS AN EARLY ALARM AND ESCAPE SYSTEM

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The immense literature on attachment is dominated by an abundance of findings highlighting the benefits of secure attachment and the adverse outcomes associated with insecure attachment, yet nearly half of the population is consistently found to be insecurely attached. One explanation to this conundrum argues that insecure attachment may have adaptive advantages at the group level under conditions of imminent threat (Social Defense Theory; Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron, & Shaver, 2010). The present dissertation aims to extend the investigation of functionality of insecure attachment by introducing the role of cultural context to explore possible adaptive advantages of different forms of insecure attachment in different cultural settings. The first study looked at cultural values and attachment orientations, and found significant relationships between attachment avoidance and an individualist/independent mindset, and attachment anxiety and a collectivist/relational mindset in both collectivist (Turkish,  $N = 368$ ) and individualist (American,  $N = 350$ ) cultural settings. The second study tested the functionality of attachment insecurity in different cultural contexts within an experimental setting with undergraduate participants ( $N = 164$ ). The results provided

support to the hypotheses in showing that insecure attachment behaviors are evaluated as more functional by the members of a culture as long as they are compatible with the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within that particular cultural context. The findings were discussed in light of previous work and cultural implications.

**Keywords:** functions of attachment insecurity, evolutionary accounts of insecure attachment, social defense theory, cultural values, individualism-collectivism

## ÖZ

### BİR ERKEN UYARI VE UZAKLAŞMA SİSTEMİ OLARAK GÜVENSİZ BAĞLANMANIN KÜLTÜREL BAĞLAMDA İŞLEVSELLİĞİ

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Her ne kadar bağlanma yazını güvenli bağlanmanın yararlarına ve güvensiz bağlanmanın olumsuz sonuçlarla ilişkili olduğuna işaret eden araştırma bulgularıyla dolu olsa da, insanların neredeyse yarısı güvensiz bağlanmaktadır. Bu paradoksa ilişkin açıklamalardan birisi güvensiz bağlanmanın tehdit altındaki grup için uyumsal avantajları olabileceğini öne sürmektedir (Sosyal Savunma Kuramı; Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron, & Shaver, 2010). Bu tezin amacı, güvensiz bağlanmanın işlevselliği araştırmalarını kültürel bağlamın olası rolünü de katarak ve farklı güvensiz bağlanma çeşitlerinin farklı kültürel ortamlardaki olası uyumsallığını inceleyerek geliştirmektir. Birinci çalışmada kültürel değerler ve bağlanma boyutlarını incelenmiş ve hem toplulukçu (Türkiye,  $N = 368$ ), hem de bireyci (ABD,  $N = 350$ ) kültürlerde bağlanma kaçınması ile bireycilik/bağımsızlıkla ilintili değerler, bağlanma kaygısı ile de toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik ile ilintili değerler arasında anlamlı ilişkiler bulunmuştur. İkinci çalışmada ise güvensiz bağlanmanın farklı kültürel bağlamlardaki olası işlevselliği deney ortamında lisans öğrencisi katılımcılarla ( $N = 164$ ) test edilmiştir. Sonuçlar, beklendiği şekilde güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının söz konusu kültürün baskın bağlanma eğilimi ve kültürel özellikleri ile uyumlu

olduđu sürece o kültürün üyeleri tarafından daha işlevsel olarak değerdendirildiđini göstermiştir. Bulgular geçmiş çalışmalar ve kültürel uygulamalar ışığında tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** güvensiz bağlanmanın işlevleri, güvensiz bağlanmanın evrimsel yorumlamaları, sosyal savunma kuramı, kültürel değerler, bireycilik-toplulukçuluk

*To*

*My Mother Sevinç, My Father Bülent,  
and My Grandmother Sevim*

*Thank you for the “security” ...  
(my dissertation notwithstanding 😊)*

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

We are brought to this world as helpless little creatures. We are tiny, almost unable to move, and deprived of any inborn armor against the elements of nature. What we are equipped with, though, is an innate mechanism to bond with the mature members of our species, who can take care of us so that we have a chance at survival. The relationships we form with these significant others are not of one kind. The early experiences we have with them and the environment itself shape how we come to experience close relationships and ultimately how we survive in this world. This dissertation is about how these different forms of bonding may be of use under different environmental circumstances. In the following sections, first the existing findings on the subject will be briefly reviewed, and then the novel propositions of the current research will be presented.

#### **1.1. Attachment Theory: Theoretical Framework and the Paradox**

Attachment theory is a pivotal framework in understanding how we form intimate relationships with close others and regulate our behavior in reference to these ties. The theory argues that both the early problem of survival for the immature human infant and the later problem of affiliation and reproduction for the human being are solved by the *attachment behavioral system*, an evolutionarily adaptive regulatory device which adjusts proximity to supportive others, i.e., *attachment figures* (Bowlby, 1969/1982, 1973, 1980). This system protects the self from physical and psychological threats, and hence ensures the endurance and procreation of the species.

The attachment system functions with individual differences stemming from experiences with significant others. On the one hand, if the attachment figure is consistent in providing the much needed sensitive caregiving, the individual develops a sense of security and connectedness, i.e., *attachment security* and a *positive*

*internal working model* of the world – the feeling that others are dependable and trustworthy, and that the individual can get help whenever s/he needs it. On the other hand, if the attachment figure somehow fails to fulfill these basic attachment needs, the individual can not feel the security she or he basically requires and *attachment insecurity* ensues, which leads to a *negative internal working model* of the world – the feeling that others are not dependable and trustworthy, and the individual cannot get help whenever s/he needs it. Insecure attachment can result due to two distinct mechanisms. First, when the attachment figure is constantly harsh, rejecting, and unwilling to provide warm care, the individual *deactivates* the attachment system and instead develops compulsive self-reliance to ensure survival with minimal help from the unresponsive significant other, and as a result cultivates *attachment avoidance*, where the individual realizes that s/he is alone to solve her/his problems. Second, when the attachment figure is inconsistent, insensitive, or intrusive in caregiving, the individual *hyperactivates* the attachment system and intensifies proximity seeking attempts in order to maximize the chances of extracting more resources from the unpredictable attachment figure, and consequently develops *attachment anxiety*, where the individual realizes that s/he has to act in clingy ways in order to get attention and help (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002).

It was Mary Ainsworth and her colleagues (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978) who first conceptualized these different patterns of the attachment behavioral system as distinct *attachment styles*, based on their laboratory studies with infants, as *secure* (characterized by visible stress upon separation from the attachment figure, which subsides immediately after reunion), *avoidant* (characterized by not being stressed by separation from the attachment figure and avoiding her on her return), and *anxious* (characterized by extreme stress during separation from the attachment figure and ambivalent responses after reunion).

Hazan and Shaver (1987) argued that romantic love in adulthood is also an attachment process and showed that just like infants, adults can be grouped into three separate attachment styles - *secure*, *avoidant*, and *anxious/ambivalent*. For secure adults, romantic experiences are typified by trust, friendship, and positive emotions. A fear of closeness and lack of trust dominates the romantic encounters of avoidant

adults and a preoccupation/desire to merge with the romantic partner is typical for the anxious/ambivalent adults.

In an effort to propose an alternative to modeling attachment behavior in categories, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) put forward a new framework of measuring attachment as tendencies, where the model of self and model of others are used as dimensions representing attachment orientations. The *model of self* refers to the person's evaluation of her/himself as worthy of love and support or not, and measures the extent to which s/he is concerned with being rejected, abandoned, and unloved by significant others, reflected in *attachment anxiety*. The *model of others* refers to the person's appraisal of other people as trustworthy, available, reliable and caring or not, and measures the extent to which s/he is uncomfortable with intimacy and closeness, reflected in *attachment avoidance* (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). The crossing of these two dimensions generates four distinctive attachment patterns: Individuals with a positive model of self (low on anxiety) and a positive model of others (low on avoidance) are deemed to have a *secure* attachment style, where they are comfortable with both intimacy and autonomy. Individuals who have a positive model of self (low on anxiety) and a negative model of others (high on avoidance) are deemed as having a *dismissing* attachment style, where they shield themselves from rejection by avoiding close relationships and adopting a strong sense of independence and self-sufficiency. Individuals with a negative model of self (high on anxiety) and a positive model of others (low on avoidance) are deemed as having a *preoccupied* attachment style, where they fight for the approval and acceptance of cherished others. Lastly, individuals with have a negative model of self (high on anxiety) and a negative model of others (high on avoidance) are deemed as having a *fearful* attachment style, where they avoid close involvement with others and fear intimacy (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991).

Bowlby's attachment theory has led to an immense accumulation of research, the attachment orientations have been linked to virtually any psychological construct, and the common theme of this plethora of findings seems to be that secure attachment is the "good" attachment style to have: Securely attached individuals report higher life quality and happiness, they are more satisfied with life, more

successful in initiating and maintaining close relationships, better at coping with stress, they function better in academic and professional tasks both as individuals and as parts of teams, they have stable high self-esteem, they are even healthier and live longer. Conversely, research findings have consistently linked insecure attachment with adverse outcomes, such as problematic close relationships, dysfunctional ways of coping with stress, low life satisfaction and happiness, unsuccessful emotion regulation and self-disclosure, low or unstable self-esteem, attenuated cognitive functioning, academic, and professional performance, and even poor physical and psychological health (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007 for a review).

Despite this apparent abundance of maladaptive consequences and lack of advantages of insecure attachment, not only it subsists, it is actually quite prevalent: Ample research shows that nearly half of the population exhibits insecure attachment tendencies across stages of development, cultures, and measurement techniques (see Hesse, 2008; van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008 for reviews). Taking the evolutionary stand point of attachment theory into account, it seems odd that insecure attachment would survive years of selection pressures and still be just as widespread as secure attachment if it did not provide the human species with any adaptive advantages. If it were as solely maladaptive as the enormous body of attachment research has repeatedly shown, insecure attachment should have been eliminated long ago, yet it is still alive and in abundance, even possibly on the rise (Konrath, Chopik, Hsing, & O'Brien, 2014). Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron, and Shaver (2010) have recently pointed out to this interesting conundrum and called it *the attachment paradox*.

The original form of the attachment theory focuses chiefly on the survival of the infant from an evolutionary stand point and does not specify why avoidant and anxious attachment may have evolved. Additionally, the mainstream attachment research has mainly focused on the benefits of secure attachment as discussed above and widely overlooked the possible adaptive values of insecure attachment by associating it chiefly with adverse outcomes. However, some scholars have put forward the idea that insecure attachment may carry adaptive value in the domains of reproductive fitness and group survival (e.g., Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991;

Chisholm, 1996; and Ein-Dor et al., 2010). These evolutionary accounts of the attachment theory aim to answer the question of *why* different attachment patterns have developed, rather than *how* (as traditional attachment research has done in the past). In the present dissertation, first a brief account of these evolutionary perspectives on how insecure attachment may have evolved to increase reproductive fitness and group survival will be given, and then an extension to the group survival perspective will be proposed.

## **1.2. Evolutionary Accounts for the Antecedents and Adaptive Value of Attachment Insecurity**

As mentioned before, attachment research is widely dominated by the notion that secure attachment is the adaptive strategy to form intimate bonds, yet this supposition did not go uncriticized. Hinde (1982; Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1990) was one of the first scholars to argue that the propensity to become insecurely attached might have evolutionary advantages in adapting to certain niches and living conditions (see also Main, 1990). Lamb, Thompson, Gardner, Charnov, and Estes (1984) were also among the forerunners who questioned the adaptability of just one evolutionary strategy and criticized the conception of secure attachment as the sole adaptive strategy as a misunderstanding of evolutionary mechanisms and natural selection. In line with these conjectures, two groups of scholars have systematically theorized that insecure attachment may carry adaptive value under some certain contexts, namely in the domains of reproductive fitness and group survival (e.g., Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; Chisholm, 1996; and Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

### **1.2.1. A Reproductive Fitness Perspective: The Life History Models of Attachment**

The theoretical frameworks that put forward the idea that the attachment system may have evolved not only to ensure survival in childhood, but also as a mechanism that promotes reproductive fitness in adulthood vis-à-vis the conditions of the environment (Belsky et al., 1991; Chisholm, 1996; see also Ellis, 2004; Kirkpatrick, 1998; Zeifman & Hazan, 1997) are largely influenced by the life history theory (Charnov, 1993; Stearns, 1992). The life history theory is an evolutionary account for the variations in patterns of growth, maturation, reproduction, aging, and

mortality. It posits that all organisms have finite resources and face the challenge of allocating these scarce resources between the fundamental goals of survival/growth and reproduction. The core trade-offs that individuals face are to decide whether to reproduce now or in the future, whether to maximize the quality or the quantity of the offsprings, and whether to invest more in mating or in parenting. The theory predicts that natural selection favors those mechanisms which achieve the optimal allocation of the resources among these competing goals in accordance with the constraints set by the ecological setting; hence maximize reproductive success (see Kaplan & Gangestad, 2005 for a review).

The life history theory has inspired several scholars to speculate that the quality of care parents provide their children with may serve as an early precursor of the characteristics of the environment and shape the child's attachment patterns along with her or his psychological, somatic, and reproductive development, all tailored to maximize adaptivity to that particular ecology. So, these life history models of attachment do not regard variations in attachment security (e.g., insecure attachment) as abnormalities, but as evolutionary adaptations to maximize reproductive success in an ecologically sensitive manner. The models of Belsky and colleagues (1991) and Chisholm (1996) are the chief life history models of attachment.

#### **1.2.1.1. The Belsky and Colleagues Model**

Extending Draper and Harpending's (1982) idea that absence of the father shapes the future reproductive strategy of the child, Belsky, Steinberg, and Draper (1991) proposed a model that delineates how early familial experiences lead to different developmental pathways guiding distinctive reproductive strategies in adulthood, which are shaped to enhance reproductive fitness with respect to ecological conditions. The model proposes that the social and ecological context (e.g., environmental stress, inadequate resources, marital discord) affects parenting (e.g., the sensitivity and responsiveness of caregiving, overall parenting investment), which impacts the psychological and behavioral development of the child (e.g., attachment pattern and internal working models), which in turn influences the somatic development (e.g., sexual maturation), which finally shapes the mating strategy (e.g., short-term vs. long-term, high vs. low quality offspring) of her or him

as an adult (Belsky et al., 1991). Belsky and colleagues (1991) argue that children who learn in their familial environment that resources are scarce and/or unpredictable, people are untrustworthy and relationships are unstable, develop insecure attachment style, reach sexual maturity early, adopt a reproductive strategy that favors early-onset, short-term, and multiple pair bonds, and offer low parental investment to their offsprings. Conversely, children who have early experiences which indicate that resources are constantly available, people are trustworthy and relationships are rewarding, develop secure attachment style, sexually mature later, employ a reproductive strategy that favors deferred, long-term and exclusive pair bonds, and offer high parental investment to their offsprings.

Belsky and colleagues (1991) regard both strategies as biologically sound in the sense that they both develop as adaptations to the conditions of the environment. On the one hand, a short-term mating strategy with low parental investment, characterized by insecure attachment, is more adaptive in an unstable environment where resources are scarce and unpredictable as it maximizes the quantity of offsprings, so that at least some of them may survive these harsh conditions, even if they are not adequately cared for. On the other hand, a long-term mating strategy with high-parental investment, characterized by secure attachment, is more adaptive in a stable environment where resources are abundant and continuous as it maximizes the quality of offsprings, so that they can utilize these favorable conditions to optimally develop and prosper. As both strategies increase the chances of long-term survival of the species in their respective ecologies, it is argued that different attachment patterns may have evolved because they enhance reproductive fitness under different ecological environments by promoting the development of these contingent mating strategies (Belsky, 1999).

Belsky (1997) later refined the model to account for the different types of insecure attachment. He clarified that insecure attachment mentioned in the original model pertained mostly to dismissing/avoidant attachment and predicted that avoidant attachment will be more prevalent in cultures where families are under more stress and have fewer and more unpredictable resources as compared to cultures with lower stress and plentiful resources (Belsky, 1997). He further argued

that anxious attachment may have evolved as a means to enhance indirect reproductive success by *helper-at-the-nest* behaviors, i.e., staying with the parents and other family members and helping the reproductive success of kin; but this conjecture has not received empirical support (Simpson & Belsky, 2008).

#### **1.2.1.2. The Chisholm Model**

While the Belsky and colleagues' (1991) model emphasizes the trade-off between the quantity versus the quality of the offsprings, Chisholm's (1993, 1996) revised and extended model concentrates on the trade-off between present (immediate) versus future (delayed) reproduction. Chisholm (1993, 1996) argues that one of the most important determinants of the choice between long-term and short-term mating strategies is *local mortality rates*. According to his bet-hedging theory, when mortality rates are high, the optimal reproductive strategy is to mate early to produce at least some offsprings before dying prematurely; whereas delayed reproduction can be adopted as the optimal reproductive strategy in an environment with low mortality rates. With this long-term mating strategy the variance in the number of surviving offsprings within each generation can be minimized, hence the total number of descendants over multiple generations can be maximized.

Chisholm (1993, 1996) proposes that in addition to guiding mating strategies, mortality rates serve as a barometer for the level of harshness of the local environment and cue the children to develop adaptive attachment styles via the level of parental investment. Chisholm (1996) argues that the correlates of high mortality rates, such as poverty, hunger, diseases, war, etc. become sources of parental stress which result in insensitive caregiving and in turn development of insecure attachment in the child. Chisholm (1996) further differentiates between the two types of insecure attachment and argues that avoidant attachment may have evolved as an adaptation to parental *unwillingness* to invest, whereas anxious attachment may have evolved as an adaptation to parental *inability* to invest. On the one hand, parental unwillingness to invest in the offspring is argued to stem from the parent's optimal reproductive strategy in a harsh local ecology, which entails allocating resources to other offsprings with greater reproductive value, or to the reproduction of new offsprings. This leads to unresponsive and rejecting caregiving, which in turn causes avoidant

attachment in the child. On the other hand, parental inability to invest in the offspring is argued to be caused by inadequate or unpredictable resources, which in turn causes insensitive and inconsistent caregiving, which leads to anxious attachment in the child. These parents are not rejecting or emotionally distant but fail to provide sensitive and consistent care due to a lack of necessary resources to do so. In accommodating ecologies with low mortality rates, parents can be both willing and able to invest in their offspring, hence can offer them sensitive and responsive caregiving, which leads to secure attachment in the child.

In ecologies with low mortality rates, securely attached children enjoy longer parental investment, hence they are able to allocate their resources to growth and delay mating; when they do eventually reproduce, they seek long-term mates and offer high parental investment themselves (Chisholm, 1996). In contrast, under harsh environmental conditions, as avoidantly attached children are forced to become independent at an early age by their rejecting parents, they allocate their scarce resources to early-onset reproduction and adopt a short-term mating strategy. As far as the anxiously attached children are concerned, Chisholm (1996) argues that they do not cease their attempts to extract resources from their inconsistent parents, but funnel these resources not to development but to earlier reproduction. Also within this perspective, attachment security is not regarded as the sole functional attachment orientation; but development of the appropriate attachment tendency is seen as an adaptation to the local environment, which manifests itself in increased reproductive fitness (Chisholm, 1993, 1996).

These life history models of attachment have received extensive empirical support (for recent reviews, see James & Ellis, 2013; Simpson & Belsky, 2008; Solak, Sakman, Sümer, & Schmitt, 2016). Most notably, studies have established the association between harsh environmental conditions (e.g., pathogens, high mortality rates, economic hardship, unpredictability, psychological stress) and rejecting and insensitive parenting (see Hoff, Laursen, & Tardif, 2002 for a review), and hence insecure attachment (e.g., Chisholm, 1999; Chisholm et al., 2005; Wiley & Carlin, 1999); and in turn between insecure attachment and short-term/immediate mating strategy (e.g., Gangestad & Buss, 1993; Griskevicius, Delton, Robertson, & Tybur,

2011; Koehler & Chisholm, 2007, 2009; Schmitt, 2008). The links between insensitive parenting and insecure attachment, and insecure attachment and short term mating strategies have also been firmly established (see Mikuliner & Shaver, 2007). In addition, longitudinal data have provided evidence that early onset and risky sexual behavior is affected through the interrelated mechanisms pointed out by the life history theory: Environmental harshness and unpredictability adversely affects maternal sensitivity, and harsh rearing practices and lower quality of family relationships predicts earlier pubertal maturation; all of which in turn predicts greater adolescent sexual risk taking (Belsky, Schlomer, & Ellis, 2012; Belsky, Steinberg, Houts, Halpern-Felsher, & the NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2010; James, Ellis, Schlomer, & Garber, 2012; Zimmer-Gembeck & Helfand, 2008).

### **1.2.2. A Group Survival Perspective: The Social Defense Theory**

The life history models made a seminal contribution to attachment research by challenging the dominant notion that secure attachment is the only advantageous orientation by positing that all attachment tendencies are evolutionary adaptations to environmental conditions and lead to optimal fit - none is absolutely better than the other, they are just better in specific contexts and worse in others. Yet, they arguably left room for further exploration in the domain of functionality of attachment insecurity, as they solely focus on the issue of reproductive fitness. If different attachment styles are indeed evolved as adaptations to environmental conditions, in addition to increasing reproductive fitness, they should also offer survival advantages, as reproduction can not be achieved without ensured survival (Ein-Dor et al., 2010). In fact, Bowlby's (1969/1982) conceptualization of the attachment system is closely linked to the fear system and is activated by cues of environmental threats in an attempt to ensure survival. So arguably, in addition to enhancing reproductive fitness, different attachment styles should offer adaptive advantages in survival fitness under different environmental conditions. Moreover, even if insecure attachment may increase reproductive fitness by gauging mating strategies to the conditions of local ecologies, individuals with avoidant and anxious attachment still suffer from the negative consequences discussed above. So, even if secure attachment offers an evolutionary adaptation in reproduction, it is still maladaptive

for the individual him or herself, hence it is plausible that the adaptive advantage of insecure attachment may lie at another level of analysis than the individual level.

In an effort to fill these gaps in the solution to the attachment paradox and complement the life history models of attachment in explaining the adaptive functions of insecure attachment, Ein-Dor and colleagues (2010) put forward the social defense theory (SDT), which incorporated the elements of adaptive advantage in the domain of survival and the adaptive advantage for the group level into the existing adaptationist framework of attachment insecurity.

In their theory, Ein-Dor and his colleagues (2010) proposed that both secure and insecure attachment styles may have adaptive advantages and disadvantages under certain circumstances, hence groups that are consisting of individuals with different attachment tendencies have better survival chances as compared to groups that are homogenous with respect to attachment orientations. In response to the extensive research documenting the advantages of secure attachment and the lack of evidence for the possible adaptive benefits of insecure attachment as discussed above, Ein-Dor and colleagues (2010) put forward the idea that the evolutionarily adaptive advantage of insecure attachment may lie at the group level rather than the individual level, and this may be how insecure attachment has survived the course of evolution. They base their argument on Hamilton's (1964) kin selection theory and Sober and Wilson's (1998) multilevel selection theory, which suggest that an individual's total (inclusive) fitness is determined not only by his or her own reproductive output, but also by the inclusion of the reproductive success of kin with whom genes are shared. Hence, many social traits that may seem maladaptive at the individual level but benefit the group of kin (e.g., altruism) are evolutionarily adaptive because they increase the chances of survival of the group during group selection. So, Ein-Dor and colleagues (2010) basically argue that insecure attachment is still present because it has adaptive advantages at the group level even if it may be maladaptive at the individual level.

According to the social defense theory, while attachment security is beneficial to the group under normal circumstances, where members with secure attachment function better in the coordination of group activities and work more efficiently with

other group members (Rom & Mikulincer, 2003), the relative adaptive advantages of attachment insecurity surface under conditions of emergent threat (Ein-Dor et al., 2010). While the inherent sense of security and comfort individuals with secure attachment enjoy is beneficial for them in vast contexts as discussed above, it may be to their disadvantage when an imminent threat is present in the environment. The fact that individuals with secure attachment are not particularly vigilant to threat cues and tend to seek proximity to attachment figures when threat is perceived (e.g., Mikulincer, Gillath, & Shaver, 2002; and Mawson, 2012) may work against them when an emergency necessitates early detection and fast escape: Their prevailing sense of security may delay the detection of early cues of threat and their tendency to be close to significant others may cause them to lose small windows of opportunity for individual salvation. Studies of behavior during disasters such as fires, terrorist attacks, explosions, etc. document that people who are in close physical proximity with familiar others are less likely to perceive the initial ambiguous cues of threat and react only when threat becomes eminent, refuse to evacuate until everybody gets together, and tend to move as a group (e.g., Aguirre, Wenger, & Vigo, 1998; Köster, Seitz, Treml, Hartmann, & Klein, 2011; Proulx, 2003; Sime, 1983, 1985). This pattern of behavior, although in line with the predictions of attachment theory, may increase the fatality risk for both the single individual and the group as a whole, as it prolongs the evacuation process (Feinberg & Johnson, 2001). Taken together, this evidence suggests that a group composed solely of securely attached people may be at a disadvantage in an emergency situation due to a collective slower reaction to threat cues and a dangerous refusal to escape to safety until everybody is together, hence face lower chances of survival (Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

The social defense theory posits that in contrast to people with secure attachment, individuals with insecure attachment may be of use in such dangerous situations due to their predispositional reactions to threat (Ein-Dor et al., 2010). On the one hand, people who are high on attachment anxiety are hypervigilant to threat and stress cues due to their chronically hyperactivated attachment systems (Mikulincer, Birnbaum, Woddis, & Nachmias, 2000; Mikulincer et al., 2002). This chronic preoccupation with stress cues makes them more likely to monitor and detect

physical or social threat signals more readily, quickly, and react to them more intensely and vocally (Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, & Shaver, 2011a; Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, & Shaver, 2011b; Ein-Dor & Perry, 2014; Ein-Dor & Perry-Paldi, 2014). The social defense theory posits that these schemas and action tendencies may make anxiously attached people good *sentinels* for the group, who detect early and ambiguous signs of an imminent threat (e.g., unusual noises, crackles, smells, movement) and alert the other members (Ein-Dor et al., 2010; Ein-Dor & Orgad, 2012). By doing so, they may make up for the deficiency of securely attached members in recognizing the threats on time and offer a group level adaptive advantage in survival.

On the other hand, people who are high on attachment avoidance are self-reliant, self-protective, pragmatist, and chronically inclined to flee (e.g., Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The social defense theory suggests that these qualities of people with high attachment avoidance make them more likely to develop *rapid fight-or-flight* reactions to danger in order to protect themselves without waiting for help from anyone else and be quick to detect escape routes as they are always inclined to be on the lookout for a way out (Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, & Shaver, 2011a; Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, & Shaver, 2011b; Ein-Dor & Perry-Paldi, 2014). These cognitive schemas and action tendencies are argued to be beneficial also for the rest of the group as people are likely to follow these avoidant members through the escape routes they discovered or created. Hence, the individuals with high attachment avoidance produce a group level adaptive advantage by creating a way out to safety for the other secure members who are too preoccupied with uniting with their significant others to look for evacuation strategies (Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

Considering the adaptive advantages of these schemas and action tendencies of people with anxious and avoidant attachment styles in face of a danger, social defense theory puts forward the idea that groups that are heterogeneous with respect to their members' attachment orientations, i.e., groups that consist of both secure, anxious, and avoidant members, have better chances of survival as compared to homogenous groups that are solely composed of members with secure attachment (Ein-Dor et al., 2010). The theory posits that this group level evolutionarily adaptive

advantage of insecure attachment is what kept it intact in face of selection pressures in spite of its individual level maladaptivities (Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

The social defense theory has received empirical support at both cognitive and behavioral levels. In a series of studies, Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, and Shaver (2011a) tested the cognitive accessibility of the sentinel and rapid fight-or-flight schemas with respect to attachment orientations. The results of these studies indicated that participants high on attachment anxiety were more likely to produce stories in line with the sentinel script (e.g., noticing ambiguous signs of threat before others, warning others about the threat) in a hypothetical scenario of impending threat, and show faster, deeper, and more schema-biased processing of information and memory biases congruent with this script. In contrast, participants scoring higher on attachment avoidance tended to make up stories characterized by the rapid fight-or-flight script (e.g., reacting quickly without depending on others' actions and waiting for their help), and display more schema-based memories, more rapid recognition and deeper processing of information congruent with this script. In a more recent study, Ein-Dor and Perry-Paldi (2014) asked the participants to choose their most likely first reaction in hypothetical danger scenarios. The results showed that whereas participants high in attachment anxiety reported yelling and threatening to scream (sentinel response) as a more likely response to threat, the ones high in attachment avoidance indicated that they would tend to attack or threaten to attack (fight response), or run away (flight response) more. Overall, these results suggest that while people with high attachment anxiety have accessible and well-organized mental schemas containing monitoring and detecting potential threats, and respond to them by vocalizing; people with high attachment avoidance have working knowledge on how to rapidly preserve the self without lengthy deliberation. Hence, these findings provide evidence for the existence of sentinel and rapid fight-or-flight response tendencies of people with insecure attachment at the cognitive level.

Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, and Shaver (2011b) also tested the predictions of the social defense theory at the behavioral level. The study gathered participants in groups of three at the laboratory and created a threat situation, which was staged as real but in fact was bogus. The results of the study showed that the participants with

higher attachment anxiety were more likely to be the first ones to detect this threat and the participants with higher attachment avoidance were more likely to be the first ones to run away from it. Moreover, the study indicated that groups that were heterogeneous with respect to the attachment tendencies were both faster and more effective in detecting the threat and dealing with it. These results suggest that the sentinel and rapid fight-or-flight schemas also operate at the behavioral level and affect how people with attachment insecurities respond to situations of threat, and that groups which are heterogeneous with respect to attachment are more advantageous under conditions of threat, owing to their members who are vigilant to detect the threat and quick to react to it. These significant relationships between chronic attachment orientations and mental schemas and actions tendencies concerning insecure attachment have also been shown to go above and beyond the effects of state and trait anxiety (Ein-Dor & Perry-Paldi, 2014) and personality factors (Ein-Dor et al., 2011a, 2011b). The adaptive advantages of group compositions that are heterogeneous with respect to attachment also extend beyond conditions of threat, a recent study documented that student project teams comprised of members with heterogeneous attachment tendencies perform better on both objective outcomes and measures of the members' subjective perceptions of team functioning (Lavy, Bareli, & Ein-Dor, 2015).

### **1.3. Extending the Social Defense Theory: Introducing Cultural Context**

Ein-Dor and his colleagues' (2010) social defense theory is quite innovative and thought provoking in the sense that it offers a fresh perspective of survival advantage to the functionality of insecure attachment. From the lenses of this theoretical framework, insecure attachment can be viewed as an *early alarm and escape system* that signals the adversities in the local environment and aids human beings in developing the necessary adaptations for these conditions to ensure survival and procreation. The theoretical and practical significance of casting light on the long-neglected possible adaptive advantages of insecure attachment notwithstanding, the social defense theory could arguably benefit from incorporating the issue of cultural context in its framework. With its current form, the social defense theory does not acknowledge the cultural differences in attachment, especially the potential

role of culturally adaptive functions of certain attachment orientations, which could be viewed as a rather important drawback considering the fact that one of the most important points of debate in attachment research has been how emotional bonds form and function within different cultural contexts. Fittingly, the empirical research on the attachment theory did actually initiate as a cross-cultural endeavor with Mary Ainsworth's seminal field observations in Uganda, a non-Western society (Ainsworth, 1967). Cross-cultural research on attachment has repeatedly shown that attachment security emerges as a universal norm (see van IJzendoorn and Sagi-Schwartz, 2008 for a review). Yet, recent intercultural studies have documented that the patterns of insecure attachment in fact vary greatly across cultures: Whereas attachment anxiety emerges as a relatively common pattern in collectivist cultures, attachment avoidance seems to be more prevalent in individualist cultures (e.g., Sagi, van IJzendoorn, & Karie-Koren, 1991; Schmitt, 2010; Schmitt et al., 2004; van IJzendoorn & Kroonenberg, 1988). As a paradigm that aims to explain the functionality of insecure attachment, the social defense theory should acknowledge this discrepancy in the distribution of insecure attachment across cultures and incorporate this phenomenon into its framework. Arguably, the adaptive value of different forms of insecure attachment in different cultural settings and how and why these forms are perpetuated by different cultures merit the theory's attention because better adaptation to culture also offers survival advantage, as adaptation to local environment and adaptation to culture share similar dynamics. So, exploring how different forms of insecure attachment can increase adaptation to culture could help shed more light on how attachment insecurity is functional and hence has been able to stand years of selection pressures.

### **1.3.1. Culture and Attachment Insecurity**

Building on her extensive observations in Uganda, Mary Ainsworth incorporated the cultural argument into attachment research for the first time. She put forward the idea that even though the need to become attached to caregivers is a universal phenomenon, its patterns and specific behaviors (e.g., proximity seeking, sensitivity) may exhibit cultural variation (Ainsworth, 1967; Ainsworth & Marvin, 1995). Cultural differences with respect to antecedents and consequences of

attachment security have also been noted in studies conducted in different areas of the world, such as Puerto Rico (Harwood, Miller, & Irizarry, 1995) and Kenya (LeVine & Norman, 2001). In addition to these efforts to stress cultural variations in attachment, the harshest cultural critique of attachment theory was put forward by Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, and Morelli (2000). In their well-known article, Rothbaum and colleagues (2000) criticized mainstream attachment research for being “culturally blind” and viewing the patterns of relatedness solely through the lenses of individualist Western cultures and their realities, constructs, and values. They challenged the universality of the three core hypotheses of the attachment theory, and argued that what constitutes sensitive/responsive parenting, social competence, and secure base may change from culture to culture by citing a number of attachment studies conducted in the collectivist Japanese culture (Rothbaum et al., 2000). This cultural critique stirred vigorous argument regarding the universality and culture specificity of attachment processes. The current state of the literature indicates that research evidence amounting from different cultures do indeed point to universal associations between sensitivity and security, security and later social competence, and secure base and learning; yet the nature of sensitive/responsive care, social competence, and learning can entail different practices in different cultures (see Posada et al., 1995; Posada et al., 2013; Rothbaum & Morelli, 2005; Rothbaum, Morelli, & Rusk, 2011; van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz (2008).

Even though the universality debate is resolved for the most part, considering that culture imposes very specific living conditions, including child-rearing practices, it is also reasonable to expect variations in the distributions of attachment styles across cultures. After all, as Bowlby (1969) puts it himself, the attachment bond is shaped by the intricate “long history of interpersonal relations within... the values and practices of her [the mother's] culture” (p. 342). Van IJzendoorn and Sagi-Schwartz’s (1999, 2008) analysis acknowledges the effects of these diverse sociocultural contexts in which attachment relationships develop, and that these different cultural niches impose different adaptive behavioral tendencies on the child to survive. Considering the normativity hypothesis (i.e., the majority of the children display secure attachment tendencies), variations in attachment styles across cultures

are to be expected especially with respect to the distribution of different types of insecure attachment.

The two reported exceptions to the normativity hypothesis emerged in samples from Northern Germany (Grossman, Grossman, Spangler, Suess, & Unzner, 1985) and an Israeli Kibbutz community (Sagi et al., 1985), where the majority of the participants were reported to have avoidant and anxious-ambivalent patterns of attachment, respectively. Both instances have been attributed to cultural conceptions towards child-rearing. Grossmann, Grossmann, and Keppler (2005) argued that the general cultural belief that crying is good for an infant and responding to cries would spoil the child, which predominated the German child-rearing practices for quite some time, may be responsible for the predominance of avoidant attachment style in this Northern German sample. Aviezer and Sagi (1999) also thought that the Israeli practice of kibbutzim, where children were taken care of by professional caregivers in communal sleeping arrangements and had limited time to spend with their parents, could be the underlying reason of the predominating anxious-ambivalent attachment style found in these samples. These two exceptions to the normativity hypothesis lend support to the idea that cultural values and practices may be important determinants in the development of attachment insecurity.

Moreover, although the vast majority of the cross-cultural findings in attachment recently lend support to the normativity hypothesis, many studies also point out that the patterns of insecure attachment differ across cultures as mentioned above, with attachment anxiety more common in collectivist cultures and attachment avoidance more common in individualist cultures. One theoretical framework that might aid in explaining why this is the case and how different forms of insecure attachment may have different adaptive values in different cultural contexts is the “culture-fit hypothesis”, which puts forward the idea that the form of insecure attachment which is prevalent within a culture leads to less adverse outcomes (Friedman et al., 2010). Friedman and colleagues (2010) have found that attachment avoidance, but not attachment anxiety, poses a greater risk factor for negative outcomes, such as heightened relationship conflict, less perceived relationship support and investment, and poorer relationship satisfaction in collectivist cultures,

as compared to individualist cultures. Rothbaum, Rosen, Ujiie, and Uchida (2002) have also argued that since dependence is relatively functional in collectivist cultures, where close relatedness is valued, attachment anxiety should not be seen as abnormal or maladaptive in such contexts. Consistent with these conjectures, studies conducted with Turkish samples also revealed that attachment avoidance, but not attachment anxiety, negatively predicts a number of key outcome variables, such as maternal sensitivity (Selçuk et al., 2010), secure attachment to parents (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010), marital satisfaction (Harma & Sümer, 2016), and friendship quality in middle childhood (Sümer, 2015); hence poses a specific risk factor in a collectivist culture that values closely-knit relatedness. In contrast, anxious attachment has been associated with adverse outcomes in individualist Western societies (Rothbaum et al., 2002). These findings bear a crucial implication for research: The type of insecure attachment which is less prevalent within a culture holds more predictive power for outcome behaviors as compared to the *congruent* style of attachment insecurity which is predominant in that culture.

One cause for the different patterns of insecure attachment across cultures may lie at the different sociohistorical factors that shape the independence vs. interdependence orientations of the people (Hofstede, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Model of self scores tend to be higher in the individualistic North American and Western European cultures, whereas model of other scores are lower, which corresponds to dismissing attachment (Schmitt et al., 2004). In contrast, model of self scores are lower with higher model of other scores in the collectivistic East Asian cultures, making preoccupied attachment more prevalent (Schmitt et al., 2004). Schmitt and colleagues (2004) also identified national levels of attachment anxiety to be negatively correlated with measures of individualism (Hofstede, 2001). These differences may be linked to cultural variations: Collectivist cultures promote an interdependent self-construal, where dependence on others' opinions and approval, being part of a greater whole is widely emphasized, and people tend to view themselves with respect to their relationships with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). This cultural context conceivably leads to higher model of others tendencies as compared to model of self tendencies, hence a preoccupied

attachment style. Conversely, individualist cultures which foster an environment of independence and self-sufficiency, where individuals view themselves as disjoint agents acting independently from others and tend to develop an independent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), may lead to higher scores in model of self, therefore dismissing attachment style. Arguably, attachment anxiety, typified by a desire to be enmeshed with significant others is relatively compatible with the intimate characteristic of collectivist cultures; whereas attachment avoidance, characterized by a tendency to keep others at a distance and rely on oneself is more adaptive in individualist cultures where materialistic values predominate.

Another key difference among cultures that is of importance to the scope of social defense theory is the distinct communication patterns which predominate the cultural atmosphere. High-context communication, a style of communication that involves heavy reliance on the use of implicit and indirect messages, where the true meanings are hidden within the socio-cultural context, has been identified to be more prevalent in collectivist cultures; in contrast, low-context communication, which involves the use of explicit and direct messages, is more prevalent in individualist cultures (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, & Chua, 1988; Hall, 1976). Members of the collectivist cultures are more likely to pay closer attention to the context (e.g., emotional expressions, touching, distance between bodies, eye contact, and level of voice) during communication as compared to their counterparts in individualist cultures. A particular culture's level of directness during communication also affects its members' preference for communicative styles: In low-context cultures, where a more direct and upfront mode of interaction is preferred, a straightforward mode of behavior is perceived as the norm for personal interactions. On the other hand, in high-context cultures, where an indirect mode of interaction is more prevalent, a direct or confrontational mode of communication is perceived as highly threatening and disturbing (Gudykunst et al., 1988). Therefore, more indirect, ambiguous, and implicit forms of communication are preferred within the high-context cultures in an effort to avoid direct confrontation and save face. Supporting this conjecture, Ting-Toomey (1985) and Chua and Gudykunst (1987) reported that members of low-context cultures use confrontational/solution-orientated strategies in conflict

situations more as compared to the members of high-context cultures, who tend to rely on non-confrontational and indirect communication strategies more heavily. The communicative styles of cultures also have implications for child rearing and maternal sensitivity. While a typical sensitive caregiver in a low context/individualist culture responds only when the infant shows his/her needs clearly (i.e., reactive sensitivity); sensitive caregivers from high context/collectivist culture cultures tend to rely on situational cues (i.e., context) to understand their infants' needs, and take proactive measures to calm their children (i.e., proactive sensitivity) instead of waiting for their children to manifest obvious signs of discomfort (e.g., LeVine et al., 1996; Keller et al., 2004; Rothbaum, et al., 2000; Trommsdorff, Cole, & Heikamp, 2012). Building on these fundamental differences in the communicative styles of different cultures, it can be argued that attachment anxiety may have relatively higher adaptive advantage in the high-context collectivist cultures. A constant preoccupation with the message source and a hypervigilance to extract the covert meaning in the implicit messages predominantly used in that cultural context may aid the anxiously attached individuals in understanding the true meaning of the high-context communication. In a similar vein, attachment avoidance may offer higher adaptive advantage in the low-context individualist cultures, where it may aid the individuals to be fine with being blunt in communicating their messages to other people without being overly concerned about others' feelings; hence making sure that their needs are well communicated in a context where directness is needed for effective interaction.

Overall, even though the innate tendency to become attached seems to be a universal norm, cultural context emerges as a vital source of input for the culture-specific attachment behaviors, especially in patterns of attachment insecurity. Different attachment tendencies are arguably both a product of the constraints imposed by specific cultural contexts and a tool to survive in them.

Building on the culture-fit hypothesis, the present research adds a novel hypothesis to the social defense theory: The different mental schemas and action tendencies associated with different types of insecure attachment may have different adaptive advantages in different cultural contexts. In particular, since anxious

attachment is more prevalent in collectivist cultures and avoidant attachment is more prevalent in individualist cultures, it is argued that the anxiously attached people's mental schemas and action tendencies associated with the sentinel script will be more adaptive in the collectivist/interdependent cultural context; whereas the mental schemas and action tendencies associated with the rapid fight-or-flight script of people with avoidant attachment will be more adaptive in the individualist/independent cultural context.

On the one hand, the sentinel behaviors of anxiously attached people are proposed to be more adaptive in the collectivist/interdependent cultural context mainly because such behavior would not be incongruous to the predominating cultural atmosphere, where people are already predisposed to looking to each other for cues to determine appropriate behavior in ambiguous situations due to high-context, and where it is considered normal to frequently warn people and meddle in their affairs due to fuzzy interpersonal boundaries and smaller personal space. In collectivist cultures characterized by high-context, people need close personal contact to access the implicit information that is not overtly communicated within the society and reduce the uncertainty arising from this covert form of encounter (e.g., Georgas et al., 2001). As direct communication, open criticism, and confrontation are regarded as sources of conflict and hence avoided in collectivist cultures, the members of these cultures are left devoid of the social psychological benefits of these behaviors, such as building self-knowledge and engaging in social comparison. This deprivation may be partially remedied by the hypervigilance of the culture's anxiously attached members who are chronically predisposed to be on the lookout and search for informational cues to down-regulate their own anxiety. From a developmental perspective, being raised by an inconsistent caregiver makes anxiously attached people chronically unsure of their environment, so they constantly search for situational cues that might aid them in reducing the tension that arises due to uncertainty. In early years, this hypervigilance manifests itself in the relationship with parents, which is characterized by constant help seeking, clinging, and extreme protest to separation. The same pattern continues into adulthood, as individuals high on attachment anxiety keep seeing their attachment figures as unreliable and

insufficiently responsive, and hence hyperactivating their attachment system by engaging in exaggerated attempts, such as intense monitoring of the relationship partners, extreme efforts to maintain proximity, and engaging in clinging/controlling behaviors, to down-regulate their own anxiety by trying to extract as much information as possible from the environment regarding the attachment figure they are uncertain about (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). These characteristics of anxiously attached people overlap with the characteristic of collectivist cultures, which are also chronically unsure due to the predominating covert communication styles. The anxiously attached members' chronic hypervigilance may act as a valuable information extractor amidst the vague high-context of collectivist cultures, and hence be highly adaptive. The present research proposes that the sentinel behavior of anxiously attachment people may be a case in point: In collectivist/interdependent cultural contexts where open communication is not prevalent, anxiously attached members' predisposition to monitor and communicate threat cues will be more culturally adaptive.

On the other hand, the pragmatic and selfish rapid fight-or-flight behavior of avoidant individuals, cultivated in a familial atmosphere of early rejection, are proposed to be more harmonious in individualist/independent cultural contexts, where such acts that emphasize individuality, competence, competitiveness, and personal salvation are congruent with the culture's general outlook that values independence and clear-cut interpersonal borders. The early experiences of avoidantly attachment individuals with their parents have taught them that they cannot rely on their significant others for help in times of need, so they have learned to avoid further rejection by deactivating their attachment system and maintaining a high psychological, social, and emotional distance from their attachment figures. This defensive exclusion of affect continues into adult romantic relationships and manifests itself in avoidant behaviors, such as ignoring attachment needs and avoiding intimacy, self-disclosure, and interdependence (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). These distancing strategies are argued to be more functional in the low-context of individualist cultures, which are characterized by direct communication, overt messages, and open confrontation that leave little room for the need to depend

on the other members of the culture for detecting and interpreting subtle cues in the social environment. So, the sentinel behavior of anxiously attached individuals will be more dysfunctional in such a cultural context because they are more likely to be considered as intrusive and as violations to personal space, interpersonal boundaries, and individuality. So within the present research, it is argued that in individualist/independent cultural contexts, where values such as self-reliance, running for one's own life without waiting for others, and not tying one's salvation to anyone else are cherished, the egotistical rapid fight-or-flight behavior of avoidantly attached people will be more culturally adaptive.

#### **1.4. Overview of the Present Research: General Aims and Hypotheses**

Although the adaptive advantages of insecure attachment have been studied in the contexts of reproductive fitness and group survival, and although it has been shown that the forms of attachment insecurity vary among cultures; the possible adaptive value of different forms of insecure attachment in different cultural settings, and how and why these forms are perpetuated by different cultures remain chiefly as uncharted territory in attachment research. To the best of the author's knowledge, no studies to date have investigated the direct links between attachment orientations and cultural values; and no studies have tested whether different forms of attachment insecurity fulfill any adaptive functions under different cultural contexts. The present dissertation aims to fill these gaps by focusing on how different forms of attachment insecurity may be linked to different cultural mindsets and how different forms of attachment security may be functional in diverse cultural contexts.

Arguably, functionality of a certain behavior or tendency can be extrapolated from its prevalence and consequences. Prevalence is an indirect indicator of functionality because if a certain behavior does not serve any adaptive functions, it will be adopted by less and less people in course of time and hence lose prevalence. In other words, if a certain behavior/tendency is more prevalent as compared to others, it is most likely because it serves some purpose. Another indicator of functionality is how favorable people judge a certain behavior in terms of outcomes. Because a functional behavior protects the individual from adverse outcomes and increases the likelihood of encountering favorable outcomes, members of a culture

code indirect links between the said behavior and outcomes, as they observe these repeated patterns. This coding manifests itself in the subsequent judgments of people regarding this behavior. Hence, if a certain behavior is judged as favorable by the members of a culture in terms of outcomes, it is highly likely that this behavior has served some adaptive function in the past.

Building on this line of thinking, in order to investigate the possible adaptive functions of attachment insecurity vis-à-vis culture, the present research will first examine whether there indeed exist any significant relationships between attachment orientations and cultural constructs. It is hypothesized that different forms of attachment insecurity will be related to different cultural values and constructs, based on the first indicator of functionality, i.e., prevalence. Building on previous findings, it is expected that the prevalent form of insecure attachment will be significantly related to the prevalent cultural norms. Specifically, it is hypothesized that attachment avoidance will emerge as significantly related to indicators of an individualist/independent mindset and anxiety will emerge as linked to a collectivist/interdependent mindset.

Next, to see if the aforementioned relationships actually serve any adaptive functions for the members of a specific culture, different types of insecure attachment will be investigated for any specific functions in different cultural contexts, based on the second indicator of functionality, i.e., evaluations in terms of outcomes. It is hypothesized that the mental schemas and action tendencies associated with insecure attachment will be judged as more favorable by the members of a culture, i.e., be more culturally adaptive, as long as they are in line with the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within that particular cultural context. More specifically, it is expected that sentinel behaviors associated with anxious attachment will be evaluated as more functional in a collectivist/interdependent cultural context, and rapid fight-or-flight behaviors associated with avoidant attachment will be evaluated as more functional in an individualistic/independent cultural context.

The specific aims and hypotheses of the studies conducted to test these general predictions will be described in full detail in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER 2

### **STUDY 1: An Investigation of the Relationships between Attachment Orientations and Cultural Constructs**

#### **2.1. Aims and Hypotheses of the Study**

As discussed previously, although it has been previously established that different forms of insecure attachment exhibit different levels of prevalence in different cultures (see Schmitt, 2010; van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 2008), no studies to date have investigated the direct links between attachment orientations and cultural values, tendencies, and mindsets, as can be defined as cultural indicators. The aim of the Study 1 is to fill this gap and conduct an investigation of the possible relationships between attachment dimensions and several cultural indicators. In order to depict the links between attachment tendencies and cultural constructs both independently of and in relation to cultural setting, the study employed a cross-cultural methodology to investigate the possible effects across two different cultures - namely the Turkish culture, which could be mainly characterized as collectivist, and the American culture, which is typically individualist (Hofstede, 2001).

The overall expectation from this preliminary study is to find significant relationships between attachment orientations and cultural indicators. It is hypothesized that different forms of attachment insecurity will be related to different cultural values independently of cultural setting. Specifically, it is expected that attachment avoidance will emerge as significantly related to indicators of an individualist/independent mindset and attachment anxiety will emerge as linked to a collectivist/relational mindset in both samples (Hypothesis 1). Yet, it is also expected that the effect of cultural setting will be evident in the strength of the said relationships. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the link between attachment anxiety and a collectivist/relational mindset will be stronger in the collectivist Turkish sample, whereas the relationship between attachment avoidance and an

individualist/independent mindset will be stronger in the individualist American sample (Hypothesis 2).

## **2.2. Method**

### **2.2.1. Participants**

The Turkish sample of the first study consisted of 368 adults, who were recruited among the users of Facebook. The participation was on a solely voluntary basis. The age range of this community sample varied from 18 to 72 years with a mean of 37.47 ( $SD = 12.38$ ) (see Table 2.2.1). Two hundred and twenty eight (62%) participants were female and 140 (38%) participants were male. Only three (0.80%) participants were secondary school graduates, 51 (13.90%) and 185 (50.30%) participants were high school and university graduates, respectively, and 129 (35.10%) participants reported they held a masters or PhD diploma. Twenty nine (7.90%) participants reported a low level of income, 264 (71.70%) and 75 (20.40%) participants said they had middle and high levels of income, respectively.

For the American sample, initially 392 participants were recruited through the Amazon's Mechanical Turk marketplace (MTurk). Participation to the study was limited to workers in the United States. Four attention check questions (e.g., "It is important in surveys to make sure that people are actually reading the questions, please mark the I agree button for this item") were embedded within the normal items of the scales throughout the survey and participants who failed in two or more of these attention checks were excluded from the sample. Forty two participants (10.71%) were excluded based on this criterion, leaving a total of 350 participants in the final sample. The participants were paid \$0.50 for their participation.

The age range of this community sample varied from 19 to 74 years with a mean of 38.86 ( $SD = 12.60$ ). Two hundred and three (58%) participants were female and 147 (42%) participants were male. Only three (0.90%) and seven (2.00%) participants were primary and secondary school graduates, 138 (39.40%) and 151 (43.10%) participants were high school and university graduates, respectively, and 51 (14.60%) participants reported they held a masters or PhD diploma. One hundred and thirty six (38.90%) participants reported a low level of income, while 206

(58.90%) and eight (2.30%) participants said they had middle and high levels of income, respectively.

**Table 2.2.1. Demographic Characteristics of the Turkish and American Samples**

	Mean		SD		Range	
	TR	US	TR	US	TR	US
Age	37.47	38.86	12.38	12.60	18-72	19-74

	Frequency		Percentage	
	TR	US	TR	US
Sex				
Female	228	203	62%	58%
Male	140	147	38%	42%
Education				
Primary School	0	3	0.00%	0.90%
Secondary School	3	7	0.80%	2.00%
High School	51	138	13.90%	39.40%
University	185	151	50.30%	43.10%
Masters or PhD	129	51	35.10%	14.60%
Income				
Low	29	136	7.90%	38.90%
Medium	264	206	71.70%	58.90%
High	75	8	20.40%	2.30%

### **2.2.2. Materials and Procedure**

The ethics committee approval was secured from the METU UEAM (Human Participants Ethics Committee) before starting the data collection process (see Appendix A). The study was conducted online, the participants were provided with a hyperlink which directed them to the online study hosted by the Qualtrics data collection service. The participants were asked to fill out questionnaires along with a demographic information form after they approved the informed consent form (see Appendix B).

#### **2.2.2.1. Experiences in Close Relationships Questionnaire (ECR)**

In order to measure the participants' adult attachment orientations, the experiences in close relationships questionnaire scale (ECR; Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998) was used. The ECR comprises of two 18-item scales, one measuring attachment avoidance (e.g., "I prefer not to show others how I feel deep down") and the other measuring attachment anxiety (e.g., "I worry about being rejected or abandoned"). The attachment avoidance subscale reflects an individual's discomfort with closeness and the attachment anxiety subscale reflects an individual's concern about abandonment. The participants were asked to rate the items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The ECR has been adapted to Turkish, examined in terms of its factor structure in Turkish samples, shown to have good construct validity (Sümer, 2006). In the current samples, both subscales were found to be internally consistent, the Cronbach's alpha was calculated as .90 for the avoidance subscale and .87 for the anxiety subscale in the Turkish sample; and .94 for the avoidance subscale and .95 for the anxiety subscale in the American sample. According to principal component analysis, the two factor solution of the scale was valid and the factors explained 36.32% and 53.13% of the total variance in the Turkish and American samples, respectively.

#### **2.2.2.2. Independence versus Interdependence Values**

In order to measure the participants' endorsement of independence and interdependence values, the short version of the Schwartz Values Survey (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004), which comprises of 18-items selected by Kam, Zhou, Zhang, and Ho (2012) was used. The participants were asked to rate how important these values

are for them on a 7-point Likert scale. (1 = *not important*, 7 = *very important*). The sample items included “freedom”, “self-respect”, and “choosing own goals” for the independence values subscale; and “sense of belonging”, “family security”, and “loyalty” for the interdependence values subscale. The scale has been adapted to Turkish by Alper (2016). In the current samples, both subscales were found to be internally consistent, the Cronbach’s alpha was calculated as .70 for the independence values subscale and .78 for the interdependence values subscale in the Turkish sample; and .76 for the independence values subscale and .84 for the interdependence values subscale in the American sample. According to principal component analysis, the two factor solution of the scale was valid and the factors explained 36.48% and 51.89% of the total variance in the Turkish and American samples, respectively.

#### **2.2.2.3. Harmony Control Scale**

The harmony control scale (Morling & Fiske, 1999) was used to measure the participants’ tendency to accept the agency in spiritual and social forces and assume an interdependent self-concept. Harmony control can be conceived as a measure of interdependent/relational mindset. The scale comprises of 21 items, sample items include “I accept the present because I know it’s the will of some higher power”, “I feel secure knowing my friends will take care of me, should I need it”, “Most of my own needs are met when I meet other people’s needs”. The participants were asked to rate the items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The harmony control scale has been adapted to Turkish by Alper (2016). In the current samples, the scale was found to be internally consistent and the Cronbach’s alpha was calculated as .79 in the Turkish sample, and .83 in the American sample. According to principal component analysis, 51.42% and 59.26% of the total variance was explained in the Turkish and American samples, respectively.

#### **2.2.2.4. Desirability of Control Scale**

The desirability of control scale (Burger & Cooper, 1979) was used to measure the level of need participants have to exert individual control over the events in their lives. Desirability of control can be conceived as a measure of independent/individualist mindset. The scale comprises of 20 items, sample items

include “I prefer a job where I have a lot of control over what I do and when I do it”, “I enjoy having control over my own destiny”, “When I see a problem, I prefer to do something about it rather than sit by and let it continue”. The participants were asked to rate the items on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). The desirability control scale has been adapted to Turkish by Eđrigözlü (2002). In the current samples, the scale was found to be internally consistent and the Cronbach’s alpha was calculated as .80 in the Turkish sample, and .83 in the American sample. According to principal component analysis, 25.08% and 30.20% of the total variance was explained in the Turkish and American samples, respectively.

#### **2.2.2.5. Individualism-Collectivism Scale (INDCOL)**

The individualism-collectivism scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995) measures the participants’ individualist versus collectivist orientations by adding the concept of power distance/hierarchy. The scale consists of 40 items and has four subscales, namely horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, and vertical collectivism. Horizontal individualism taps into individuals’ and cultures’ need for independence and uniqueness, but status differences are not emphasized (e.g., “One should live one’s life independently of others”). Vertical individualism measures the extent to which individuals or cultures value competition, winning, and status (e.g., “It annoys me when other people perform better than I do”). Horizontal collectivism measures the emphasis placed on group goals and equality (e.g., “The well-being of my co-workers is important to me”). Finally, vertical collectivism measures the extent to which hierarchical differences are valued in addition to group goals (e.g., “I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve of it”). The participants were asked to rate the items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The INDCOL has been adapted to Turkish, examined in terms of its factor structure in Turkish samples, and shown to have good construct validity (Wasti & Erdil, 2007). In the current samples, all four subscales were found to be internally consistent, the Cronbach’s alpha was calculated as .76 for the horizontal individualism subscale, .77 for the vertical individualism subscale, .71 for horizontal

collectivism subscale, and .76 for vertical collectivism subscale in the Turkish sample; and .83 for the horizontal individualism subscale, .83 for the vertical individualism subscale, .79 for horizontal collectivism subscale, and .85 for vertical collectivism subscale in the American sample. According to principal component analysis, the four factor solution of the scale was valid and the factors explained 37.46% and 44.23% of the total variance in the Turkish and American samples, respectively.

#### **2.2.2.6. Circumplex Scales of Interpersonal Values (CSIV)**

The circumplex scales of interpersonal values inventory (Locke, 2000) was used to assess the participants' agentic and communal values. The original CSIV has eight 8-item subscales, for the purposes of this study only 3 subscales, namely agentic, communal, and agentic and communal were adapted to Turkish by following translation and backtranslation procedures, and then administered to the sample. The factor analyses revealed that a two factor solution best fits the data, so two subscales, namely agentic and communal were used as variables. The participants were asked to rate the extent to which the items were important to them in interpersonal situations on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not important*, 5 = *extremely important*). Sample items include "I appear confident", "They acknowledge when I am right", and "They show me respect" for the agentic subscale; and "I feel connected to them", "They stay with me when things aren't going well", and "They show concern for how I am feeling" for the communal subscale. Agentic values can be conceived as a measure of independent/individualist mindset, while communal values can be conceived as a measure of interdependent/relational mindset. In the current samples, both subscales were found to be internally consistent, the Cronbach's alpha was calculated as .72 for the agentic subscale and .86 for the communal subscale in the Turkish sample; and as .84 for the agentic subscale and .89 for the communal subscale in the American sample. The total variance explained was 36.55% and 44.30% in the Turkish and American samples, respectively.

## 2.3. Results

In order to test the first hypothesis, which states that different forms of attachment insecurity will emerge as related to different cultural values independently of cultural setting, and specifically predicts that attachment avoidance will be significantly related to indicators of an individualist/independent mindset and attachment anxiety will be linked to a collectivist/relational mindset in both samples, first a series of bivariate and canonical correlation, and hierarchical regression analyses were conducted separately for the two samples. In the following sections, first a brief outlook of the Turkish and American samples will be given, and then the results of these analyses will be separately presented for both samples.

### 2.3.1. An Outlook of the Turkish and American Samples

The two samples were first investigated for within culture differences in terms of attachment avoidance and anxiety. It was found that, as expected, the Turkish participants reported significantly higher levels of attachment anxiety ( $M = 3.75$ ) than attachment avoidance ( $M = 2.78$ ) ( $t(367) = 18.88, p < .001$ ). No significant differences between attachment avoidance ( $M = 3.46$ ) and anxiety ( $M = 3.52$ ) were found in the American sample ( $t(349) = -1.01, p = .315$ ).

Next the two samples were investigated for between culture differences in terms of the major study variables. As depicted in Table 2.3.1, on the one hand, as expected, the American sample reported significantly higher attachment avoidance ( $M = 3.46$ ) as compared to the Turkish sample ( $M = 2.78$ ) ( $F(1, 716) = 70.46, p < .001$ ); on the other hand, the Turkish sample reported significantly higher attachment anxiety ( $M = 3.75$ ) as compared to the American sample ( $M = 3.52$ ) ( $F(1, 716) = 6.57, p = .011$ ). The Turkish participants also scored significantly higher on independence values ( $M = 5.88$ ), desirability of control ( $M = 70.42$ ), horizontal collectivism ( $M = 5.36$ ), agentic ( $M = 3.61$ ) and communal values ( $M = 4.08$ ) as compared to the American participants ( $M = 5.53$ ;  $M = 60.90$ ;  $M = 4.72$ ;  $M = 3.48$ ;  $M = 3.76$ ) ( $F(1, 716) = 44.83, p < .001$ ;  $F(1, 716) = 238.58, p < .001$ ;  $F(1, 716) = 111.66, p < .001$ ;  $F(1, 716) = 7.93, p = .005$ ;  $F(1, 716) = 57.02, p < .001$ , respectively).

**Table 2.3.1. Cultural Differences on the Major Study Variables**

Variables	Turkish Sample ( <i>n</i> = 368)		American Sample ( <i>n</i> = 350)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Avoidance	2.78	.98	3.46	1.17	70.46***
Anxiety	3.75	1.00	3.52	1.30	6.57*
Indep Values	5.88	.65	5.53	.76	44.83***
Interdep Values	5.76	.78	5.67	.93	1.74
Harmony Cont	3.90	.75	3.89	.83	.06
Des Cont	70.42	8.10	60.90	8.42	238.58***
Hor Ind	5.57	.70	5.52	.77	.64
Vert Ind	3.82	1.07	3.84	1.10	.06
Hor Coll	5.36	.71	4.72	.89	111.66***
Vert Coll	4.45	.86	4.53	.95	1.49
Agentic	3.61	.53	3.48	.69	7.93**
Communal	4.08	.48	3.76	.65	57.02***

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, independence values, interdependence values, harmony control, desirability of control, horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism, agentic values, communal values

## 2.3.2. Results from the Turkish Sample

### 2.3.2.1. Bivariate Correlation Analyses for the Turkish Sample

Bivariate correlational analyses yielded significant negative relationships between attachment avoidance and independence ( $r = -.17, p = .001$ ) and interdependence values ( $r = -.15, p = .004$ ), harmony control ( $r = -.12, p = .026$ ) and desirability of control ( $r = -.19, p < .001$ ), horizontal individualism ( $r = -.13, p = .010$ ) and collectivism ( $r = -.24, p < .001$ ), and communal values ( $r = -.14, p = .010$ ) (see Table 2.3.2.1). Attachment related anxiety was positively related to interdependence values ( $r = .15, p = .003$ ), harmony control ( $r = .23, p < .001$ ), vertical individualism ( $r = .11, p = .040$ ), horizontal ( $r = .11, p = .029$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .29, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .24, p < .001$ ) and communal values ( $r = .24, p < .001$ ); and negatively related to desirability of control ( $r = -.26, p < .001$ ).

Independence and interdependence values were significantly positively related to each other ( $r = .30, p < .001$ ). Independence values also emerged as significantly positively related to desirability of control ( $r = .35, p < .001$ ), horizontal ( $r = .34, p < .001$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .27, p < .001$ ), horizontal collectivism ( $r = .22, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .32, p < .001$ ) and communal values ( $r = .18, p < .001$ ). Interdependence values was significantly positively related to harmony control ( $r = .39, p < .001$ ), vertical individualism ( $r = .13, p = .015$ ), horizontal ( $r = .45, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .48, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .21, p < .001$ ) and communal values ( $r = .29, p < .001$ ).

Harmony control was negatively related to desirability of control ( $r = -.24, p < .001$ ), and positively related to vertical individualism ( $r = .11, p = .044$ ), horizontal ( $r = .44, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .49, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .15, p = .003$ ) and communal values ( $r = .30, p < .001$ ). Desirability of control was negatively related to vertical collectivism ( $r = -.15, p = .004$ ), and positively related to horizontal ( $r = .52, p < .001$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .17, p = .001$ ), and agentic values ( $r = .23, p < .001$ ).

Agentic and communal values were significantly positively related to each other ( $r = .60, p < .001$ ). Agentic values also emerged as positively related to

horizontal ( $r = .29, p < .001$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .42, p < .001$ ), and horizontal ( $r = .21, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .23, p < .001$ ). Communal values were also positively correlated to horizontal ( $r = .16, p = .002$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .18, p < .001$ ), and horizontal ( $r = .38, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .24, p < .001$ ).

Horizontal individualism was positively correlated to vertical individualism ( $r = .20, p < .001$ ) and horizontal collectivism ( $r = .13, p = .015$ ). Vertical individualism was positively correlated to vertical collectivism ( $r = .23, p < .001$ ). Horizontal collectivism was positively correlated to vertical collectivism ( $r = .48, p < .001$ ).

**Table 2.3.2.1. Bivariate Correlations between the Major Study Variables in the Turkish Sample**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Avoidance											
Anxiety	.09										
Indep Values	-.17**	-.04									
Interdep Values	-.15**	.15**	.30**								
Harmony Cont	-.12*	.23**	.06	.39**							
Des Cont	-.19**	-.26**	.35**	.00	-.24**						
Hor Ind	-.13*	-.09	.34**	-.05	-.10	.52**					
Vert Ind	.09	.11*	.27**	.13*	.11*	.17**	.20**				
Hor Coll	-.24**	.11*	.22**	.45**	.44**	.09	.13*	.04			
Vert Coll	.04	.29**	.00	.48**	.49**	-.15**	-.06	.23**	.48**		
Agentic	-.01	.24**	.32**	.21**	.15**	.23**	.29**	.42**	.21**	.23**	
Communal	-.14**	.24**	.18**	.29**	.30**	.06	.16**	.18**	.38**	.24**	.60**

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, independence values, interdependence values, harmony control, desirability of control, horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism, agentic values, communal values

### 2.3.2.2. Canonical Correlation Analyses for the Turkish Sample

After the simple bivariate correlations, the relationships between the study variables were specifically investigated via a series of canonical correlation analyses in order to systematically examine non-overlapping multivariate variance between the two variable sets, namely cultural constructs and attachment orientations dimensions. Canonical correlation analyses were ran between the set of cultural constructs variables (Set 1), including independence and interdependence values, harmony control, desirability of control, horizontal and vertical individualism, horizontal and vertical collectivism, and agentic and communal values; and the set of attachment orientations variables (Set 2), represented by attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety. The results of the canonical correlation analyses are presented in Table 2.3.2.2.

The analysis revealed two significant canonical correlations of .46 and .36 between Set 1 and Set 2 along two dimensions (*Wilks'  $\lambda$*  = .69,  $\chi^2(20) = 134.28$ ,  $p < .001$ , and *Wilks'  $\lambda$*  = .87,  $\chi^2(9) = 48.45$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively). The canonical loadings were interpreted conservatively by using a cutoff criterion of .40. As shown in Table 2.3.2.2, the first significant canonical function was described by desirability of control (-.66), vertical collectivism (.58), and agentic values (.43) in the cultural constructs set; and it was described by both attachment avoidance (.52) and attachment anxiety (.90) in the attachment orientations set. These results suggested that higher levels of vertical collectivism and agentic values, and lower levels of desirability of control are related to higher levels of both attachment avoidance and anxiety. The second canonical function was described by interdependence values (-.61), harmony control (-.63), horizontal collectivism (-.77), and communal values (-.69) in the cultural constructs set; and by attachment avoidance (.86) and anxiety (-.43) in the attachment orientations set, indicating that higher levels of interdependence values, harmony control, horizontal collectivism, and communal values are associated with lower levels of attachment avoidance but higher levels of attachment anxiety.

Canonical redundancy analysis yielded that the first and the second cultural constructs functions explained 11.40% and 5.80% of the non-overlapping (unique)

variance in the attachment orientations dimensions. Thus, the two cultural constructs functions together accounted for 17.20% of the unique variance in the attachment orientations dimensions. In contrast, the first attachment function accounted for the 3.00% and the second function accounted for the 2.90% of the unique variance in the cultural constructs dimension. Thus, the two attachment functions together accounted for 5.90% of the unique variance in the cultural constructs dimensions. These results showed that the cultural constructs are stronger predictors of the attachment dimensions rather than vice versa.

**Table 2.3.2.2. Canonical Correlation Analyses for Cultural Constructs and Attachment Orientations in the Turkish Sample**

Variable	Canonical Variate Pairs	
	1	2
<b>Cultural Constructs (Set 1)</b>		
Independence Values	-.23	-.37
Interdependence Values	.15	<b>-.61</b>
Harmony Control	.31	<b>-.63</b>
Desirability of Control	<b>-.66</b>	-.12
Horizontal Individualism	-.30	-.20
Vertical Individualism	.29	.07
Horizontal Collectivism	-.01	<b>-.77</b>
Vertical Collectivism	<b>.58</b>	-.33
Agentic Values	<b>.43</b>	-.38
Communal Values	-.32	<b>-.69</b>
<i>Percent of Variance</i>	.14	.23
<i>Redundancy</i>	.03	.03
<b>Attachment Orientations (Set 2)</b>		
Attachment Avoidance	<b>.52</b>	<b>.86</b>
Attachment Anxiety	<b>.90</b>	<b>-.43</b>
<i>Percent of Variance</i>	.54	.46
<i>Redundancy</i>	.11	.06
<b>Canonical correlations</b>	<b>.46***</b>	<b>.36***</b>
<b>Squared canonical correlations</b>	<b>.21</b>	<b>.13</b>

*Note.* Canonical loadings > .40 are in boldface.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

### 2.3.2.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Turkish Sample

In the hierarchical regression analyses, following the procedures described by Aiken and West (1991), first the independent variables were mean-centered and two-way interaction terms were computed via multiplying centered variables with each other. Sex and age were entered to the hierarchical regression analyses in the first step to control for their effects, attachment anxiety and avoidance were entered in the second step, and finally the two-way interaction term of attachment anxiety and avoidance was entered in the third step. The standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), explained variance of each step ( $R^2$  Change), and total explained variances (*Adjusted  $R^2$* ) are presented in Table 2.3.2.3.

Attachment avoidance emerged as a significant predictor of independence values in the final step ( $\beta = -.16, p = .002$ ). Both attachment avoidance and anxiety were found to be significant predictors of interdependence values ( $\beta = -.17, p = .001$ ;  $\beta = .18, p < .001$ ), with a negative and positive effect, respectively. Harmony control was predicted by both attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.15, p = .004$ ) and anxiety ( $\beta = .23, p < .001$ ). Desirability of control was negatively predicted by both attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.18, p = .001$ ) and anxiety ( $\beta = -.24, p < .001$ ). Attachment avoidance also emerged as a significant predictor of horizontal individualism ( $\beta = -.12, p = .022$ ). Both vertical and horizontal collectivism were found to be positively related to attachment anxiety ( $\beta = .30, p < .001$ ;  $\beta = .14, p = .008$ ). The strongest relationship was identified between attachment avoidance and horizontal collectivism ( $\beta = -.25, p < .001$ ). On the one hand, agentic values emerged as positively related to attachment anxiety ( $\beta = .22, p < .001$ ); on the other hand, communal values were significantly predicted by both avoidance ( $\beta = -.16, p = .001$ ) and anxiety ( $\beta = .22, p < .001$ ). As depicted in Table 2.3.2.3, the interaction of attachment avoidance and anxiety did not emerge as a significant predictor of any of the dependent variables.

**Table 2.3.2.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Turkish Sample**

Variables	Independence Values		Interdependence Values		Harmony Control		Desirability of Control		Horizontal Ind		Vertical Ind		Horizontal Coll		Vertical Coll		Agentic Values		Communal Values	
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Sex	-.04	-.14**	-.09	-.09	-.01	-.09	-.09	-.09	.12*	-.13*	.04	-.09	-.23***							
Age	-.12*	.19***	-.04	-.10	.04	-.10	-.10	-.10	-.10	.06	.12*	-.13*	-.25***							
<i>F</i>	2.97*	9.35***	2.19	3.90*	.24	3.90*	3.90*	3.93*	3.93*	3.23*	3.33*	5.13**	26.41***							
<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	.02	.05	.01	.02	.00	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.03	.13							
<i>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></i>	.01	.04	.01	.02	.00	.02	.02	.02	.02	.01	.01	.02	.12							
Sex	-.05	-.14**	-.09	-.10	-.03	-.09	-.10	-.10	.13*	-.13*	.06	-.08	-.22***							
Age	-.11*	.21***	-.02	-.10	.03	-.10	-.10	-.10	-.10	.07	.14**	-.11*	-.23***							
Avoidance	-.16**	-.18***	-.14**	-.13*	-.17**	-.13*	-.13*	.09	.09	-.25***	.01	-.04	-.16**							
Anxiety	-.04	.17**	.23***	-.10	-.24***	-.10	-.10	.10	.10	.13**	.30***	.22***	.22***							
<i>F</i>	4.29**	10.66***	7.65***	4.56**	9.47***	4.56**	4.56**	3.72**	3.72**	9.31***	11.00***	7.55***	21.78***							
<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	.03	.06	.07	.03	.09	.07	.03	.02	.02	.08	.09	.05	.07							
<i>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></i>	.04	.10	.07	.04	.09	.07	.04	.03	.03	.08	.10	.07	.19							
Sex	-.05	-.14**	-.09	-.10	-.03	-.09	-.10	.13*	.13*	-.13*	.06	-.08	-.22***							
Age	-.11*	.21***	-.03	-.10	.03	-.10	-.10	-.10	-.10	.07	.14**	-.11*	-.23***							
Avoidance	-.16**	-.17**	-.15**	-.12*	-.18**	-.12*	-.12*	.09	.09	-.25***	.01	-.04	-.16**							
Anxiety	-.04	.18***	.23***	-.09	-.24***	-.09	-.09	.10	.10	.14**	.30***	.22***	.22***							
Avoidance X Anxiety	.01	.02	-.06	.05	-.01	.05	.05	.03	.03	.02	.03	.00	.01							
<i>F</i>	3.44**	8.53***	6.39***	3.84**	7.57***	3.84**	3.84**	3.04*	3.04*	7.45***	8.84***	6.03***	17.39***							
<i>R<sup>2</sup> Change</i>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00							
<i>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></i>	.03	.09	.07	.04	.08	.07	.04	.03	.03	.08	.10	.06	.18							

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

#### **2.3.2.4. Non-Linear Quadratic Regression Analyses for the Turkish Sample**

In addition to the linear regression analyses conducted to investigate the potential relationships between attachment dimensions and the outcome variables, a set of non-linear quadratic regression analyses were also employed in order to explore if any non-linear relationships between the aforementioned variables exist. The rationale behind these analyses was the fact that although neither extreme dependence nor interdependence is functional, regardless of culture; moderate levels of attachment anxiety and avoidance would be more representative and functional in collectivistic and individualistic contexts, respectively. In these additional non-linear quadratic regression analyses, the centered attachment anxiety and avoidance scores were squared and entered into the hierarchical regression analysis at the last step, after controlling for the effects of age and sex in the first step, and attachment anxiety and avoidance in the second step. The standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), explained variance of each step ( $R^2$  Change), and total explained variances (*Adjusted  $R^2$* ) are presented in Table 2.3.2.4.

The results revealed that in addition to the linear relationships between attachment avoidance and anxiety and interdependence values ( $\beta = -.19, p = .001$ ;  $\beta = .23, p < .001$ ), a significant non-linear relationship between attachment anxiety and interdependence values also existed ( $\beta = -.17, p = .001$ ). In order to understand the nature of this quadratic relationship, a curve was plotted between the variables. As depicted in Figure 2.3.2.4.1, moderate levels of attachment anxiety emerged as related to higher levels of interdependence values; while low and high levels were related to lower levels of this outcome variable.

Harmony control was also predicted by both attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.15, p = .004$ ) and anxiety ( $\beta = .26, p < .001$ ) in linear relationships in the expected directions, in addition to a significant quadratic relationship with attachment anxiety ( $\beta = -.12, p = .029$ ). In a similar manner to interdependence values, moderate levels of attachment anxiety emerged as related to higher levels of harmony control (see Figure 2.3.2.4.2).

In addition to the negative linear relationships between attachment avoidance and anxiety and horizontal individualism ( $\beta = -.12, p = .022$ ;  $\beta = -.13, p = .020$ ), a significant non-linear relationship between attachment anxiety and horizontal individualism was also identified ( $\beta = .13, p = .015$ ). The curve plot between the two variables showed that only low and high levels of attachment anxiety were related to higher levels of horizontal individualism; while moderate levels of attachment anxiety were related to lower levels of this outcome variable (see Figure 2.3.2.4.3).

Vertical collectivism was also predicted by attachment anxiety in both a linear ( $\beta = .34, p < .001$ ) and a non-linear relationship ( $\beta = -.16, p = .003$ ). The plot of the quadratic relationship revealed that, as in the other measures of interdependence, moderate levels of attachment anxiety were related to higher levels of vertical collectivism; while low and high levels of attachment anxiety were related to lower levels of this outcome variable (see Figure 2.3.2.4.4).

**Table 2.3.2.4. Non-Linear Quadratic Regression Analyses for the Turkish Sample**

	Independence Values	Interdependence Values	Harmony Control	Desirability of Control	Horizontal Ind	Vertical Ind	Horizontal Coll	Vertical Coll	Agentic Values	Communal Values
Variables	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Sex	-.04	-.14**	-.09	-.01	-.09	.12*	-.13*	.04	-.09	-.23***
Age	-.12*	.19***	-.04	.04	-.10	-.10	.06	.12*	-.13*	-.25***
<b><i>F</i></b>	2.97*	9.35***	2.19	.24	3.90*	3.93*	3.23*	3.33*	5.13**	26.41***
<b><i>R</i><sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.02	.05	.01	.00	.02	.02	.02	.02	.03	.13
<b><i>Adjusted R</i><sup>2</sup></b>	.01	.04	.01	.00	.02	.02	.01	.01	.02	.12
Sex	-.05	-.14**	-.09	-.03	-.10	.13*	-.13*	.06	-.08	-.22***
Age	-.11*	.21***	-.02	.03	-.10	-.10	.07	.14**	-.11*	-.23***
Avoidance	-.16**	-.18***	-.14**	-.17**	-.13*	.09	-.25***	.01	-.04	-.16**
Anxiety	-.04	.17**	.23***	-.24***	-.10	.10	.13**	.30***	.22***	.22***
<b><i>F</i></b>	4.29**	10.66***	7.65***	9.47***	4.56**	3.72**	9.31***	11.00***	7.55***	21.78***
<b><i>R</i><sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.03	.06	.07	.09	.03	.02	.08	.09	.05	.07
<b><i>Adjusted R</i><sup>2</sup></b>	.04	.10	.07	.09	.04	.03	.08	.10	.07	.19
Sex	-.06	-.15**	-.10	-.03	-.09	.12*	-.14*	.04	-.08	-.22***
Age	-.12*	.19***	-.04	.03	-.08	-.10	.06	.12*	-.12*	-.23***
Avoidance	-.16**	-.19***	-.15**	-.17**	-.12*	.09	-.26***	.00	-.03	-.16**
Anxiety	-.04	.23***	.26***	-.24***	-.13*	.07	.15**	.34***	.21***	.21***
Avoidance Squared	-.08	-.01	-.04	.03	.06	-.09	-.07	-.09	-.10	-.04
Anxiety Squared	-.04	-.17**	-.12*	.01	.13*	.05	-.09	-.16**	.00	.02
<b><i>F</i></b>	3.30**	9.13***	6.09***	6.37***	4.36***	3.12**	7.15***	9.65***	5.66***	14.62***
<b><i>R</i><sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.01	.03	.01	.00	.02	.01	.01	.03	.01	.00
<b><i>Adjusted R</i><sup>2</sup></b>	.04	.12	.08	.08	.05	.03	.09	.12	.07	.18

\**p* < .05, \*\**p* < .01, \*\*\**p* < .001

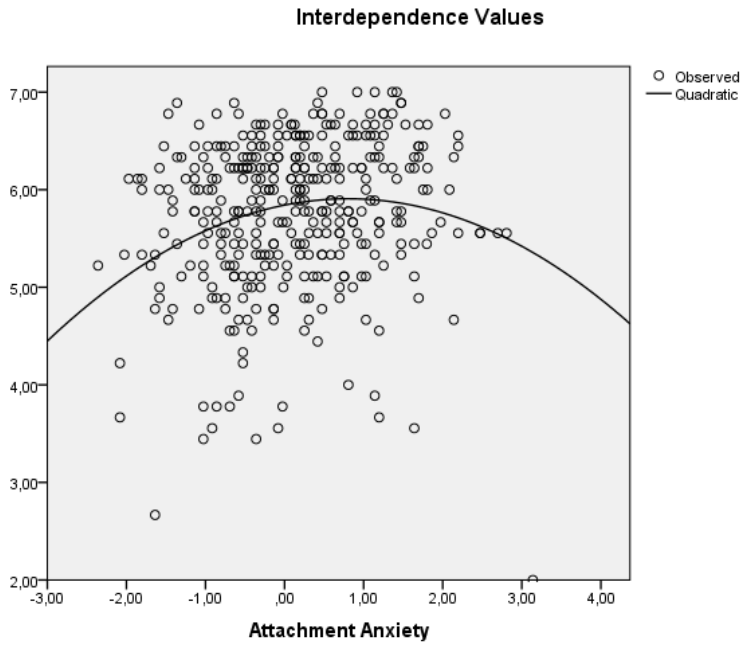


Figure 2.3.2.4.1. The Quadratic Relationship between Attachment Anxiety and Interdependence Values

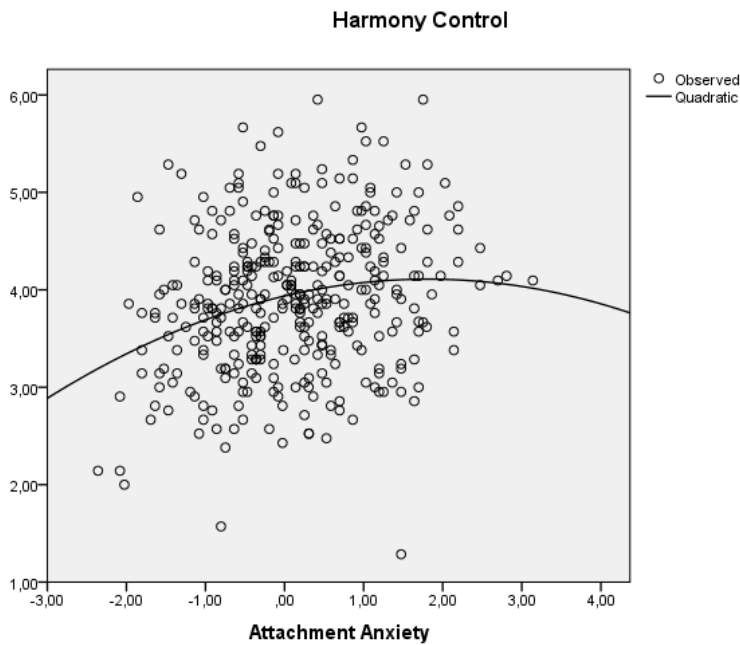


Figure 2.3.2.4.2. The Quadratic Relationship between Attachment Anxiety and Harmony Control

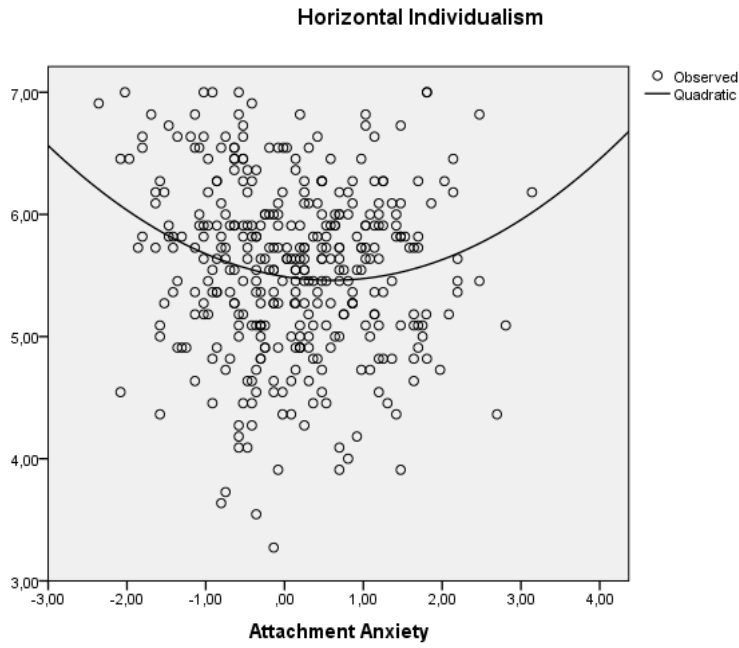


Figure 2.3.2.4.3. The Quadratic Relationship between Attachment Anxiety and Horizontal Individualism

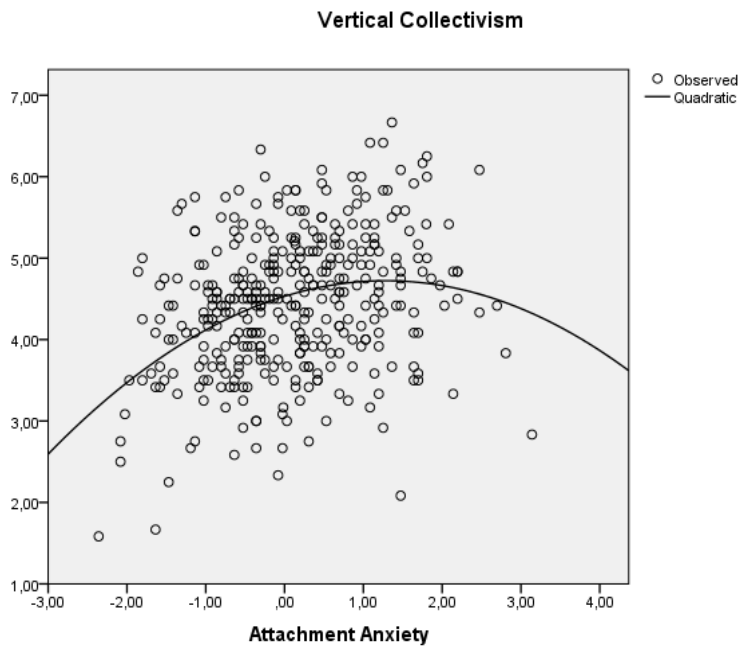


Figure 2.3.2.4.4. The Quadratic Relationship between Attachment Anxiety and Vertical Collectivism

### **2.3.3. Results from the American Sample**

#### **2.3.3.1. Bivariate Correlation Analyses for the American Sample**

Bivariate correlational analyses yielded significant positive relationships between attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety ( $r = .34, p < .001$ ), and vertical individualism ( $r = .12, p = .023$ ); and strong significant negative relationships between attachment avoidance and interdependence values ( $r = -.26, p < .001$ ), harmony control ( $r = -.37, p < .001$ ), horizontal ( $r = -.43, p < .001$ ), and vertical ( $r = -.19, p < .001$ ) collectivism, and communal values ( $r = -.28, p < .001$ ) (see Table 2.3.3.1). Attachment related anxiety was also found to be strongly positively related to vertical individualism ( $r = .28, p < .001$ ) and collectivism ( $r = .11, p = .032$ ), and agentic ( $r = .21, p < .001$ ) and communal values ( $r = .22, p < .001$ ); and negatively related to desirability of control ( $r = -.13, p = .017$ ) and horizontal individualism ( $r = -.13, p = .018$ ).

Independence and interdependence values were significantly positively related to each other ( $r = .30, p < .001$ ). Independence values also emerged as significantly positively related to desirability of control ( $r = .41, p < .001$ ), horizontal ( $r = .39, p < .001$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .25, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .48, p < .001$ ) and communal values ( $r = .31, p < .001$ ). Interdependence values was significantly positively related to harmony control ( $r = .49, p < .001$ ), horizontal ( $r = .60, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .59, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .14, p = .011$ ) and communal values ( $r = .36, p < .001$ ); and it was negatively correlated with vertical individualism ( $r = -.12, p = .023$ ).

Harmony control was negatively related to desirability of control ( $r = -.21, p < .001$ ) and horizontal individualism ( $r = -.18, p = .001$ ); and positively related to horizontal ( $r = .50, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .48, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .14, p = .007$ ) and communal values ( $r = .33, p < .001$ ). Desirability of control was negatively related to vertical collectivism ( $r = -.14, p = .009$ ); and positively related to horizontal ( $r = .63, p < .001$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .34, p < .001$ ), and agentic ( $r = .43, p < .001$ ) and communal values ( $r = .17, p = .001$ ).

Agentic and communal values were significantly positively related to each other ( $r = .67, p < .001$ ). Agentic values also emerged as positively related to horizontal ( $r = .38, p < .001$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .44, p < .001$ ). Communal values were positively correlated to horizontal ( $r = .13, p = .015$ ) and vertical individualism ( $r = .16, p = .003$ ), and horizontal ( $r = .41, p < .001$ ) and vertical collectivism ( $r = .31, p < .001$ ).

Horizontal individualism was positively correlated to vertical individualism ( $r = .23, p < .001$ ), and negatively correlated to vertical collectivism ( $r = -.16, p = .003$ ). Horizontal collectivism was strongly correlated to vertical collectivism ( $r = .70, p < .001$ ).

**Table 2.3.3.1. Bivariate Correlations between the Major Study Variables in the American Sample**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Avoidance											
Anxiety	.34***										
Indep Values	.01	.05									
Interdep Values	-.26***	.02	.30***								
Harmony Cont	-.37***	.02	.06	.49***							
Des Cont	-.05	-.13*	.41***	-.03	-.21***						
Hor Ind	.03	-.13*	.39***	-.03	-.18**	.63***					
Vert Ind	.12*	.28***	.25***	-.12*	-.03	.34***	.23***				
Hor Coll	-.43***	.01	.09	.60***	.50***	-.06	-.05	-.09			
Vert Coll	-.19***	.11*	.02	.59***	.48***	-.14**	-.16**	.04	.70***		
Agentic	-.10	.21***	.48***	.14*	.14**	.43***	.38***	.44***	.07	.06	
Communal	-.28***	.22***	.31***	.36***	.33***	.17**	.13*	.16**	.41***	.31***	.67***

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, independence values, interdependence values, harmony control, desirability of control, horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism, agentic values, communal values

### 2.3.3.2. Canonical Correlation Analyses for the American Sample

The canonical correlation analysis revealed two significant canonical correlations of .58 and .45 between Set 1, including cultural constructs variables, and Set 2, including attachment orientations variables, along two dimensions (*Wilks'  $\lambda$*  = .53,  $\chi^2(24) = 215.11$ ,  $p < .001$ , and *Wilks'  $\lambda$*  = .80,  $\chi^2(11) = 77.92$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively). The canonical loadings were interpreted conservatively by using a cutoff criterion of .40. As shown in Table 2.3.3.2, the first significant canonical function was described by interdependence values (.50), harmony control (.68), horizontal (.78) and vertical collectivism (.46), and communal values (.71) in the cultural constructs set, and it was described by only attachment avoidance (-.85) in the attachment orientations set. These results suggested that lower levels of interdependence values, harmony control, horizontal and vertical collectivism, and communal values are related to higher levels of attachment avoidance. The second canonical function was described only by vertical individualism (-.63) in the cultural constructs set, and by both attachment avoidance (-.53) and attachment anxiety (-.98) in the attachment orientations set, indicating that higher levels of vertical individualism are associated with higher levels of both attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety.

Canonical redundancy analysis yielded that the first and the second cultural constructs functions explained 12.60% and 12.60% of the non-overlapping (unique) variance in the attachment orientations dimensions. Thus, the two cultural constructs functions together accounted for 25.20% of the unique variance in the attachment orientations dimensions. In contrast, the first attachment function accounted for the 6.10% and the second function accounted for the 1.50% of the unique variance in the cultural constructs dimension. Thus, the two attachment functions together accounted for 7.60% of the unique variance in the cultural constructs dimensions. These results showed that the cultural constructs are stronger predictors of the attachment dimensions rather than vice versa.

**Table 2.3.3.2. Canonical Correlation Analyses for Cultural Constructs and Attachment Orientations in the American Sample**

Variable	Canonical Variate Pairs	
	1	2
Cultural Constructs (Set 1)		
Independence Values	.03	-.11
Interdependence Values	<b>.50</b>	.09
Harmony Control	<b>.68</b>	.14
Desirability of Control	-.04	.28
Horizontal Individualism	-.18	.24
Vertical Individualism	.06	<b>-.63</b>
Horizontal Collectivism	<b>.78</b>	.20
Vertical Collectivism	<b>.46</b>	-.13
Agentic Values	.38	-.34
Communal Values	<b>.71</b>	-.29
<i>Percent of Variance</i>	.19	.07
<i>Redundancy</i>	.06	.02
Attachment Orientations (Set 2)		
Attachment Avoidance	<b>-.85</b>	<b>-.53</b>
Attachment Anxiety	.21	<b>-.98</b>
<i>Percent of Variance</i>	.38	.62
<i>Redundancy</i>	.13	.13
<b>Canonical correlations</b>	.58***	.45***
<b>Squared canonical correlations</b>	.33	.20

Note. Canonical loadings > .40 are in boldface.  
 \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

### 2.3.3.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the American Sample

In the hierarchical regression analyses, first all variables were mean centered, sex and age were entered to the hierarchical regression analyses in the first step to control for their effects, attachment anxiety and avoidance were entered in the second step, and finally the two-way interaction term of attachment anxiety and avoidance was entered in the third step. The regression analyses yielded substantially higher beta values than zero-order correlations for almost all of the variables, pointing to the existence of a suppression effect. So, separate hierarchical regression analyses for attachment avoidance and anxiety were run to investigate for any predictive power of these variables after the effects of sex and age are controlled for. The standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), explained variance of each step ( $R^2$  Change), and total explained variances (*Adjusted R<sup>2</sup>*) are presented in Table 2.3.3.3 for those regression analyses where no suppressors were identified.

Attachment avoidance was found to be a significant predictor of interdependence values ( $\beta = -.25, p < .001$ ) and harmony control ( $\beta = -.37, p < .001$ ) in the final step with strong negative effects. Both attachment avoidance and anxiety were found to be significant predictors of vertical individualism ( $\beta = .10, p = .050$ ;  $\beta = .22, p < .001$ ), both with positive effects. The strongest relationship was identified between attachment avoidance and horizontal collectivism ( $\beta = -.42, p < .001$ ). Attachment avoidance also emerged as significant predictor of vertical collectivism ( $\beta = -.18, p = .001$ ). Attachment anxiety was found to be significantly related to horizontal individualism ( $\beta = -.14, p = .017$ ) and communal values ( $\beta = .16, p = .003$ ) with negative and positive effects, respectively.

**Table 2.3.3.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the American Sample**

Variables	Interdependence Values	Harmony Control	Vertical Individualism	Horizontal Collectivism	Vertical Collectivism
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Sex	-.17**	-.16**	.20***	-.10	-.02
Age	.16**	-.01	-.25***	.13*	.09
<b>F</b>	10.52***	4.31*	21.21***	4.96**	1.67
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.06	.02	.11	.03	.01
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.05	.02	.10	.02	.00
Sex	-.17**	-.15**	.20***	-.10*	-.02
Age	.14**	-.04	-.25***	.09	.08
Avoidance	-.25***	-.37***	.10*	-.42***	-.18**
<b>F</b>	15.68***	21.60***	15.55***	28.98**	5.18**
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.06	.13	.01	.17	.03
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.11	.15	.11	.19	.04

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Variables	Horizontal Individualism	Vertical Individualism	Communal Values
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Sex	.09	.20***	-.22***
Age	.02	-.25***	-.19***
<b>F</b>	1.46	21.21***	14.87***
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.01	.11	.08
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.00	.10	.07
Sex	.09	.20***	-.22***
Age	-.03	-.17**	-.12*
Anxiety	-.14*	.22***	.16**
<b>F</b>	2.90*	20.42***	13.06***
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.02	.04	.02
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.02	.14	.09

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

#### **2.3.3.4. Non-Linear Quadratic Regression Analyses for the American Sample**

In the additional non-linear quadratic regression analyses, the centered attachment anxiety and avoidance scores were squared and entered into the hierarchical regression analysis at the last step, after controlling for the effects of age and sex in the first step, and attachment anxiety and avoidance in the second step. Much like the linear regression analyses, the non-linear regression analyses also yielded substantially higher beta values than zero-order correlations for almost all of the variables, pointing to the existence of a suppression effect. The standardized regression coefficient ( $\beta$ ), explained variance of each step ( $R^2$  Change), and total explained variance (*Adjusted R<sup>2</sup>*) are presented in Table 2.3.3.4 for the only dependent variable where no suppression effect was identified, which was horizontal individualism.

The results of this analysis revealed that in addition to the negative linear relationship between attachment anxiety and horizontal individualism ( $\beta = -.16, p = .008$ ), there also existed significant non-linear relationships between this outcome variable and both attachment avoidance ( $\beta = .15, p = .020$ ) and attachment anxiety ( $\beta = .17, p = .002$ ). In order to understand the nature of these quadratic relationships, curves were plotted between the aforementioned variables. As depicted in Figures 2.3.3.4.1 and 2.3.3.4.2, only low and high levels of both attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety were related to higher levels of horizontal individualism; while moderate levels of both attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety were related to lower levels of this outcome variable.

**Table 2.3.3.4. Non-Linear Quadratic Regression Analyses for the American Sample**

Variables	Horizontal Individualism
	$\beta$
Step 1	
Sex	.09
Age	.02
<b>F</b>	1.46
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.02
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.02
Step 2	
Sex	.08
Age	-.04
Avoidance	.08
Anxiety	-.17**
<b>F</b>	2.73*
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.03
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.04
Step 3	
Sex	.10
Age	-.05
Avoidance	.05
Anxiety	-.16**
Avoidance Squared	.15*
Anxiety Squared	.17**
<b>F</b>	5.68***
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.02
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.05

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

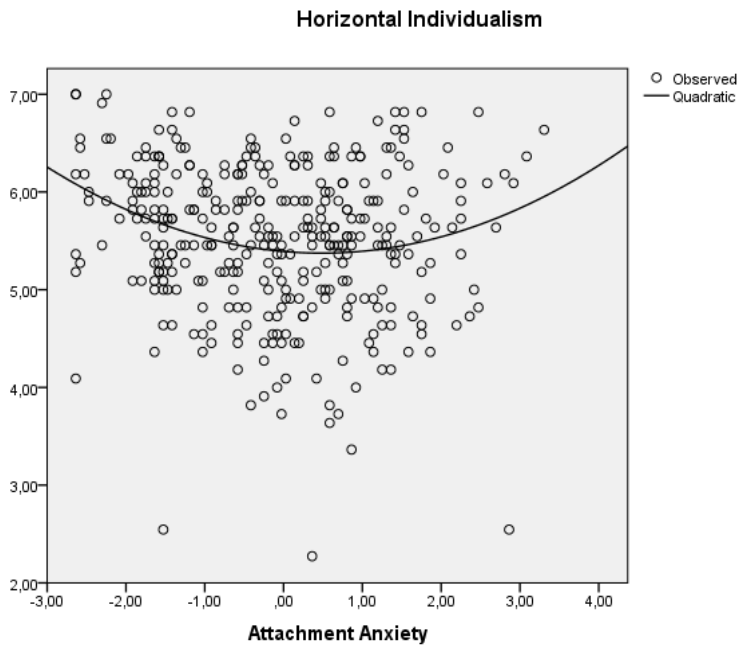


Figure 2.3.3.4.1. The Quadratic Relationship between Attachment Anxiety and Horizontal Individualism

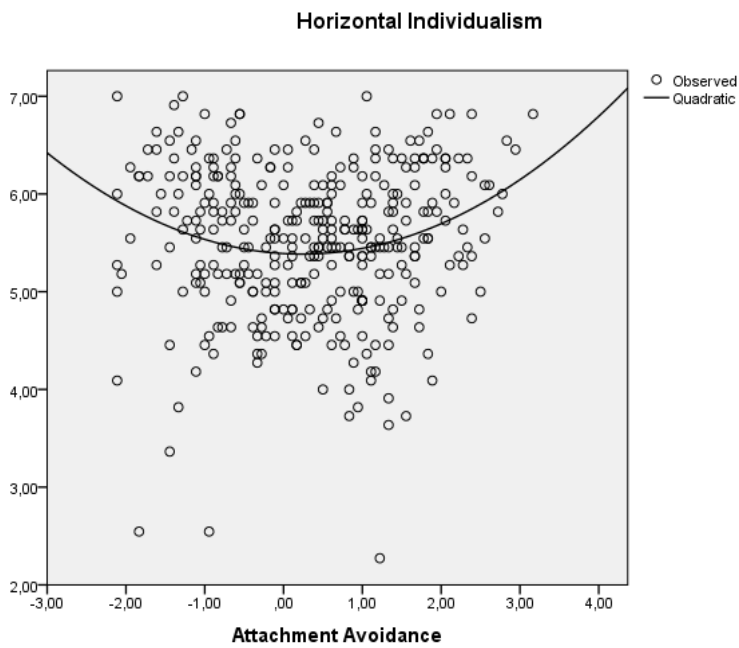


Figure 2.3.3.4.2. The Quadratic Relationship between Attachment Avoidance and Horizontal Individualism

### **2.3.4. Tests for Significant Differences between the Correlation Coefficients from Both Samples**

In order to test the second hypothesis, which predicts that the link between attachment anxiety and a collectivist/relational mindset will be stronger in the collectivist Turkish sample, whereas the relationship between attachment avoidance and an individualist/independent mindset will be stronger in the individualist American sample, the correlation coefficients between attachment dimensions and cultural constructs from both samples were tested for statistically significant differences following the methods of Cohen and Cohen (1983). The results indicated that the negative correlation coefficients between attachment avoidance and harmony control, horizontal collectivism, and communal values in the American sample ( $r = -.37, p < .001$ ;  $r = -.43, p < .001$ ;  $r = -.28, p < .001$ ) were significantly higher than those in the Turkish sample ( $r = -.12, p = .026$ ;  $r = -.24, p < .001$ ;  $r = -.14, p = .010$ ) ( $z = 3.57, p < .001$ ;  $z = 2.87, p < .01$ ;  $z = 1.96, p < .05$ ). In turn, the positive correlation coefficient between attachment anxiety and vertical collectivism in the Turkish sample ( $r = .29, p < .001$ ) emerged as significantly higher than that in the American sample ( $r = .11, p = .032$ ) ( $z = 2.51, p < .05$ ).

### **2.3.5. Moderated Regression Analyses on Both Samples**

In the final set of analyses, both the Turkish and the American samples were combined into one data set to investigate both cultural and universal relationships between attachment dimensions and cultural constructs. In order to account for the effects of the two different cultures, a dummy coded variable, named culture, was created, and the participants from the Turkish sample was coded as 1 and the participants from the American sample was coded as 2. In the analyses, first all variables were mean centered, sex and age were entered to the hierarchical regression analyses in the first step to control for their effects, attachment anxiety and avoidance and culture were entered in the second step, and finally the two and three-way interaction terms of attachment anxiety and avoidance and culture were entered in the third step. The regression analyses yielded substantially higher beta values than zero-order correlations for some of the variables, pointing to the existence of a

suppression effect, so the analyses for these variables were not interpreted. The standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), explained variance of each step ( $R^2$  Change), and total explained variances (*Adjusted R<sup>2</sup>*) are presented in Table 2.3.5 for those regression analyses where no suppressors were identified. Finally, in order to depict the significance and patterns of interactions, simple slope tests were employed and interactions between the variables were plotted by generating simple regression equations of a given dependent variable at low (i.e. one standard deviation below the mean) versus high (i.e. one standard deviation above the mean) levels of the independent variable, following the methods of Aiken and West (1991).

In the first group of regression analyses, independence values was investigated as the criterion variable. As illustrated in Table 2.3.5, attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.09, p = .030$ ) and culture ( $\beta = -.21, p < .001$ ), were found to be significantly related to independence values in the final step, with negative effects. The two-way interaction effect of attachment avoidance and culture on independence values was also found to be significant ( $\beta = .08, p = .033$ ). In order to depict the significance and patterns of this interaction, a simple slope test was employed and the interactions were plotted. The simple slope test revealed that level of attachment avoidance did not have a significant effect on independence values in the American sample ( $t(714) = .17, ns$ ); yet, in the Turkish sample, higher levels of attachment avoidance emerged as significantly related to lower levels of independence values ( $t(714) = -2.99, p = .003$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.1).

Both attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.24, p < .001$ ) and anxiety ( $\beta = .19, p < .001$ ) significantly predicted interdependence values in the combined sample, with negative and positive effects, respectively. The two-way interaction effect of attachment avoidance and anxiety on interdependence values was also found to be significant ( $\beta = .09, p = .026$ ). The simple slope test revealed that higher levels of attachment avoidance was significantly related to lower levels of interdependence values for both low ( $t(714) = -7.35, p < .001$ ) and high levels of attachment anxiety ( $t(714) = -2.54, p = .011$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.2).

Harmony control was significantly predicted by attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.28, p < .001$ ), anxiety ( $\beta = .19, p < .001$ ), and culture ( $\beta = .08, p = .029$ ). The two-way interaction effect of attachment avoidance and culture ( $\beta = -.12, p = .001$ ) and the three-way interaction of all independent variables ( $\beta = .09, p = .036$ ) on harmony control were also found to be significant. The simple slope test for the two-way interaction revealed that in both cultures, higher levels of attachment avoidance was significantly related to lower levels of harmony control ( $t(714) = -2.10, p = .036$ ;  $t(714) = -7.49, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.3). In order to depict the significance and patterns of the three-way interaction, two simple slope tests were employed and the interactions were plotted. The first simple slope test revealed that in the Turkish sample, higher levels of attachment anxiety was significantly associated with higher levels of harmony control only when attachment avoidance was low ( $t(710) = 4.28, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.4). The second simple slope test revealed that in the American sample, higher levels of attachment anxiety was significantly associated with higher levels of harmony control only when attachment avoidance was high ( $t(710) = 3.89, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.5).

Whereas vertical individualism was only predicted by attachment anxiety ( $\beta = .16, p = .001$ ); vertical collectivism was predicted by both attachment avoidance ( $\beta = -.12, p = .003$ ) and anxiety ( $\beta = .29, p = .001$ ), and also culture ( $\beta = .08, p = .049$ ). The two-way interactions between attachment avoidance and anxiety ( $\beta = .10, p = .024$ ), and avoidance and culture ( $\beta = -.12, p = .001$ ) were also found to be statistically significant. The simple slope tests revealed that higher levels of attachment avoidance predict lower levels of vertical collectivism for low levels of attachment anxiety ( $t(714) = -4.68, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.6) and for the American culture ( $t(714) = -3.75, p < .001$ ), but not the Turkish culture (see Figure 2.3.5.7).

Horizontal collectivism was also strongly predicted by all independent variables: It was found to be positively related attachment anxiety ( $\beta = .17, p < .001$ ), and negatively related avoidance ( $\beta = -.36, p < .001$ ) and culture ( $\beta = -.26, p < .001$ ). The two-way interaction between avoidance and culture also emerged as a significant

predictor of horizontal collectivism ( $\beta = -.11, p = .001$ ). The simple slope test revealed that higher levels of attachment avoidance predict lower levels of horizontal collectivism in both cultures ( $t(714) = -4.13, p < .001$ ;  $t(714) = -9.55, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.8).

In the last group of regression analyses, communal values were also positively predicted by attachment anxiety ( $\beta = .25, p < .001$ ), and negatively predicted by avoidance ( $\beta = -.27, p < .001$ ) and culture ( $\beta = -.16, p < .001$ ). The two-way interaction between avoidance and culture also emerged as a significant predictor of communal values ( $\beta = -.12, p = .001$ ). The simple slope test again revealed that higher levels of attachment avoidance predict lower levels of communal values in both cultures ( $t(714) = -2.16, p = .031$ ;  $t(714) = -6.11, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 2.3.5.9).

**Table 2.3.5. Moderated Regression Analyses on Both Samples**

Variables	Indep Values	Interdep Values	Harmony Control	Vertical Ind	Horizontal Coll	Vertical Coll	Comm Values
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Sex	-.04	-.16***	-.13**	.17***	-.12**	.01	-.22***
Age	-.11**	.17***	-.02	-.18***	.07	.11**	-.21***
<b>F</b>	5.33**	19.76***	6.22**	21.98***	6.98**	4.67*	39.23***
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.02	.05	.02	.06	.02	.01	.10
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.01	.05	.01	.06	.02	.01	.10
Sex	-.03	-.16***	-.13***	.17***	-.11**	.01	-.21***
Age	-.10**	.21***	.01	-.14***	.12***	.17***	-.15***
Avoidance (Avo)	-.07	-.27***	-.31***	.07	-.38***	-.16***	-.29***
Anxiety (Anx)	.00	.18***	.18***	.16***	.16***	.27***	.24***
Culture (Cult)	-.21***	.04	.11**	.01	-.24***	.11**	-.14***
<b>F</b>	11.44***	21.10***	17.75***	14.20***	54.83***	13.14***	50.02***
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.06	.08	.09	.03	.26	.07	.16
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.07	.12	.11	.08	.27	.08	.26
Sex	-.03	-.16***	-.13***	.17***	-.11**	.02	-.21***
Age	-.10*	.21***	.00	-.14***	.12***	.16***	-.15***
Avoidance (Avo)	-.09*	-.24***	-.28***	.07	-.36***	-.12**	-.27***
Anxiety (Anx)	-.01	.19***	.19***	.16***	.17***	.29***	.25***
Culture (Cult)	-.21***	.01	.08*	.01	-.26***	.08*	-.16***
Avo X Anx	.01	.09*	.00	.03	.05	.10*	.03
Cult X Avo	.08*	-.05	-.12**	-.03	-.11**	-.12**	-.12***
Cult X Anx	.02	-.01	-.04	.04	.03	-.06	.03
Cult X Avo X Anx	.00	.07	.09*	-.02	.03	.07	.02
<b>F</b>	7.01***	14.12***	12.68***	8.15***	32.86***	11.00***	30.03***
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.01	.02	.03	.00	.02	.04	.02
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.07	.14	.13	.08	.29	.11	.27

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, culture, independence values, interdependence values, harmony control, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism, communal values

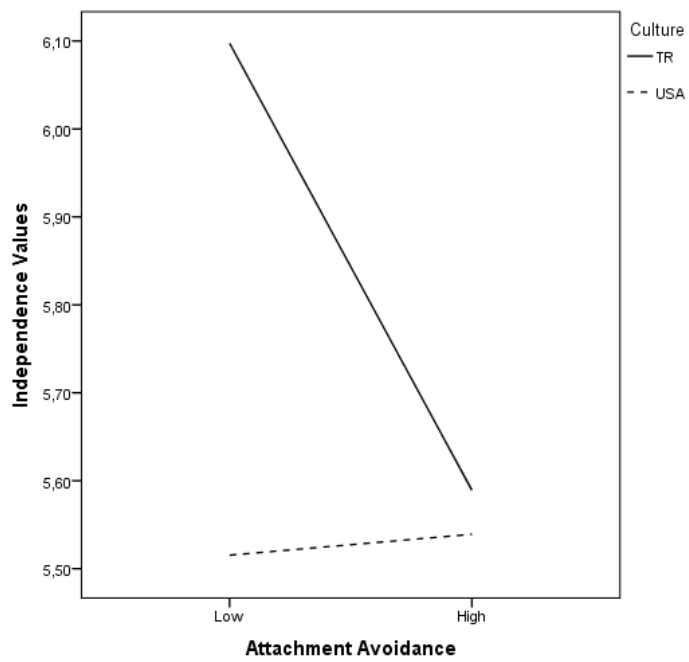


Figure 2.3.5.1. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Culture on Independence Values

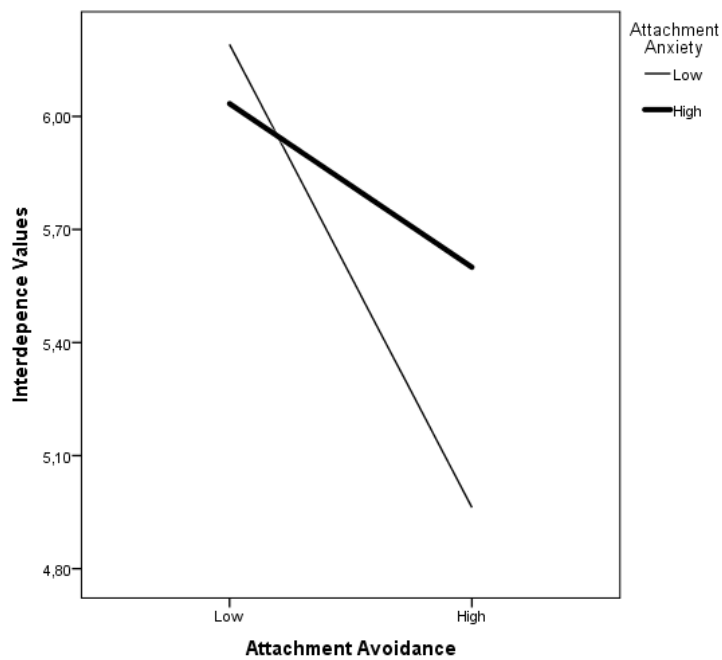


Figure 2.3.5.2. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Anxiety on Interdependence Values

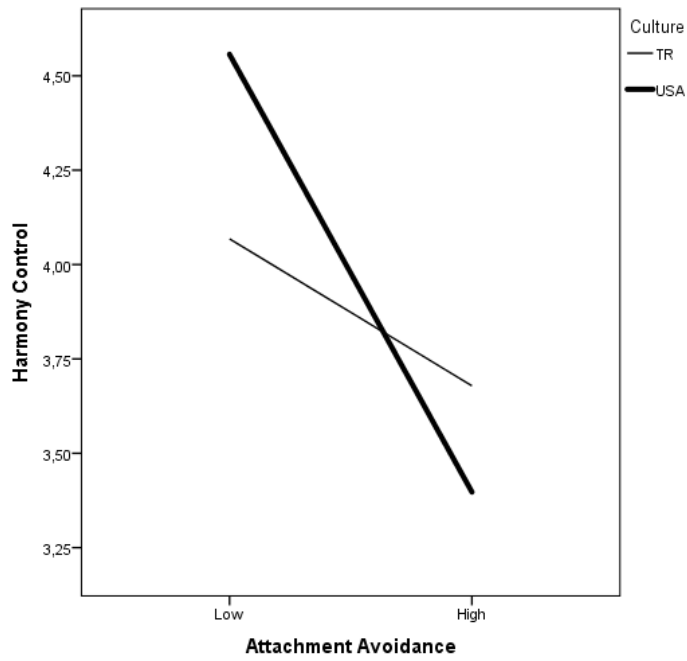


Figure 2.3.5.3. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Culture on Harmony Control

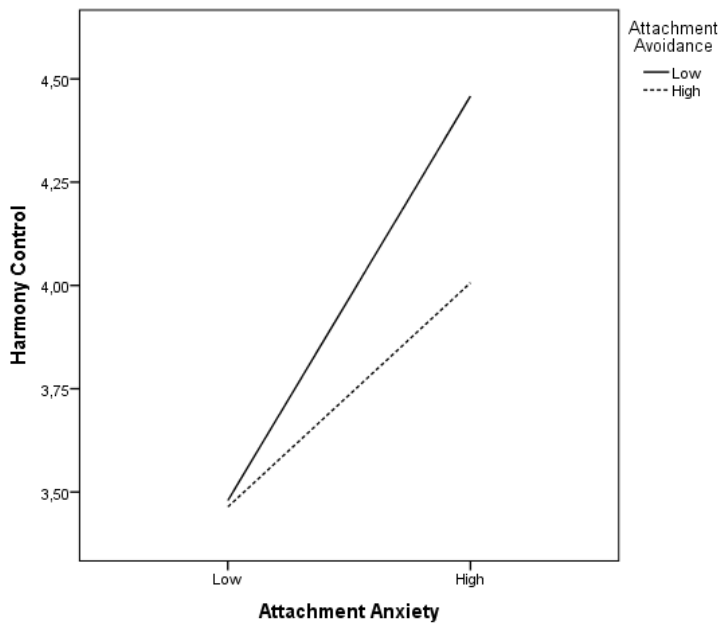


Figure 2.3.5.4. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Anxiety on Harmony Control in the Turkish Culture

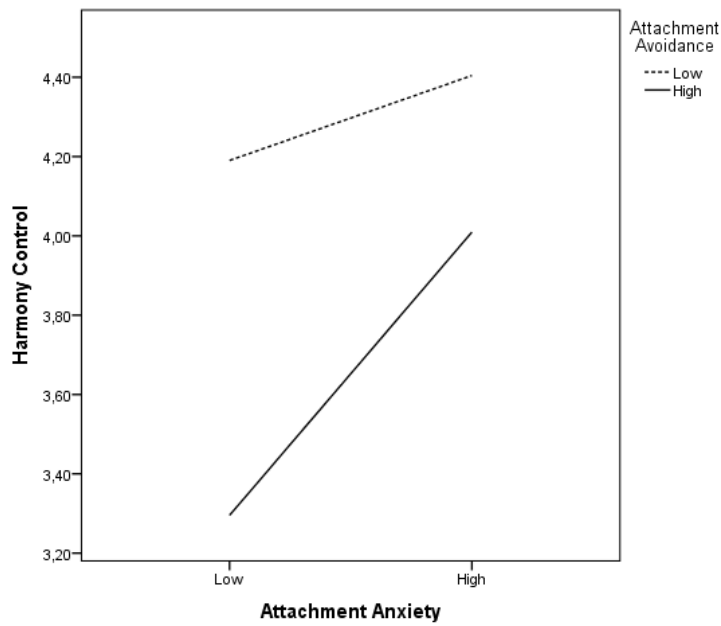


Figure 2.3.5.5. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Anxiety on Harmony Control in the American Culture

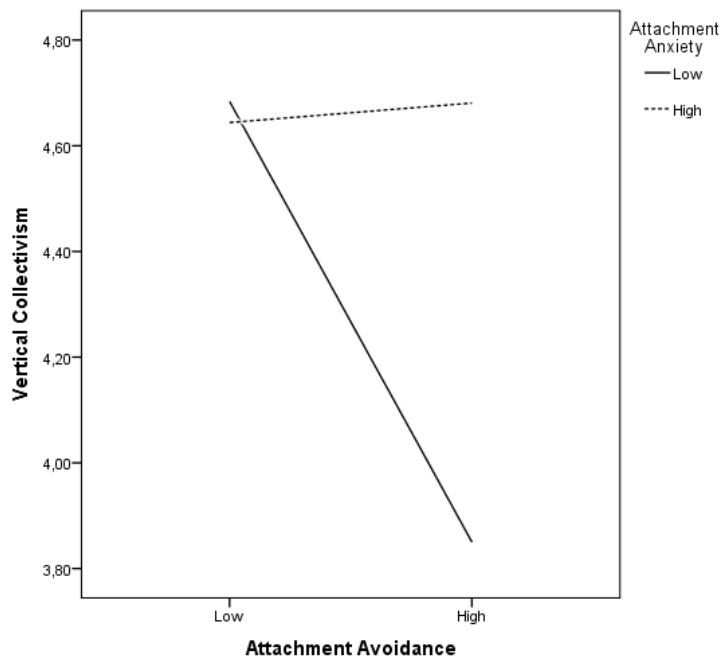


Figure 2.3.5.6. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Anxiety on Vertical Collectivism

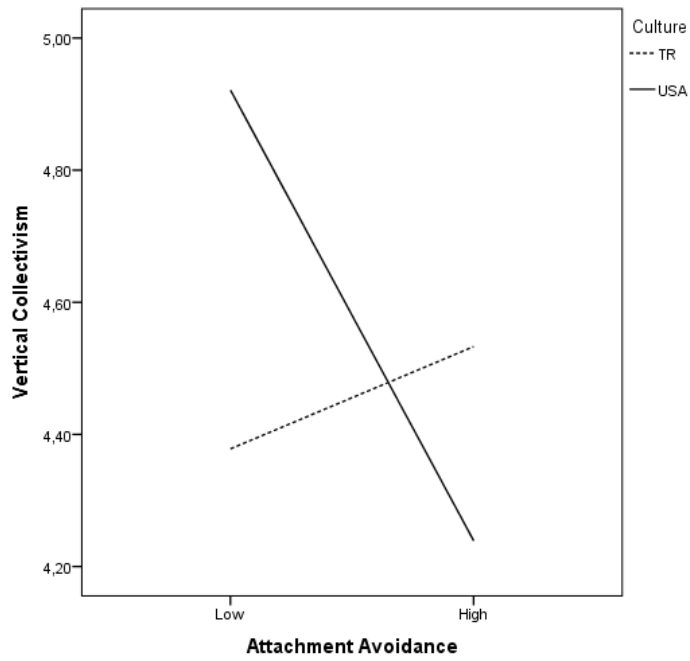


Figure 2.3.5.7. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Culture on Vertical Collectivism

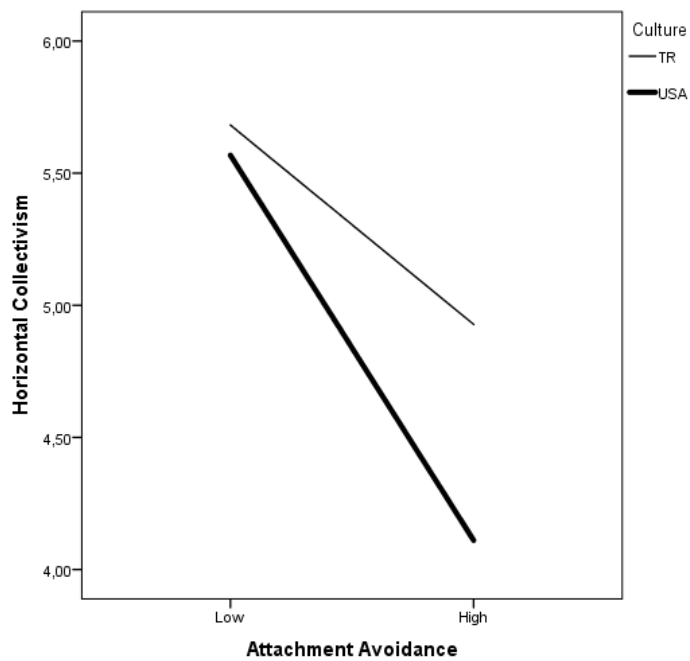
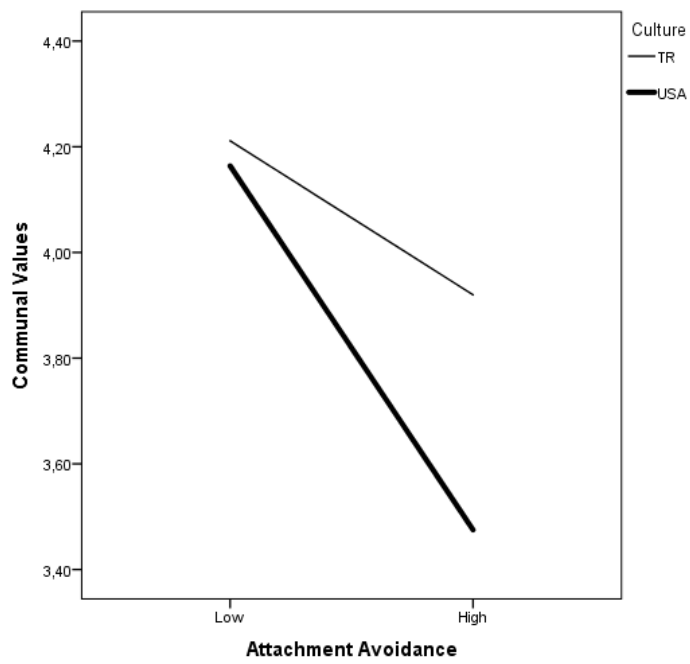


Figure 2.3.5.8. Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Culture on Horizontal Collectivism



*Figure 2.3.5.9.* Interaction Effect of Attachment Avoidance and Culture on Communal Values

### **2.3.6. Overview of the Results**

The overall results of the first study indicated that significant relationships between attachment orientations and cultural constructs indeed exist, and hence lent support to the first hypothesis stating how people think about their close relationships and their cultural mindsets can be associated in meaningful ways. Supporting the general hypothesis, the results pointed to significant relationships between attachment avoidance and an individualist/independent mindset, and attachment anxiety and a collectivist/relational mindset in both collectivist (Turkish) and individualist (American) cultural settings. The frequency and percentage of significant effects in the expected direction, null effects, and effects in the opposite direction are summarized in Table 2.3.6.

Specifically, attachment avoidance has been negatively linked to interdependence, harmony control, horizontal collectivism, and communal goals, in both Turkish and American samples. Avoidance has also been positively linked to vertical individualism and negatively linked to vertical collectivism in the American sample; and positively linked to agentic values in the Turkish sample. Attachment anxiety, on the other hand, has emerged as positively related to vertical collectivism and communal goals, and negatively related to desirability of control in both Turkish and American samples. Attachment anxiety also emerged as positively related to interdependence values, harmony control, and horizontal collectivism in the Turkish sample, and negatively related to horizontal individualism in the American sample. Taken together, overall, these results suggest that attachment avoidance is positively linked to individualist/independent values and negatively related to collectivist/relational values, and that attachment anxiety is negatively linked to individualist/independent values and positively related to collectivist/relational values, regardless of cultural setting, and hence offer support for the first hypothesis.

In support of the second hypothesis, cultural context emerged as a significant factor in determining the strength of the above-mentioned universal relationships between attachment dimensions and cultural values: The positive relationship between attachment anxiety and collectivist values was identified to be stronger in

the Turkish sample, while the negative relationship between attachment avoidance and collectivist values was identified to be stronger in the American sample.

**Table 2.3.6. Overview of the Results**

Turkish Sample	Attachment Avoidance				Attachment Anxiety			Overall	
	Corr	Can Corr	Regr		Corr	Can Corr	Regr		
Indep	-	0	-		0	0	0		
Interdep	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Harm Cont	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Des Cont	-	-	-		+	+	+		
Hor Ind	-	0	-		0	0	0		
Vert Ind	0	0	0		-	0	0		
Hor Coll	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Vert Coll	0	-	0		+	+	+		
Agentic	0	+	0		-	-	-		
Communal	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Number of "+"s	4	5	4	43,33%	6	6	6	60,00%	51,67%
Number of "0"s	3	3	3	30,00%	2	3	3	26,67%	28,33%
Number of "-"s	3	2	3	26,67%	2	1	1	13,33%	20,00%

American Sample	Attachment Avoidance				Attachment Anxiety			Overall	
	Corr	Can Corr	Regr		Corr	Can Corr	Regr		
Indep	0	0	0		0	0	0		
Interdep	+	+	+		0	0	0		
Harm Cont	+	+	+		0	0	0		
Des Cont	0	0	0		+	0	0		
Hor Ind	0	0	0		+	0	+		
Vert Ind	+	+	+		-	-	-		
Hor Coll	+	+	+		0	0	0		
Vert Coll	+	+	+		+	0	0		
Agentic	0	0	0		-	0	0		
Communal	+	+	0		+	0	+		
Number of "+"s	6	6	5	56,67%	4	0	2	20,00%	38,33%
Number of "0"s	4	4	5	43,33%	4	9	7	66,67%	55,00%
Number of "-"s	0	0	0	0,00%	2	1	1	13,33%	6,67%

**Variables:** independence values, interdependence values, harmony control, desirability of control, horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism, agentic and communal values

**Analyses:** Correlation, Canonical Correlation, Hierarchical Regression

"+": Effect in the expected direction

"0": No significant effect

"-": Effect in the opposite direction

## CHAPTER 3

### **STUDY 2: An Experimental Investigation of the Functionality of Insecure Attachment**

#### **3.1. Aims and Hypotheses of the Study**

In line with the overarching aim of the present dissertation, which is to investigate the possible adaptive functions of attachment insecurity vis-à-vis culture, Study 1 explored whether there are any relationships between romantic attachment orientations and cultural values, and showed that there indeed exists such an association. In an effort to explore if this relationship also serves any real-life functions for the members of a culture, an experimental study was conducted next. The aim of this second study is to investigate whether different types of insecure attachment serve any specific functions in different cultural contexts. As a preliminary measure of functionality, the study used evaluations of group members of different attachment behaviors in different cultural contexts. The overarching hypothesis is that the mental schemas and action tendencies associated with insecure attachment will be evaluated as more functional by the members of a culture, i.e., be more culturally adaptive, as long as they are in line with the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within that particular cultural context. More specifically, building on the results of Study 1, it is hypothesized that sentinel behaviors associated with anxious attachment will be evaluated as more functional in a collectivist/relational cultural context, and rapid fight-or-flight behaviors associated with avoidant attachment will be evaluated as more functional in an individualistic/independent cultural context. To simulate real life insecure attachment behaviors, the present study employed several stories depicting sentinel and rapid fight-or-flight behaviors and asked the participants to evaluate the characters and behaviors in these stories in terms of functionality.

## **3.2. Pilot Study**

Since the above mentioned scenarios were created for this study and would be used for the first time, first a pilot study was conducted to test their reliability.

### **3.2.1. Method**

#### **3.2.1.1. Participants**

The pilot study was conducted with 28 undergraduate psychology students of TOBB University of Economics and Technology. The participants were rewarded with partial course credit for their contribution.

#### **3.2.1.2. Materials and Procedure**

After the ethics committee approval was secured from the METU UEAM (Human Participants Ethics Committee) (see Appendix C), the study was conducted in class, the participants were asked to read the scenarios and fill out questionnaires about these scenarios after they signed the informed consent form (see Appendix D).

The participants read four short vignettes in total, all depicting different threat situations and the reactions of the characters to these hazards. Two of the vignettes (1 and 3) depicted a character engaging in typical anxious/sentinel behavior in face of danger, and the other two (2 and 4) depicted a character engaging in typical avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior in the threat situations.

After reading each scenario, the participants were asked to rate the extent to which they evaluated that particular scenario as logical and consistent, thought that people like the characters in the scenario also exist in real life, and thought that events like the ones depicted in the scenario also happen in real life on a 7-point Likert scale. Next, two alternative endings were presented for each scenario. The participants were asked to read these alternatives and then to rate the extent to which they thought these endings were meaningful, logical, and consistent with the scenario, again on a 7-point Likert scale. The participants were also asked to describe the main character of each scenario, who engaged in typical anxious/sentinel, or avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior, with a few words. Finally, the participants were asked to note if they had any comments, recommendations, or criticisms, and if they see anything as problematic in general.

### 3.2.2. Results

#### 3.2.2.1. Quantitative Analyses

The answers given to the first three questions about the scenario were averaged to obtain an overall evaluation score for each scenario. As depicted in Table 3.2.2.1, the participants gave fairly favorable evaluations to all scenarios in terms of logicity and real-life likeness of characters and events.

First of all, the scenarios were investigated for any significant differences in terms of evaluations via a series of pair wise one sample t-tests. The results showed that only the second scenario ( $M = 5.46$ ) was evaluated as significantly more logical than the fourth scenario ( $M = 4.71$ ) ( $t(27) = 2.73, p = .011$ ), all the other scenarios were deemed as equally logical (see Table 3.2.2.1). The characters of the fourth scenario were evaluated as significantly less real-life-like ( $M = 5.46$ ) as compared to the characters of all the other scenarios ( $M = 6.46; M = 6.04; M = 6.21$ ) ( $t(27) = 6.31, p < .001; t(27) = 2.92, p = .007; t(27) = 4.53, p < .001$ ). The characters of the second scenario were also evaluated as significantly less real-life-like ( $M = 6.04$ ) as compared to the characters of the first scenario ( $M = 6.46$ ) ( $t(27) = 2.71, p = .012$ ). Only the second scenario ( $M = 5.82$ ) was evaluated as depicting significantly more real-life-like events than the fourth scenario ( $M = 5.32$ ) ( $t(27) = 2.35, p = .026$ ), the events depicted in all the other scenarios were deemed as equally real-life-like. The overall evaluations of the fourth scenario ( $M = 5.17$ ) was significantly lower than all the other scenarios ( $M = 5.67; M = 5.77; M = 5.68$ ) ( $t(27) = 2.76, p = .010; t(27) = 2.92, p = .007; t(27) = 2.67, p = .013$ ), the evaluations of the other scenarios were statistically equal.

Second of all, the alternative endings of each scenario were compared for any significant differences via a series of pair wise one sample t-tests. The results showed that the second alternative was deemed as a better alternative for scenarios one, three, and four ( $M = 5.64; M = 5.61; M = 5.46$ ) as compared to the first alternative ( $M = 4.61; M = 4.75; M = 4.75$ ) ( $t(27) = 5.54, p < .001; t(27) = 3.45, p = .002; t(27) = 2.93, p = .007$ ). Both endings were deemed as equally good for the second scenario.

**Table 3.2.2.1. Evaluations of Each Scenario**

Variables	Scenario 1		Scenario 2		Scenario 3		Scenario 4	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Logical Scenario	5.14 <sub>ab</sub>	1.48	5.46 <sub>a</sub>	1.45	5.11 <sub>ab</sub>	1.64	4.71 <sub>b</sub>	1.80
Real-Life-Like Character	6.46 <sub>a</sub>	.84	6.04 <sub>b</sub>	1.04	6.21 <sub>ab</sub>	.88	5.46 <sub>c</sub>	1.40
Real-Life-Like Events	5.39 <sub>ab</sub>	1.32	5.82 <sub>a</sub>	1.12	5.71 <sub>ab</sub>	1.05	5.32 <sub>b</sub>	1.39
Overall Evaluation	5.67 <sub>a</sub>	.95	5.77 <sub>a</sub>	1.09	5.68 <sub>a</sub>	1.01	5.17 <sub>b</sub>	1.43
Quality of Ending A	4.61 <sub>a</sub>	1.47	5.21 <sub>a</sub>	1.52	4.75 <sub>a</sub>	1.60	4.75 <sub>a</sub>	1.60
Quality of Ending B	5.64 <sub>b</sub>	.99	5.39 <sub>a</sub>	1.26	5.61 <sub>b</sub>	1.32	5.46 <sub>b</sub>	1.29

Note.

Means which do not share any subscripts across all four scenarios for the variables Logical Scenario, Real-Life-Like Character, Real-Life-Like Events, and Overall Evaluation are significantly different at  $p < .05$

Means which do not share any subscripts within the same scenario for the variables Quality of Ending A and Quality of Ending B are significantly different at  $p < .05$

Finally, the evaluation scores given for scenarios 1 and 3 were summed into total scores for anxious scenarios and the evaluation scores given for scenarios 2 and 4 were summed into total scores for avoidant scenarios, and a series of pair wise one sample t-tests were employed to see if there were any systematic differences among the evaluations of scenarios depicting typical anxious/sentinel behavior and avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior. As seen in Table 3.2.2.2, the results indicated that there were no significant differences between the anxious and avoidant scenarios in terms of logicity, real-life-likeness of events, and overall evaluations. Only the characters in the anxious scenarios were deemed as more real-life-like ( $M = 12.68$ ) as compared to the characters in the avoidant scenarios ( $M = 11.50$ ) ( $t(27) = -2.85, p = .008$ ).

As for the alternative endings of scenarios, the results showed that the second alternatives were deemed as better alternatives for both anxious ( $M = 11.25$ ) and avoidant scenarios ( $M = 10.86$ ) as compared to the first alternatives ( $M = 9.36; M = 9.96$ ) ( $t(27) = 5.51, p < .001; t(27) = 2.23, p = .034$ ). There were no significant differences in the evaluations of neither the first nor the second alternative amongst the anxious and avoidant scenarios.

**Table 3.2.2.2. Evaluations of Anxious and Avoidant Scenarios Aggregated**

Variables	Anxious Scenarios (1 & 3)		Avoidant Scenarios (2 & 4)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Logical Scenario	10.25 <sub>a</sub>	2.44	10.18 <sub>a</sub>	2.88
Real-Life-Like Character	12.68 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	11.50 <sub>b</sub>	2.19
Real-Life-Like Events	11.11 <sub>a</sub>	1.71	11.14 <sub>a</sub>	2.14
Overall Evaluation	11.35 <sub>a</sub>	1.54	10.94 <sub>a</sub>	2.23
Quality of Ending A	9.36 <sub>a</sub>	2.18	9.96 <sub>a</sub>	2.66
Quality of Ending B	11.25 <sub>b</sub>	1.82	10.86 <sub>b</sub>	2.12

Note.

Means which do not share any subscripts across anxious and avoidant scenarios for the variables Logical Scenario, Real-Life-Like Character, Real-Life-Like Events, and Overall Evaluation are significantly different at  $p < .05$

Means which do not share any subscripts within the same scenario for the variables Quality of Ending A and Quality of Ending B are significantly different at  $p < .05$

### 3.2.2.2. Qualitative Analyses

The last two questions in the questionnaire were open ended queries asking the participants to describe the main characters of each scenario in their own words and to note if they had any comments or spotted any problems in any of the scenarios. In this section, these descriptions given by the participants will be reported in the order that they were most frequently mentioned. On the one hand, the characters in both anxious scenarios (1 and 3), the main characters were described as anxious, hypervigilant, agitated, worried, tense, nervous, obsessed, panicked, jumpy, worrywart, and fearful. They were also described as suspicious, careful, observant, prudent, and cautious. Some participants noted that these characters were danger-oriented and good at detecting threats. On the other hand, the characters in both avoidant scenarios (2 and 4), the main characters were described as individualist, independent, self-ordained, reckless, untrustworthy, and selfish. These characters were likened to people who act on their own without thinking about others, do not feel much group identification, run away from problems and give up easily. Some participants noted that these characters were open to novelty, creative, realistic, calm, and perceptive. They explained that these characters were good at forecasting and taking precautions accordingly. These characters were also described as people who

are self-assured, comfortable to make decisions and take responsibility for themselves, and whose problem solving skills are well-developed.

On the last question, for the first scenario, one participant noted that a squirrel would not make a noise that can be mistaken for a boar, making the two alternative endings incompatible. The second scenario was criticized for relying on the small chance that a cell phone would work in a mountainous area and for depicting a second alternative ending not as elaborate as the first one. A perpetrator with a knife attacking several people in broad day light was found to be too farfetched in the third scenario. All scenarios were reviewed in accordance with these criticisms. It was also realized that the name “Derya” used in scenarios 2 and 4 led to confusion among participants pertaining to the gender composition of the groups, so it was decided to use the name “Deniz”, a name that is far more gender neutral, in all of the scenarios.

### **3.2.2.3. Overview of the Results**

All scenarios and alternative endings were evaluated rather favorably in terms of being logical and akin to real life situations. The scenarios were evaluated similarly overall, only the fourth scenario was evaluated as slightly less favorably on some of the measures, but these differences were not drastic and could be attributed to the fact that this was the very last scenario the participants read, so possible exhaustion could have led them to pass less favorable judgments. Two scenarios depicting typical anxious/sentinel behavior were judged similarly overall, the same was true for the other two scenarios depicting typical avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior. Alternative endings were not evaluated as equally plausible except for one scenario, which signals that this measure should be approached with caution in the main study.

The descriptions given by the participants for the main characters of the scenarios matched typical anxious and avoidant characteristics considerably well. The description for the anxious scenario also clearly showed that this scenario successfully conveyed typical sentinel behavior; the same was true of the avoidant scenario for typical rapid fight-or-flight behavior.

The overall positive evaluations of the scenarios and the character descriptions compatible with the theoretical frameworks suggested that these novel scenarios had acceptable levels of reliability in depicting typical anxious/sentinel and avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior in cases of imminent threat and it was decided that they can be employed in the main study with the aforementioned revisions based on participant feedback.

### **3.3. Study 2**

As mentioned above, the aim of the second study is to investigate if different types of insecure attachment have any adaptive functions in different cultural contexts. For the purposes of this study, functionality of specific attachment behaviors is conceptualized as evaluations of these behaviors by the members of the culture as functional. If members of a culture deem a specific behavior as functional, it can be extrapolated that this behavior should indeed fulfill a specific function within that social system, so that the members have come to evaluate it as so. These evaluations of functionality will hence serve as the dependent variables of the study.

Although different cultural contexts (i.e., individualist/independent vs. collectivist/interdependent) are usually associated with different countries (e.g., West vs. East) (e.g., Hofstede, 2001), research indicates that people do have the mental schemas for both independent and interdependent self-construals (Singelis, 1994), and any individual can be led to manifest the characteristics of either a more independent or more interdependent mode of self through the activation of these available mental schemas via priming, where priming functions as an experimental analogue of the chronic between-society differences (e.g., Oyserman & Lee, 2008). Hence, regardless of the cultural context they live in, it is plausible to accept that those individuals primed with an independent self-construal can be seen representing an individualist cultural context and those individuals primed with an interdependent self-construal representing a collectivist cultural context. In this study, different cultural contexts will be studied based on this principle. The cultural context, as the first independent variable, will be experimentally manipulated by priming either independence or interdependence to the participants. The independence prime will

work to create an individualistic/independent mindset in the participants; whereas the interdependence prime will work to create a collectivist/relational mindset. The effects of these experimental conditions on the evaluation of insecure attachment behaviors (i.e., anxious/sentinel behaviors and avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors) will be investigated vis-à-vis attachment styles (the second independent variable). So the experimental design of the present study is planned to be a 2 x 4 between subjects factorial design, defined by cultural context prime (independence, interdependence) x attachment style (secure, dismissing, preoccupied, fearful).

The main hypothesis of the study is that the mental schemas and action tendencies associated with insecure attachment will be evaluated as more functional by the members of a culture, i.e., be more culturally adaptive, as long as they are in line with the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within that particular cultural context. More specifically, building on the results of Study 1, it is hypothesized that sentinel behaviors associated with anxious attachment will be evaluated as more functional in a collectivist/relational cultural context (i.e., under the interdependence prime), and rapid fight-or-flight behaviors associated with avoidant attachment will be evaluated as more functional in an individualistic/independent cultural context (i.e., under the independence prime) (Hypothesis 1).

It is also hypothesized that attachment orientations will have significant effects on how people evaluate insecure attachment behaviors. Specifically, it is hypothesized that people who are high on attachment anxiety will evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors as more functional; whereas people who are high on attachment avoidance will evaluate avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors as more functional (Hypothesis 2).

Finally, it is hypothesized that the chronic attachment tendencies of individuals will interact with the effect of cultural context on their evaluations of insecure attachment behavior (Hypothesis 3). On the one hand, it is hypothesized that a cultural context which is congruent with the specific insecure attachment behavior will have an intensifying effect on the positive appraisal on this behavior when it is

compatible with the individual's own attachment orientation (Hypothesis 3a). Specifically, it is hypothesized that, people who are high on attachment anxiety will evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors as more functional when they are under the interdependence prime, as opposed to when they are under the independence prime; whereas people who are high on attachment avoidance will evaluate avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors as more functional when they are under the independence prime, as opposed to when they are under the interdependence prime. On the other hand, it is hypothesized that a cultural context which is congruent with the specific insecure attachment behavior will have an attenuating effect on the negative appraisal on this behavior when it is incompatible with the individual's own attachment orientation (Hypothesis 3b). Specifically, it is hypothesized that individuals high on attachment anxiety will evaluate avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors as less dysfunctional when they are under the independence prime, as opposed to when they are under the interdependence prime; whereas people who are high on attachment avoidance will evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors as less dysfunctional when they are under the interdependence prime, as opposed to when they are under the independence prime. To sum up, it is hypothesized that people will be more likely to endorse the values perpetuated by the specific cultural context they are in.

### **3.3.1. Method**

#### **3.3.1.1. Participants**

To determine the sample size for Study 2, first an a priori power analysis was conducted according to the procedures recommended by Cohen (1988). The minimum sample size needed to detect the moderate effect size of .40, which is commonly obtained in independence-interdependence priming studies (Oyserman & Lee, 2008), with the recommended power of .80 (Cohen, 1988), was calculated as 158 by using the G-Power software (Version 3.1) (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). In accordance with this calculation, initially 172 Middle East Technical University undergrad students were recruited from introductory psychology courses and rewarded with extra course credit for their participation. Eight (4.50%)

participants failed the pronoun circling task, which worked as the experimental manipulation in the study, so these participants were excluded from further analyses, leaving a total of 164 participants in the sample. The age range of this student sample varied from 18 to 32 years with a mean of 21.84 ( $SD = 1.63$ ) (see Table 3.3.1.1). Eighty nine (54.30%) participants were female and 75 (45.70%) participants were male. All of the participants were students of the Middle East Technical University, with 68 participants (41.50%) from the Faculty of Engineering, 43 participants (26.20%) from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 22 participants (13.40%) from the Department of Psychology, 21 participants (12.80%) from the Faculty of Administrative Sciences, 7 participants (4.30%) from the Faculty of Education, and 3 participants (1.80%) from other departments. The sample consisted of 19 (11.60%) freshmen, 65 (39.60%) sophomore, 49 (29.90%) junior, and 29 (17.70%) senior students; 2 (1.20%) students did not report their class. Nineteen (11.60%) participants reported a low level of income, 134 (81.70%) and 11 (6.70%) participants said they had middle and high levels of income, respectively.

**Table 3.3.1.1. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Range</b>
Age	21.84	1.63	18-32

Sex	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Female	89	54.30
Male	75	45.70

Department		
Engineering	68	41.50
Arts and Sciences	43	26.20
Psychology	22	13.40
Administrative Sciences	21	12.80
Education	7	4.30
Other	3	1.80

Class		
Freshmen	19	11.60
Sophomore	65	39.60
Junior	49	29.9
Senior	29	17.70
Missing	2	1.20

Income		
Low	19	11.60
Medium	134	81.70
High	11	6.70

### **3.3.1.2. Materials and Procedure**

The ethics committee approval was secured from the METU UEAM (Human Participants Ethics Committee) before starting the data collection process (see Appendix C). The study was conducted online, the participants were provided with a hyperlink which directed them to the online study hosted by the Qualtrics data collection service. The participants were asked to fill out questionnaires along with a demographic information form after they approved the informed consent form. Since this study included an experimental manipulation, all participants were debriefed via e-mail after the data collection process was over (see Appendix E).

#### **3.3.1.2.1. Experiences in Close Relationships Questionnaire (ECR)**

Adult attachment orientations of the participants were measured by the experiences in close relationships questionnaire scale (ECR; Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998), as in Study 1. In the current sample, both subscales were found to be internally consistent, the Cronbach's alpha was calculated as .91 for the avoidance subscale and .91 for the anxiety subscale. According to principal component analysis, the two factor solution of the scale was valid and the factors explained 42.95% of the total variance in the current sample.

#### **3.3.1.2.2. Independence versus Interdependence Priming**

Different cultural contexts were established by employing an independence versus interdependence priming task in the study. The participants were randomly divided into two equal sized groups where they were primed with either independence or interdependence by the pronoun circling task developed by Gardner, Gabriel, and Lee (1999). In this task, the participants are asked to circle the pronouns in a paragraph, depicting a visit to a city. The paragraph was adapted to Turkish by following translation and backtranslation procedures. In the original task, the pronouns to be circled in this paragraph are first person singular pronouns, such as I, me, my, and mine in the independence condition; and first person plural pronouns, such as we, us, our, and ours in the interdependence condition. Since pronouns are usually not explicitly written in the Turkish language, unlike English, the task was slightly modified, such that the participants were asked to circle the verbs in the paragraph, which connote the agent of action in the Turkish language better than the pronouns (e.g., "giderim" is used more frequently than "ben giderim"). In this slightly modified task, the verbs to be circled were first person singular verbs (e.g., "giderim") in the independence condition; and first person plural verbs (e.g., "gideriz") in the interdependence condition (see Appendix E).

#### **3.3.1.2.3. Exposure to Sentinel and Rapid Fight-or-Flight Behavior**

After completing the prime task, the participants were exposed to instances of sentinel behavior, typical of attachment anxiety; and rapid fight-or-flight behavior, typical of attachment avoidance. They were asked to read four short vignettes,

created for this study, each depicting a threat situation and the reactions of the characters to this hazard (see Appendix E). The first and third vignettes depicted typical sentinel reactions to threat, while the second and fourth vignettes illustrated typical rapid fight-or-flight reactions to danger. The vignettes were presented in a randomly counterbalanced order so that all participants were exposed to all vignettes in different orders.

The first two vignettes have been prepared by taking the scenarios generated by the participants of Anafarta Şendağ's (2009) studies as a culturally relevant reference. In her studies, Anafarta Şendağ (2009) adapted the Knowledge of Secure Base Script-Prompt Word Outline Method (KSBS) (Waters & Rodrigues, 2002) into Turkish, which is a narrative assessment technique that aims to measure the participants' level of knowledge regarding the secure base script by asking them to write a story from a set of prompt words provided by the researchers. The stories generated by the participants for the "Berna and Emre's Camping Trip" theme were taken as reference in preparing the first two vignettes for this study, as this theme included various threatening situations. In the first vignette, a group of friends are on a camping trip, sitting around a fire. While everyone is enjoying themselves, the main character, Deniz (who is a typical anxious, engaging in sentinel behavior), is on the edge of her/his seat, afraid that something will happen to them in this wild and remote place. S/he eventually hears a sound through the bushes and screams "Run!" Everyone starts to run in panic. In this vignette, typical sentinel behavior is depicted in Deniz's general anxious attitude, hypervigilance to threat cues (being the only one to hear the sound from the bushes), and alarming everyone else. In the second vignette, again a group of friends are on a camping trip, but this time they are trying to set up the tents. Unfortunately, a strong wind breaks, knocking down all their tents. While everyone is trying to rebuild the tents, the main character, Deniz (who is a typical avoidant, engaging in rapid fight-or-flight behavior), says it's too windy to build tents and tells the group s/he is leaving to find another place to stay. In this vignette, typical rapid fight-or-flight behavior is depicted in Deniz's avoidance of the

common problem, unwillingness to cooperate on a collective solution, and walking away to find a personal solution without waiting for or caring about the others.

In order to increase the reliability of the measures, two additional vignettes have been created, also depicting threat situations, but this time in an urban setting. In the third vignette, a group of friends are on their way back from the movies, taking a back alley as a shortcut. While everyone is enjoying themselves talking about the movie, the main character, Deniz (who is a typical anxious, engaging in sentinel behavior), is afraid something will happen to them in this desolate place. S/he eventually hears footsteps approaching and screams “Run!” Everyone starts to run in panic. In this vignette, typical sentinel behavior is again depicted in Deniz’s general anxious attitude, hypervigilance to threat cues (being the only one to hear the approaching footsteps), and alarming everyone else. In the fourth vignette, again a group of friends are on their way back from the movies, taking a back alley as a shortcut. At one point they realize that they are lost, and unfortunately there is no mobile internet connection in this desolate place, so they can not use their mobile maps to identify their location and find their way back home. While everyone is struggling with their phones, trying to get reception, the main character, Deniz (who is a typical avoidant, engaging in rapid fight-or-flight behavior), says there would not be any internet service in this remote location, tells the group s/he is going to take some other road to try her/his luck, and leaves. In this vignette, typical rapid fight-or-flight behavior is again depicted in Deniz’s avoidance of the common problem, unwillingness to cooperate on a collective solution, and walking away to find a personal solution without waiting for or caring about the others.

#### **3.3.1.2.4. Evaluation of Sentinel and Rapid Fight-or-Flight Behavior**

After reading each vignette, the participants were asked a series of questions to evaluate the sentinel or rapid fight-or-flight behavior they were just exposed to. These evaluations served as the dependent measures of the study.

The participants were firstly asked to choose an ending to the story from two alternatives, which served as a measure of how functional they find the insecure attachment behavior they just read in the vignette (named *outcome*). The first

alternative ending featured a functional resolution of the behavior for the group and the second alternative ending depicted a dysfunctional outcome (see Appendix E). This variable, named outcome, was coded so that higher scores signaled higher appraisal for the behavior as having a functional outcome.

Secondly, the participants were asked several questions tapping into how functional they regard the insecure attachment behavior they just read. The questions were “To what extent do you think the character’s reaction was effective in evading the dangerous situation/appropriate to the situation/useful for the group/adaptive/annoying/unnecessary?” The last two questions (“To what extent do you think the character’s reaction was annoying/unnecessary?”) were reverse coded. The ratings were collected on a 7-point Likert scale. The answers given to these questions were averaged into a cumulative variable, named *appraisal of behavior*. Higher scores on this variable signaled higher evaluations of functionality of the behavior.

Thirdly, the participants were asked a series of questions about how favorable they regard the main character who engaged in the insecure attachment behavior they just read. They rated the extent to which they regard the main character as likeable, competent, trustworthy, helpful, annoying (reverse coded), a good friend, thoughtful, smart, and careful on a 7-point Likert scale. The answers given to these questions were averaged into a cumulative variable, named *appraisal of character*. Higher scores on this variable signaled higher evaluations of favorable appraisal of the character.

Finally the participants were asked to imagine that they were part of the group depicted in the vignette and rate their likelihood of complying with the main character in such a situation. These questions were “I would follow the character in the story and do as he or she says or does”, “I would urge the other members of the group to follow this character”, and “I would be willing to carry out tasks that this character would assign me with in order to escape from this threatening situation”. The ratings were collected on a 7-point Likert scale. The answers given to these questions were averaged into a cumulative variable, named *probability of own*

*compliance*. Higher scores on this variable signaled higher chances of complying with the main character in the story.

The scores on the continuous measures of appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, and probability of own compliance were averaged into a collective measure of functionality, named *overall functionality*, for each scenario, with higher scores signaling higher evaluations of functionality for that vignette. Lastly, all four of these continuous measures obtained for both of the anxious/sentinel scenarios were averaged into aggregate variables to obtain general evaluations for the sentinel behavior on the whole, named *aggregate appraisal of behavior anxiety*, *aggregate appraisal of character anxiety*, *aggregate probability of own compliance anxiety*, and *aggregate overall functionality anxiety*. The same procedure was carried out for both of the avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight scenarios and the aggregate variables, named *aggregate appraisal of behavior avoidance*, *aggregate appraisal of character avoidance*, *aggregate probability of own compliance avoidance*, and *aggregate overall functionality avoidance*, were obtained. The two discrete measures of outcome obtained for both of the anxious/sentinel scenarios and both of the avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight scenarios were also summed into aggregate variables, named *aggregate outcome anxiety* and *aggregate outcome avoidance*, respectively. Higher scores on all of these aggregate measures signaled higher evaluations of functionality.

### **3.3.1.2.5. Independence versus Interdependence Values**

The short version of the Schwartz Values Survey (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004), which was also used in Study 1, was employed as a manipulation check to see if the participants' endorsement of independence and interdependence values indeed changed after the independence or interdependence priming. In the current sample, both subscales were found to be internally consistent, the Cronbach's alpha was calculated as .68 for the independence values subscale and .73 for the interdependence values subscale. According to principal component analysis, the two factor solution of the scale was valid and the factors explained 34.01% of the total variance in the current sample.

### 3.3.2. Results

In this section, first the bivariate correlations between the major study variables will be given, and then the hypotheses will be tested by employing both categorical and continuous measures.

#### 3.3.2.1. Bivariate Correlation Analyses

Attachment avoidance did not emerge as significantly related to any of the study variables; attachment anxiety, on the other hand, was significantly positively related to probability of own compliance in both anxious scenarios, i.e., scenarios 1 ( $r = .17, p = .034$ ) and 3 ( $r = .18, p = .020$ ); and hence to aggregate probability of own compliance anxiety ( $r = .20, p = .010$ ) (see Table 3.3.2.1).

As seen in Table 3.3.2.1, the different measures of functionality within the same scenarios were all strongly positively related to each other for all of the vignettes. In the first scenario (anxious), appraisal of behavior was positively related to appraisal of character ( $r = .76, p < .001$ ) and probability of own compliance ( $r = .74, p < .001$ ). Appraisal of character and probability of own compliance also emerged as significantly related to each other ( $r = .68, p < .001$ ) in this first scenario. In a similar vein, in the second scenario (avoidant), appraisal of behavior was positively related to appraisal of character ( $r = .84, p < .001$ ) and probability of own compliance ( $r = .85, p < .001$ ). Appraisal of character and probability of own compliance also emerged as significantly related to each other ( $r = .78, p < .001$ ) in this second scenario. Likewise, in the third scenario (anxious), appraisal of behavior was positively related to appraisal of character ( $r = .78, p < .001$ ) and probability of own compliance ( $r = .67, p < .001$ ). Appraisal of character and probability of own compliance also emerged as significantly related to each other ( $r = .70, p < .001$ ) in this third scenario. Similarly, in the fourth scenario (avoidant), appraisal of behavior was positively related to appraisal of character ( $r = .83, p < .001$ ) and probability of own compliance ( $r = .85, p < .001$ ). Appraisal of character and probability of own compliance also emerged as significantly related to each other ( $r = .76, p < .001$ ) in this last scenario.

Correlational analyses also revealed that the measures of functionality for one scenario emerged as strongly positively related to the same measures in the corresponding scenario. For the anxious scenario pair (scenarios 1 and 3), almost all of the measures were significantly positively correlated. The appraisal of behavior variable in the first scenario was positively correlated to appraisal of behavior ( $r = .34, p < .001$ ), appraisal of character ( $r = .32, p < .001$ ), and probability of own compliance ( $r = .29, p < .001$ ) in the third scenario. Likewise, the appraisal of character variable in the first scenario was positively correlated to appraisal of behavior ( $r = .34, p < .001$ ), appraisal of character ( $r = .52, p < .001$ ), and probability of own compliance ( $r = .39, p < .001$ ) in the third scenario. In a similar vein, the probability of own compliance variable in the first scenario was positively correlated to appraisal of behavior ( $r = .23, p = .003$ ), appraisal of character ( $r = .33, p < .001$ ), and probability of own compliance ( $r = .49, p < .001$ ) in the third scenario. The overall functionality measures in both anxious scenarios also emerged as significantly related to each other ( $r = .43, p < .001$ ). This pattern was less pronounced for the avoidant scenario pair (scenarios 2 and 4), yet there were still several significant correlations among measures of functionality among the corresponding scenarios. The appraisal of behavior and probability of compliance variables in the second scenario were positively correlated to the same variables in the fourth scenario ( $r = .19, p = .014$  and  $r = .16, p = .041$ , respectively). The appraisal of character variable in the second scenario was positively correlated to appraisal of behavior ( $r = .20, p = .011$ ), appraisal of character ( $r = .27, p = .001$ ), and probability of own compliance ( $r = .17, p = .030$ ) in the fourth scenario. The overall functionality measures in both avoidant scenarios also emerged as significantly related to each other ( $r = .18, p = .021$ ).

There were also a number of significant correlations between the measures of functionality among the anxious and avoidant scenarios. The probability of own compliance variable in the first scenario was positively correlated to the same variable in the second scenario ( $r = .17, p = .028$ ). The appraisal of behavior variable in the third scenario was significantly negatively correlated to the same variable ( $r =$

-.21,  $p = .008$ ) in the fourth scenario. Aggregate probability of own compliance variables for both anxious and avoidant scenarios were significantly positively correlated with each other ( $r = .16, p = .038$ ).

Overall, the correlational analyses revealed that the different measures devised to assess the evaluations of insecure attachment behavior had strong positive correlations with each other within all scenarios. Moreover, significant positive correlations were identified between these measures across corresponding scenarios (i.e., the anxious and avoidant pairs). These results, showing that the evaluations converge within each scenario and across similar scenarios, provide evidence for the reliability of both the different measures of insecure attachment behavior and the vignettes employed to illustrate these behaviors.

**Table 3.3.2.1. Bivariate Correlation Analyses**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Avoidance													
2 Anxiety	.13												
3 App Beh 1	-.05	.06											
4 App Cha 1	-.03	.07	.76***										
5 Prob Comp 1	-.04	.17*	.74***	.68***									
6 Overall Func 1	-.04	.12	.92***	.87***	.91***								
7 App Beh 2	-.01	.08	.03	.03	.01	.03							
8 App Cha 2	.03	.07	.00	.08	-.02	.01	.84***						
9 Prob Comp 2	.00	.13	.08	.09	.17*	.13	.85***	.78***					
10 Overall Func 2	.00	.10	.04	.07	.07	.07	.96***	.91***	.95***				
11 App Beh 3	-.04	.04	.34***	.34***	.23**	.33***	-.12	-.09	-.05	-.09			
12 App Cha 3	-.06	.03	.32***	.52***	.33***	.41***	-.03	.02	.02	.00	.78***		
13 Prob Comp 3	.03	.18*	.29***	.39***	.49***	.44***	.01	.04	.13	.07	.67***	.70***	
14 Overall Func 3	-.02	.10	.35***	.45***	.40***	.43***	-.05	-.01	.04	-.01	.91***	.90***	.90***

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, overall functionality (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

**Table 3.3.2.1. Bivariate Correlation Analyses (Continued)**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
15 App Beh 4	-.09	.07	-.08	-.08	.03	-.04	.19*	.20*	.12	.18*	-.21**	-.10	-.09
16 App Cha 4	-.11	.02	-.01	.02	.05	.02	.15	.27**	.13	.18*	-.14	.00	-.06
17 Prob Comp 4	-.09	.07	.00	.02	.12	.06	.11	.17*	.16*	.15	-.10	.00	.00
18 Overall Func 4	-.10	.06	-.04	-.02	.07	.01	.16*	.22**	.15	.18*	-.16*	-.04	-.05
19 Agg App Beh Anx	-.05	.07	.82***	.67***	.59***	.76***	-.06	-.06	.02	-.03	.82***	.67***	.59***
20 Agg App Cha Anx	-.05	.06	.61***	.86***	.57***	.72***	.00	.06	.06	.04	.65***	.89***	.64***
21 Agg Prob Comp Anx	-.01	.20*	.60***	.62***	.87***	.78***	.02	.01	.18*	.08	.52***	.60***	.86***
22 Agg Overall Func Anx	-.04	.13	.75***	.78***	.77***	.85***	-.02	.00	.10	.04	.73***	.77***	.79***
23 Agg App Beh Avo	-.06	.09	-.04	-.04	.03	-.01	.77***	.67***	.63***	.74***	-.21**	-.08	-.05
24 Agg App Cha Avo	-.06	.05	-.01	.06	.02	.02	.63***	.80***	.57***	.69***	-.14	.01	-.01
25 Agg Prob Comp Avo	-.06	.13	.06	.07	.19*	.12	.64***	.63***	.77***	.73***	-.10	.01	.09
26 Agg Overall Func Avo	-.06	.10	.01	.03	.09	.05	.73***	.74***	.72***	.77***	-.16*	-.02	.01

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, overall functionality (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

**Table 3.3.2.1. Bivariate Correlation Analyses (Continued)**

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
15 App Beh 4	-.15											
16 App Cha 4	-.08	.83***										
17 Prob Comp 4	-.04	.85***	.76***									
18 Overall Func 4	-.10	.96***	.90***	.94***								
19 Agg App Beh Anx	.77***	-.18*	-.09	-.06	-.12							
20 Agg App Cha Anx	.78***	-.10	.01	.01	-.04	.77***						
21 Agg Prob Comp Anx	.74***	-.04	.00	.07	.01	.68***	.70***					
22 Agg Overall Func Anx	.85***	-.11	-.03	.01	-.05	.90***	.89***	.90***				
23 Agg App Beh Avo	-.13	.77***	.63***	.62***	.73***	-.15	-.07	-.01	-.09			
24 Agg App Cha Avo	-.06	.64***	.79***	.58***	.70***	-.09	.04	.01	-.02	.82***		
25 Agg Prob Comp Avo	.00	.63***	.58***	.76***	.71***	-.03	.05	.16*	.07	.82**	.76***	
26 Agg Overall Func Avo	-.07	.73***	.70***	.71***	.76***	-.10	.00	.06	-.01	.95***	.90***	.93***

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, overall functionality (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

### 3.3.2.2. Categorical Measures: Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) and Chi Square Analyses

The hypotheses were first tested via employing a series of analyses of variance (ANOVA) for each continuous outcome variable and chi square analyses for each discrete outcome variable, where prime type and attachment styles were entered as the independent variables. The first independent variable, prime type, had two levels - independence and interdependence. The participants were randomly assigned to one of these two experimental conditions. The second independent variable, attachment style had four levels - secure, dismissing, preoccupied, and fearful. The participants were categorized into these four attachment groups by using K means cluster analysis on the two dimensions of the ECR, namely attachment avoidance and anxiety. Table 3.3.2.2 illustrates the resulting sample size characteristics of each experimental condition with respect to different attachment styles. Next, the significant results yielded by these analyses will be presented.

**Table 3.3.2.2 Outlook of the Experimental Conditions**

Attachment Style	Prime Type		
	Independence	Interdependence	
Secure	$N = 24$	$N = 26$	$\Sigma = 50$
Dismissing	$N = 21$	$N = 21$	$\Sigma = 42$
Preoccupied	$N = 24$	$N = 12$	$\Sigma = 36$
Fearful	$N = 13$	$N = 23$	$\Sigma = 36$
	$\Sigma = 82$	$\Sigma = 82$	$\Sigma = 164$

#### 3.3.2.2.1. Prime Type Main Effects

First, the main effects of prime type (independent vs. interdependent) on each outcome variable were tested by entering prime type as the sole independent variable. It was predicted that anxious/sentinel behaviors (depicted in scenarios 1 and 3) would be evaluated as more functional under the interdependence prime; while avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors (depicted in scenarios 2 and 4) would be evaluated as more functional under the independence prime. However, as seen in

Table 3.3.2.2.1.1, no significant differences emerged in any of the continuous outcome variables with respect to prime type, failing to render support to Hypothesis 1. None of the discrete variables emerged as significantly related to prime type in the chi-square analyses (see Table 3.3.2.2.1.2).

**Table 3.3.2.2.1.1. Prime Type Main Effects on the Continuous Outcome Variables**

Variables	Prime Type				F
	Independence (n = 82)		Interdependence (n = 82)		
	M	SD	M	SD	
App Beh 1	3.82	1.55	3.87	1.49	.05
App Cha 1	4.14	1.11	4.13	.92	.00
Prob Comp 1	3.80	1.64	3.65	1.72	.33
Overall Func 1	3.92	1.30	3.88	1.25	.03
App Beh 2	3.72	1.69	3.60	1.65	.21
App Cha 2	3.52	1.18	3.46	1.12	.12
Prob Comp 2	3.50	1.75	3.42	1.76	.09
Overall Func 2	3.58	1.44	3.49	1.42	.15
App Beh 3	3.60	1.62	3.48	1.44	.28
App Cha 3	4.20	1.13	4.04	1.08	.87
Prob Comp 3	3.40	1.54	3.27	1.74	.26
Overall Func 3	3.73	1.32	3.59	1.25	.48
App Beh 4	3.83	1.70	3.66	1.64	.46
App Cha 4	3.77	1.10	3.58	1.13	1.30
Prob Comp 4	3.58	1.66	3.44	1.76	.25
Overall Func 4	3.73	1.39	3.56	1.42	.60
Agg App Beh Anx	3.71	1.28	3.67	1.23	.03
Agg App Cha Anx	4.17	1.01	4.08	.84	.35
Agg Prob Comp Anx	3.60	1.36	3.46	1.51	.39
Agg Overall Func Anx	3.83	1.11	3.74	1.06	.27
Agg App Beh Avo	3.78	1.29	3.63	1.28	.54
Agg App Cha Avo	3.65	.89	3.52	.92	.86
Agg Prob Comp Avo	3.54	1.30	3.43	1.33	.27
Agg Overall Func Avo	3.66	1.08	3.53	1.10	.57

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, overall functionality (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

**Table 3.3.2.2.1.2. Prime Type Main Effects on the Discrete Outcome Variables**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Chi-Square</b>	<b>df*</b>	<b><i>p</i></b>
Outcome 1	.03	1	.857
Outcome 2	.03	1	.873
Outcome 3	.07	1	.400
Outcome 4	.01	1	.998
Agg Outcome Anx	3.33	2	.190
Agg Outcome Avo	.03	2	.984

\*degree of freedom

**Variables:** outcome (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

### **3.3.2.2.2. Attachment Style Main Effects**

Next, the main effects of attachment style (secure, dismissing, preoccupied, and fearful) on each outcome variable were tested by entering attachment style as the sole independent variable. In accordance with Hypothesis 2, it was predicted that participants who are high on attachment anxiety would evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors (depicted in scenarios 1 and 3) as more functional; whereas people who are high on attachment avoidance would evaluate avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors (depicted in scenarios 2 and 4) as more functional. As seen in Table 3.3.2.2.2.1, significant main effects of attachment styles emerged for appraisal of behavior ( $F(3, 160) = 4.28, p = .006, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .07$ ), appraisal of character ( $F(3, 160) = 3.21, p = .025, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .06$ ), and overall functionality ( $F(3, 160) = 3.42, p = .019, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .06$ ) in scenario 1; appraisal of behavior ( $F(3, 160) = 2.56, p = .057, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .05$ ) and appraisal of character ( $F(3, 160) = 3.99, p = .009, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .07$ ) in scenario 3; and aggregate appraisal of behavior ( $F(3, 160) = 4.91, p = .003, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .08$ ), aggregate appraisal of character ( $F(3, 160) = 4.71, p = .004, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .08$ ), and aggregate overall functionality ( $F(3, 160) = 3.72, p = .013, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .07$ ) in all anxious scenarios.

Lending partial support to Hypothesis 2, post-doc analyses revealed that participants with dismissing attachment styles reported significantly lower functionality scores for the anxious/sentinel behavior ( $M = 3.29; M = 3.80; M = 3.46; M = 3.08; M = 3.72; M = 3.18; M = 3.76; M = 3.38$ ) as compared to secure ( $M =$

4.15;  $M = 4.33$ ;  $M = 4.08$ ;  $M = 3.92$ ;  $M = 4.44$ ;  $M = 4.03$ ;  $M = 4.39$ ;  $M = 4.00$ ) and fearful participants ( $M = 4.31$ ;  $M = 4.40$ ;  $M = 4.29$ ;  $M = 3.68$ ;  $M = 4.28$ ;  $M = 4.00$ ;  $M = 4.34$ ;  $M = 4.06$ ) on all of the outcome variables that were significantly affected by attachment style, i.e., appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, and overall functionality in scenario 1; appraisal of behavior and appraisal of character in scenario 3; and aggregate appraisal of behavior, aggregate appraisal of character, and aggregate overall functionality in all anxious scenarios. Preoccupied participants did not report significantly more favorable evaluations for the anxious/sentinel behavior, which did not support the hypothesis. Unexpectedly, they reported lower functionality scores ( $M = 3.60$ ) than fearful participants ( $M = 4.31$ ) on the appraisal of behavior in scenario 1. They also scored lower ( $M = 3.95$ ;  $M = 3.51$ ;  $M = 3.98$ ) than secure participants ( $M = 4.44$ ;  $M = 4.03$ ;  $M = 4.39$ ) on the appraisal of character in scenario 3, aggregate appraisal of behavior anxiety, and aggregate appraisal of behavior anxiety in all anxious scenarios.

**Table 3.3.2.2.1. Attachment Style Main Effects on the Continuous Outcome Variables**

Variables	Attachment Style								F
	Secure (n = 50)		Dismissing (n = 42)		Preoccupied (n = 36)		Fearful (n = 36)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
App Beh 1	4.15 <sub>ac</sub>	1.51	3.29 <sub>b</sub>	1.42	3.60 <sub>bc</sub>	1.57	4.31 <sub>a</sub>	1.38	4.28**
App Cha 1	4.33 <sub>a</sub>	.91	3.80 <sub>b</sub>	1.02	4.02 <sub>ab</sub>	1.08	4.40 <sub>a</sub>	1.00	3.21*
Prob Comp 1	3.77	1.50	3.29	1.66	3.71	1.86	4.17	1.68	1.80
Overall Func 1	4.08 <sub>a</sub>	1.17	3.46 <sub>b</sub>	1.24	3.78 <sub>ab</sub>	1.36	4.29 <sub>a</sub>	1.22	3.42*
App Beh 2	3.47	1.78	3.60	1.75	3.82	1.55	3.83	1.52	.47
App Cha 2	3.36	1.15	3.53	1.17	3.52	1.18	3.60	1.11	.35
Prob Comp 2	3.19	1.93	3.31	1.69	3.72	1.82	3.74	1.43	1.07
Overall Func 2	3.34	1.54	3.48	1.45	3.69	1.40	3.73	1.29	.67
App Beh 3	3.92 <sub>a</sub>	1.58	3.08 <sub>b</sub>	1.37	3.41 <sub>ab</sub>	1.70	3.68 <sub>ab</sub>	1.36	2.56†
App Cha 3	4.44 <sub>a</sub>	1.16	3.72 <sub>b</sub>	.90	3.95 <sub>bc</sub>	1.20	4.28 <sub>ac</sub>	1.02	3.99**
Prob Comp 3	3.38	1.80	3.07	1.45	3.41	1.70	3.52	1.59	.54
Overall Func 3	3.91	1.41	3.29	1.05	3.59	1.41	3.83	1.16	2.10
App Beh 4	3.83	1.82	3.55	1.54	3.72	1.74	3.88	1.56	.32
App Cha 4	3.82	1.20	3.53	1.00	3.60	1.15	3.72	1.13	.61
Prob Comp 4	3.59	1.85	3.26	1.64	3.36	1.81	3.83	1.46	.86
Overall Func 4	3.75	1.55	3.45	1.29	3.56	1.47	3.81	1.28	.58
Agg App Beh Anx	4.03 <sub>a</sub>	1.03	3.18 <sub>b</sub>	1.17	3.51 <sub>bc</sub>	1.41	4.00 <sub>ac</sub>	1.25	4.91**
Agg App Cha Anx	4.39 <sub>a</sub>	.81	3.76 <sub>b</sub>	.82	3.98 <sub>bc</sub>	1.04	4.34 <sub>ac</sub>	.95	4.71**
Agg Prob Comp Anx	3.57	1.30	3.18	1.37	3.56	1.63	3.84	1.45	1.43
Agg Overall Func Anx	4.00 <sub>a</sub>	.93	3.38 <sub>b</sub>	1.00	3.68 <sub>ab</sub>	1.24	4.06 <sub>a</sub>	1.09	3.72*
Agg App Beh Avo	3.65	1.32	3.58	1.34	3.77	1.20	3.86	1.29	.37
Agg App Cha Avo	3.59	.87	3.53	.88	3.56	.93	3.66	.98	.15
Agg Prob Comp Avo	3.39	1.39	3.29	1.29	3.54	1.38	3.79	1.16	1.06
Agg Overall Func Avo	3.55	1.10	3.46	1.10	3.62	1.09	3.77	1.07	.55

† $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety, appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, overall functionality (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

Chi-square tests revealed that among the discrete dependent variables, only the aggregate outcome in all anxious scenarios was marginally significantly related to attachment styles ( $\chi^2(6) = 10.84, p = .093$ ) (see Table 3.3.2.2.2.2).

**Table 3.3.2.2.2. Attachment Style Main Effects on the Discrete Outcome Variables**

Variables	Chi-Square	df*	<i>p</i>
Outcome 1	4.15	3	.246
Outcome 2	2.48	3	.479
Outcome 3	2.46	3	.482
Outcome 4	1.01	3	.798
Agg Outcome Anx	10.84	6	.093
Agg Outcome Avo	8.54	6	.201

\*degree of freedom

**Variables:** outcome (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

As seen in Table 3.3.2.2.2.3, dismissing participants were marginally significantly more likely to evaluate the outcome in all anxious scenarios as dysfunctional as compared to random chance ( $z = 1.90, p = .057$ ) and less likely to evaluate the same scenarios as moderately functional as compared to random chance ( $z = -1.69, p = .091$ ), rendering support to Hypothesis 2. Secure participants were found to be significantly more likely to evaluate the outcome in all anxious scenarios as moderately functional as compared to random chance ( $z = 2.37, p = .018$ )

**Table 3.3.2.2.3. Attachment Style Main Effects on Aggregate Outcome Anxiety**

Attachment Style		Aggregate Outcome Anxiety			
		0	1	2	Total
Secure	Count	28.00	21.00	1.00	50.00
	Expected Count	32.01	14.63	3.35	50.00
	z-score	-1.42	2.37	-1.60	
	p-value	.156	.018	.110	
Dismissing	Count	32.00	8.00	2.00	42.00
	Expected Count	26.89	12.29	2.82	42.00
	z-score	1.90	-1.69	-0.58	
	p-value	.057	.091	.562	
Preoccupied	Count	23.00	10.00	3.00	36.00
	Expected Count	23.05	10.54	2.42	36.00
	z-score	-.02	-.22	.44	
	p-value	.984	.826	.660	
Fearful	Count	22.00	9.00	5.00	36.00
	Expected Count	23.05	10.54	2.42	36.00
	z-score	-.41	-.64	1.95	
	p-value	.682	.522	.051	
Total	Count	105.00	48.00	11.00	164.00
	Expected Count	105.00	48.00	11.00	164.00

**3.3.2.2.3. Prime Type and Attachment Style Interaction Effects**

In order to test the third hypothesis, stating that the chronic attachment tendencies of individuals will interact with the cultural value priming on determining their evaluations of insecure attachment behavior, the interaction effects of prime type and attachment style on the outcome variables were investigated next.

The ANOVAs revealed significant interaction effects of prime type and attachment style on appraisal of character in scenario 3 ( $F(7, 156) = 2.20, p = .037$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .09$ ), aggregate appraisal of behavior ( $F(7, 156) = 2.21, p = .037$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .09$ ) and aggregate appraisal of character ( $F(7, 156) = 2.38, p = .024$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .10$ ) in all anxious scenarios; and marginally significant interaction effects on appraisal of behavior ( $F(7, 156) = 1.94, p = .066$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .08$ ), appraisal of character ( $F(7, 156) = 1.84, p = .083$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .08$ ), and overall functionality ( $F$

(7, 156) = 1.80,  $p = .091$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .08$ ) in scenario 1, and aggregate overall functionality in all anxious scenarios ( $F(7, 156) = 1.81, p = .089$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .08$ ).

As seen in Table 3.3.2.2.3.1, neither dismissing nor preoccupied participants differed in their evaluations of avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight and anxious/sentinel behaviors with respect to different priming conditions, failing to provide support for Hypothesis 3. In partial support of Hypothesis 3a, dismissing participants reported lower functionality scores ( $M = 3.14; M = 3.61; M = 3.30; M = 3.79; M = 3.21; M = 3.70; M = 3.32$ ) as compared to secure ( $M = 4.31; M = 4.44; M = 4.31; M = 4.49; M = 4.00; M = 4.46; M = 4.11$ ) and fearful participants ( $M = 4.40; M = 4.62; M = 4.43; M = 4.35; M = 4.12; M = 4.49; M = 4.17$ ) in their evaluations of the anxious/sentinel behaviors (depicted in scenarios 1 and 3) on numerous measures, namely appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, and overall functionality in scenario 1; appraisal of character in scenario 3; aggregate appraisal of behavior, aggregate appraisal of character, and aggregate overall functionality in all anxious scenarios, only when they were under the independence prime. The same finding was observed only for aggregate appraisal of behavior anxiety under the interdependence prime. These findings also lend support to Hypothesis 2 in suggesting that people who are high on attachment avoidance evaluate typical anxious behavior as worse when compared to people with other attachment styles. And this effect seems to be more pronounced when they are in an individualist mind set, which is congruent with their own attachment style, supporting Hypothesis 3a.

Chi-square analyses showed that none of the discrete variables were significantly related to the interaction term of prime type and attachment styles (see Table 3.3.2.2.3.2).

**Table 3.3.2.2.3.1. Prime Type and Attachment Style Interaction Effects on the Continuous Outcome Variables**

Attachment Style	App Beh 1		App Cha 1		Overall Func 1		App Cha 3	
	Prime Type		Prime Type		Prime Type		Prime Type	
	Indep	Interdep	Indep	Interdep	Indep	Interdep	Indep	Interdep
Secure	(n = 24)	(n = 26)	(n = 24)	(n = 26)	(n = 24)	(n = 26)	(n = 24)	(n = 26)
<i>M</i>	4.31 <sub>a</sub>	4.00 <sub>a</sub>	4.44 <sub>a</sub>	4.23 <sub>a</sub>	4.31 <sub>a</sub>	3.87 <sub>a</sub>	4.49 <sub>a</sub>	4.41 <sub>a</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.36	1.64	.85	.96	.93	1.33	1.08	1.24
Dismissing	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)
<i>M</i>	3.14 <sub>b</sub>	3.43 <sub>ab</sub>	3.61 <sub>b</sub>	3.99 <sub>ab</sub>	3.30 <sub>b</sub>	3.62 <sub>ab</sub>	3.79 <sub>b</sub>	3.65 <sub>b</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.59	1.25	1.20	.78	1.43	1.04	1.02	.78
Preoccupied	(n = 24)	(n = 12)	(n = 24)	(n = 12)	(n = 24)	(n = 12)	(n = 24)	(n = 12)
<i>M</i>	3.59 <sub>ab</sub>	3.61 <sub>a</sub>	4.06 <sub>ab</sub>	3.93 <sub>a</sub>	3.79 <sub>ab</sub>	3.74 <sub>a</sub>	4.18 <sub>ab</sub>	3.50 <sub>b</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.51	1.75	1.05	1.19	1.30	1.55	1.16	1.20
Fearful	(n = 13)	(n = 23)	(n = 13)	(n = 23)	(n = 13)	(n = 23)	(n = 13)	(n = 23)
<i>M</i>	4.40 <sub>a</sub>	4.26 <sub>a</sub>	4.62 <sub>a</sub>	4.27 <sub>a</sub>	4.43 <sub>a</sub>	4.21 <sub>a</sub>	4.35 <sub>ab</sub>	4.25 <sub>ab</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.48	1.34	1.22	.86	1.32	1.19	1.26	.89

Attachment Style	Agg App Beh Anx		Agg App Cha Anx		Agg Overall Func Anx	
	Prime Type		Prime Type		Prime Type	
	Indep	Interdep	Indep	Interdep	Indep	Interdep
Secure	(n = 24)	(n = 26)	(n = 24)	(n = 26)	(n = 24)	(n = 26)
<i>M</i>	4.00 <sub>a</sub>	4.06 <sub>a</sub>	4.46 <sub>a</sub>	4.32 <sub>a</sub>	4.11 <sub>a</sub>	3.89 <sub>a</sub>
<i>SD</i>	.85	1.19	.76	.86	.75	1.08
Dismissing	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)	(n = 21)
<i>M</i>	3.21 <sub>b</sub>	3.15 <sub>b</sub>	3.70 <sub>b</sub>	3.82 <sub>ab</sub>	3.32 <sub>b</sub>	3.43 <sub>ab</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.33	1.01	.97	.65	1.14	.84
Preoccupied	(n = 24)	(n = 12)	(n = 24)	(n = 12)	(n = 24)	(n = 12)
<i>M</i>	3.63 <sub>ab</sub>	3.26 <sub>ab</sub>	4.12 <sub>ab</sub>	3.71 <sub>a</sub>	3.80 <sub>ab</sub>	3.46 <sub>a</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.41	1.42	1.05	1.02	1.22	1.31
Fearful	(n = 13)	(n = 23)	(n = 13)	(n = 23)	(n = 13)	(n = 23)
<i>M</i>	4.12 <sub>a</sub>	3.92 <sub>a</sub>	4.49 <sub>a</sub>	4.26 <sub>a</sub>	4.17 <sub>a</sub>	4.00 <sub>a</sub>
<i>SD</i>	1.41	1.18	1.21	.78	1.21	1.03

**Variables:** appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, and overall functionality for scenario 1; appraisal of character for scenario 3; aggregate appraisal of behavior and character, and overall functionality for all anxious scenarios

Note. Means which do not share any subscripts within each outcome variable both in the rows and in the columns are significantly different at  $p < .05$

**Table 3.3.2.2.3.2. Prime Type and Attachment Style Interaction Effects on the Discrete Outcome Variables**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Chi-Square</b>	<b>df*</b>	<b><i>p</i></b>
Outcome 1	7.99	7	.333
Outcome 2	9.89	7	.195
Outcome 3	8.81	7	.266
Outcome 4	5.12	7	.646
Agg Outcome Anx	19.04	14	.164
Agg Outcome Avo	20.18	14	.124

\*degree of freedom

**Variables:** outcome (for scenarios 1-4, all anxious scenarios, and all avoidant scenarios, respectively)

### **3.3.2.3. Continuous Measures: Hierarchical Regression Analyses**

Following the series of analyses of variance (ANOVA) and chi-square analyses that depicted the differences in the functionality evaluations between the experimental groups vis-à-vis the attachment styles, a series of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to investigate the effects of attachment dimensions as continuous measures. Since categorical analyses may result in the shrinkage of variance, and thus, decrease the power of analyses, hypotheses were also tested via continuous measures using hierarchical moderated regression analyses. In order to account for the effects of the two experimental conditions, a dummy coded variable, named prime, was created, and the participants who were primed with independence were coded as 1 and the participants who were primed with interdependence were coded as 2. In the analyses, following the procedures described by Aiken and West (1991), first the independent variables were mean-centered, and then two and three-way interaction terms were computed via multiplying centered variables with each other. Age was entered to the hierarchical regression analyses in the first step to control for its effects, attachment anxiety and avoidance and prime were entered in the second step, and finally the two and three-way interaction terms of attachment anxiety and avoidance and prime were entered in the third step. For purposes of simplicity, the standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), explained variances ( $R^2$  Change), and total explained variances ( $Adjusted R^2$ ) for

the final steps of those regression analyses where significant results emerged are presented in Table 3.3.2.3. Finally, in order to depict the significance and patterns of interactions, simple slope tests were employed and interactions between the variables were plotted by generating simple regression equations of a given dependent variable at low (i.e. one standard deviation below the mean) versus high (i.e. one standard deviation above the mean) levels of the independent variable, following the methods of Aiken and West (1991).

**Table 3.3.2.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses on Continuous Outcome Variables**

	App Beh 1	App Cha 1	Prob Comp 1	Overall Func 1	App Beh 2	Prob Comp 4	Agg App Beh Anx	Agg App Cha Anx	Agg Prob Comp Anx	Agg Overall Func Anx
<b>Step 3</b>										
<b>Variables</b>	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Age	.07	-.01	.07	.06	.21**	.13	.01	-.02	.04	.01
Avoidance (Avo)	.00	.03	-.03	-.01	-.04	-.11	-.01	.00	.00	.00
Anxiety (Anx)	.05	.05	.14 <sup>†</sup>	.10	.08	.08	.06	.04	.18*	.11
Prime	-.01	-.03	-.06	-.04	.00	-.04	-.04	-.07	-.06	-.06
Avo X Anx	.28**	.29***	.21*	.28**	-.05	.10	.24**	.24**	.19*	.24**
Prime X Avo	.05	.04	.07	.06	.09	-.02	-.01	.02	.08	.04
Prime X Anx	-.06	-.11	.02	-.04	.04	.14 <sup>†</sup>	-.09	-.07	-.01	-.06
Prime X Avo X Anx	-.17*	-.24**	-.08	-.17*	-.17*	-.01	-.12	-.17*	-.07	-.13
<b>F</b>	2.41*	2.93**	1.82 <sup>†</sup>	2.49*	2.17*	1.32	1.52	1.68	1.82 <sup>†</sup>	1.81 <sup>†</sup>
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Change</b>	.09	.13	.05	.09	.05	.03	.06	.07	.04	.06
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.07	.09	.04	.07	.05	.02	.03	.03	.04	.04

<sup>†</sup> $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Variables:** appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, and overall functionality for scenario 1; appraisal of behavior for scenario 2; probability of own compliance for scenario 4; aggregate appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, and overall functionality for all anxious scenarios

Significant three-way interaction effects of attachment avoidance and anxiety and prime were identified for both appraisal of behavior ( $\beta = -.17, p = .029$ ), appraisal of character ( $\beta = -.24, p = .002$ ), and overall functionality ( $\beta = -.17, p = .032$ ) for scenario 1. The simple slope test revealed that when the level of attachment avoidance was high and attachment anxiety was low (i.e., dismissing), participants who were primed with interdependence scored marginally significantly higher on appraisal of behavior ( $t(156) = 1.68, p = .094$ ) and significantly higher on appraisal of character ( $t(156) = 2.31, p = .022$ ) as compared to participants under the independence prime (see Figures 3.3.2.3.1 and 3.3.2.3.2). These results support Hypothesis 3b, in showing that people who are high on attachment avoidance indeed evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors as less dysfunctional when they are under the interdependence prime, as opposed to when they are under the independence prime. No significant slopes were identified for overall functionality in scenario 1. Unexpectedly, when both attachment avoidance and anxiety were high (i.e., fearful), participants under the independence prime evaluated appraisal of character in this scenario as more favorable ( $t(156) = -2.21, p = .028$ ) as compared to participants under the interdependence prime (see Figure 3.3.2.3.2).

For scenario 1, significant two-way interaction effects of attachment avoidance and anxiety were identified for appraisal of behavior ( $\beta = .28, p = .001$ ), appraisal of character ( $\beta = .29, p < .001$ ), probability of own compliance ( $\beta = .21, p = .012$ ), and overall functionality ( $\beta = .28, p = .001$ ). The simple slope tests revealed the same pattern for all these variables: When attachment anxiety is low, higher levels of attachment avoidance are related with lower scores of functionality ( $t(160) = -2.46, p = .015$ ;  $t(160) = -2.04, p = .043$ ;  $t(160) = -1.98, p = .050$ ;  $t(160) = -2.40, p = .018$ ) (see Figures 3.3.2.3.3, 3.3.2.3.4, 3.3.2.3.5, and 3.3.2.3.6). The same findings were replicated in measures of aggregate appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, and overall functionality in all anxious scenarios, where again significant two-way interaction effects of attachment avoidance and anxiety emerged ( $\beta = .24, p = .005$ ;  $\beta = .24, p = .005$ ;  $\beta = .19, p = .021$ ;  $\beta = .24, p = .003$ ); and simple slope tests showed that with low levels of attachment anxiety, as attachment avoidance increases, evaluations get worse in

aggregate appraisal of behavior, character, and overall functionality ( $t(160) = -2.14$ ,  $p = .034$ ;  $t(160) = -1.92$ ,  $p = .057$ ;  $t(160) = -2.07$ ,  $p = .040$ ) (see Figures 3.3.2.3.7, 3.3.2.3.8, and 3.3.2.3.9). No significant slopes were identified for aggregate probability of own compliance, yet attachment anxiety emerged as positively related to this measure on its own ( $\beta = .18$ ,  $p = .030$ ). When put together, these results support Hypothesis 2, by providing evidence that people who are high on attachment avoidance tend to evaluate typical anxious/sentinel behaviors as less functional.

As for scenario 2 (depicting avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior), a significant three-way interaction between attachment avoidance and anxiety, and prime was identified for appraisal of behavior ( $\beta = -.17$ ,  $p = .034$ ). The simple slope tests revealed that when both attachment avoidance and anxiety are low (i.e., secure), participants who were primed with independence scored significantly higher on their evaluations of functionality ( $t(156) = -2.10$ ,  $p = .038$ ) (see Figure 3.3.2.3.10). This result suggests that typical avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors are evaluated as more functional under the independence prime, hence support Hypothesis 1. A marginally significant two-way interaction of attachment anxiety and prime emerged for probability of own compliance in scenario 4 ( $\beta = .14$ ,  $p = .075$ ), yet no significant slopes were identified.

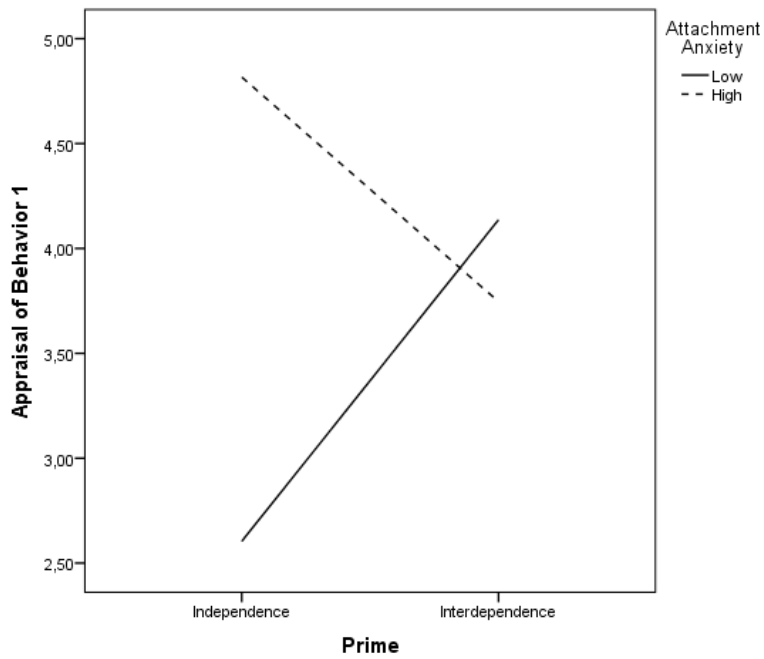


Figure 3.3.2.3.1. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Prime on Appraisal of Behavior in Scenario 1 when Attachment Avoidance is high

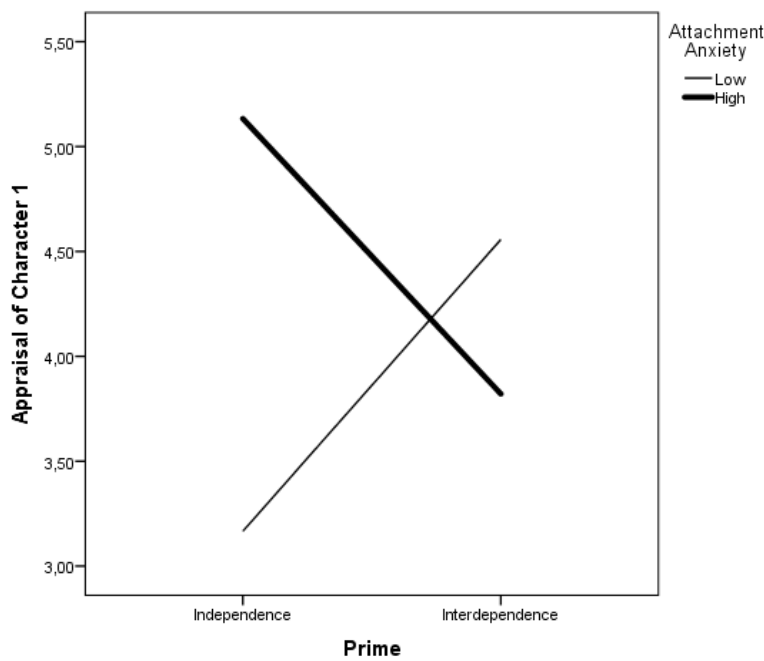


Figure 3.3.2.3.2. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Prime on Appraisal of Character in Scenario 1 when Attachment Avoidance is high

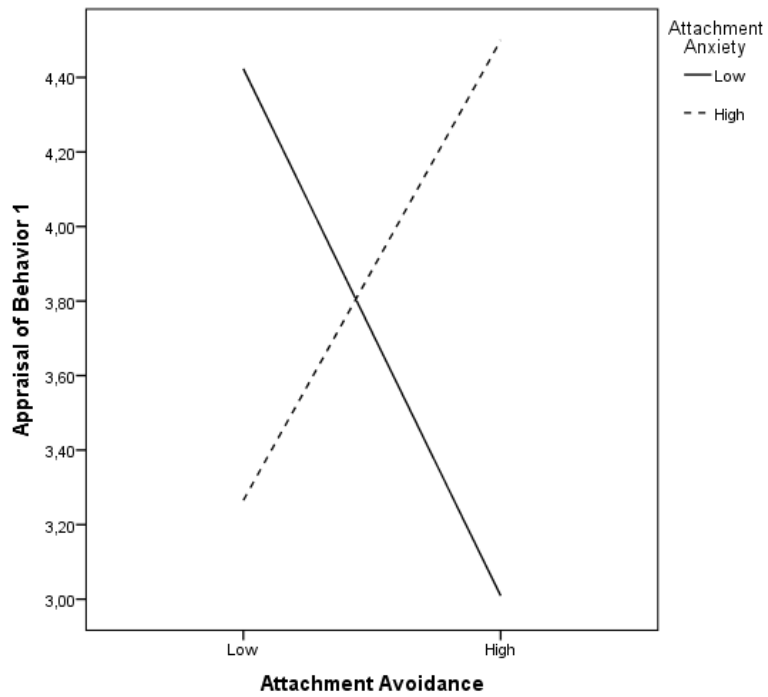


Figure 3.3.2.3.3. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Appraisal of Behavior in Scenario 1

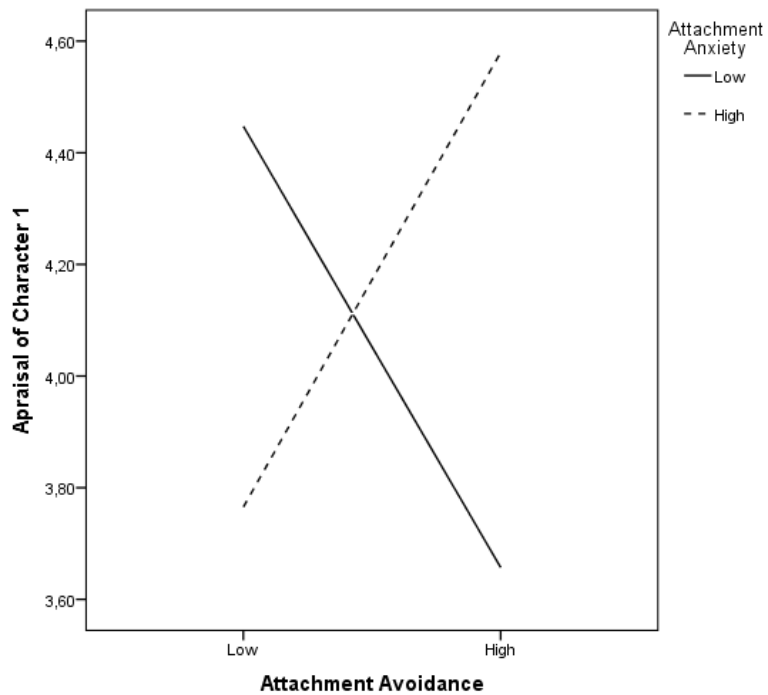


Figure 3.3.2.3.4. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Appraisal of Character in Scenario 1

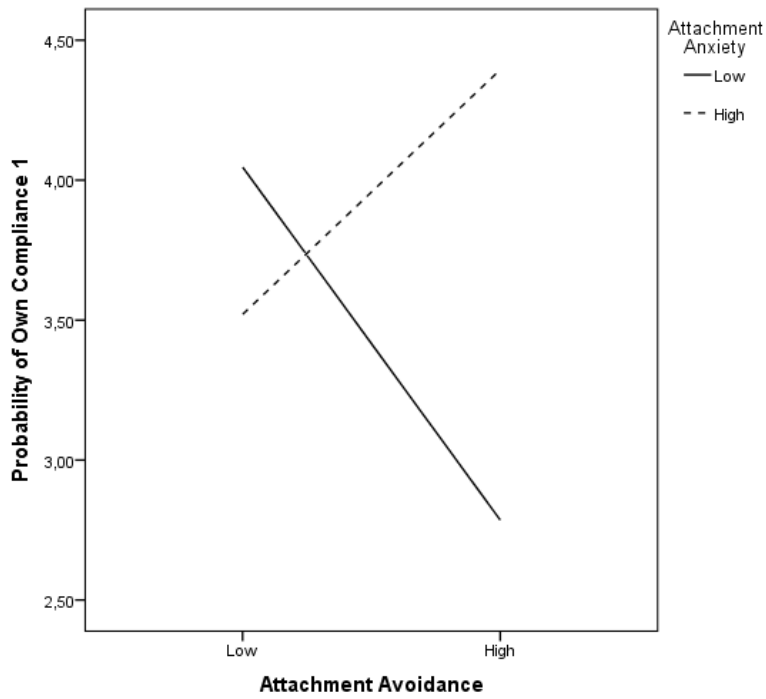


Figure 3.3.2.3.5. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Probability of Own Compliance in Scenario 1

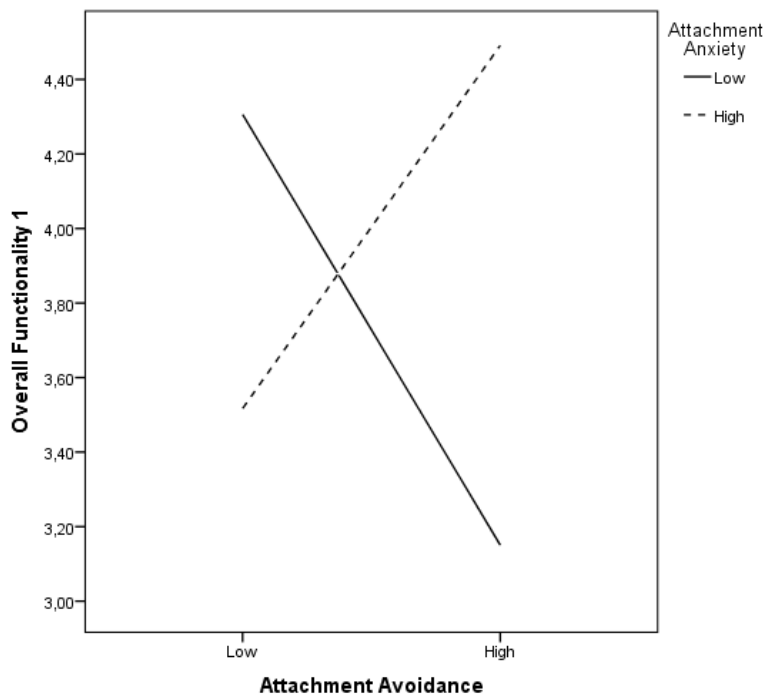


Figure 3.3.2.3.6. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Overall Functionality in Scenario 1

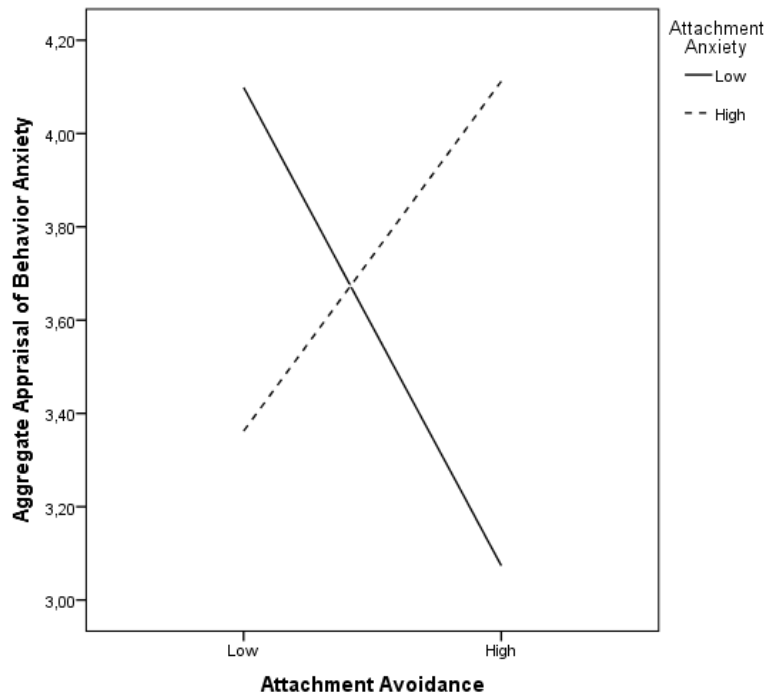


Figure 3.3.2.3.7. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Aggregate Appraisal of Behavior in all Anxious Scenarios

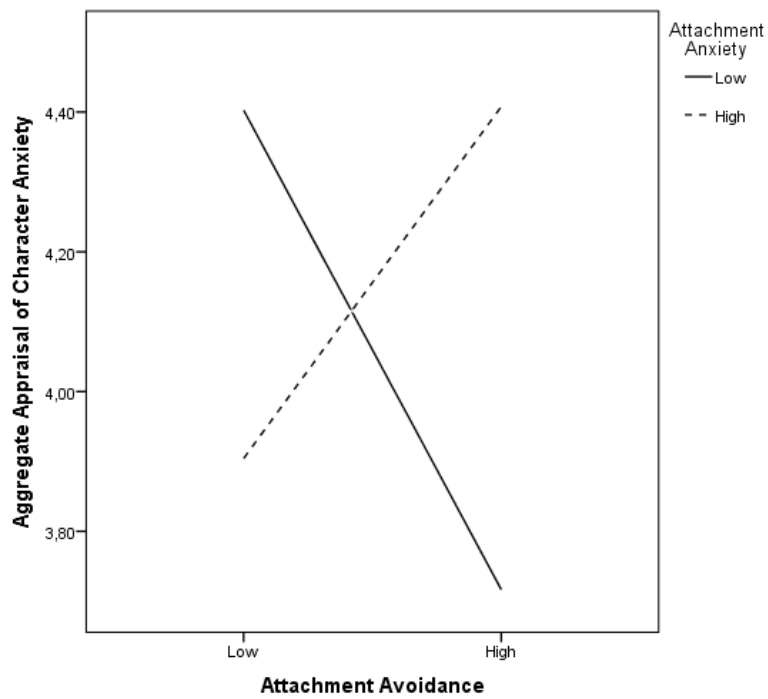


Figure 3.3.2.3.8. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Aggregate Appraisal of Character in all Anxious Scenarios

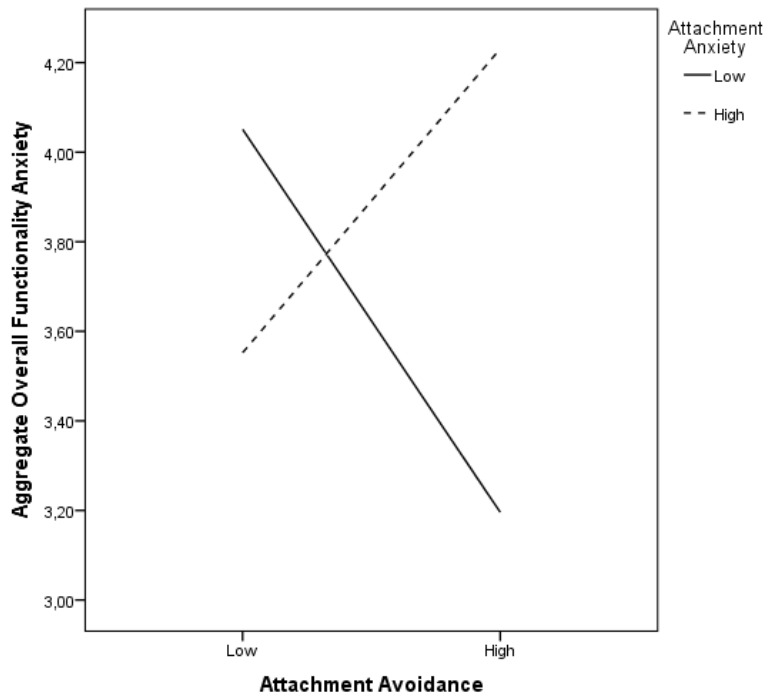


Figure 3.3.2.3.9. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance on Aggregate Overall Functionality in all Anxious Scenarios

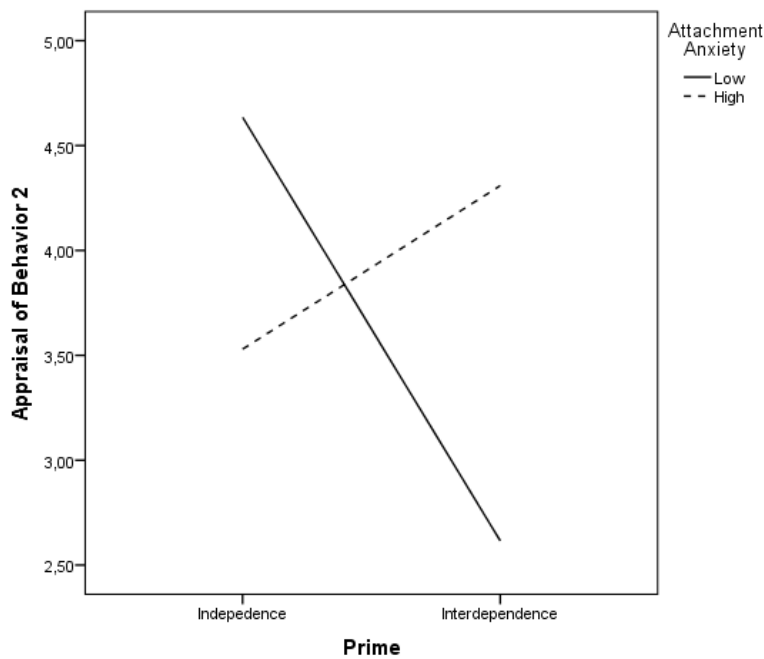


Figure 3.3.2.3.10. Interaction Effect of Attachment Anxiety and Prime on Appraisal of Behavior in Scenario 2 when Attachment Avoidance is low

#### 3.3.2.4. Differences among the Scenarios

In order to check if there were any systematic differences among the four scenarios, which could have confounded the results, a series of pair wise one sample t-tests were employed. As depicted in Table 3.3.2.4, with regards to appraisal of behavior in the four scenarios, only appraisal of behavior in scenario 1 ( $M = 3.84$ ) was evaluated as significantly more positively as compared to scenario 3 ( $M = 3.54$ ) ( $t(163) = 2.57, p = .011$ ). Appraisal of behavior in all the other scenarios and the aggregate appraisals in all anxious and avoidant scenarios were deemed as equal.

Appraisal of character in scenario 1 ( $M = 4.14$ ) and 3 ( $M = 4.12$ ) were deemed as equally positive, and both were deemed as significantly more positive than the appraisals in scenario 4 ( $M = 3.67$ ) ( $t(163) = 5.86, p < .001$ ;  $t(163) = 5.11, p < .001$ ) and scenario 2 ( $M = 3.49$ ) ( $t(163) = 8.17, p < .001$ ;  $t(163) = -6.99, p < .001$ ). The appraisal of character in scenario 4 ( $M = 3.67$ ) was also evaluated more positively than scenario 2 ( $M = 3.49$ ) ( $t(163) = -2.05, p = .042$ ). The aggregate appraisal of character in all anxious scenarios ( $M = 4.13$ ) were also deemed as more positive as compared to the aggregate outcome in all avoidant scenarios ( $M = 3.58$ ) ( $t(163) = 7.53, p < .001$ ).

With regards to probability of own compliance in the four scenarios, only probability of own compliance in scenario 1 ( $M = 3.72$ ) was evaluated as significantly more positively as compared to scenario 2 ( $M = 3.46$ ) ( $t(163) = 2.00, p = .047$ ) and 3 ( $M = 3.34$ ) ( $t(163) = 2.94, p = .004$ ), which were deemed equally positive. Probability of own compliance in all the other scenarios and the aggregate appraisals in all anxious and avoidant scenarios were deemed as equal.

Overall functionality in scenario 1 ( $M = 3.90$ ) was evaluated as significantly more positively as compared to all other scenarios ( $M = 3.54$ ;  $M = 3.66$ ;  $M = 3.64$ ) ( $t(163) = 3.66, p < .001$ ;  $t(163) = 2.39, p = .018$ ;  $t(163) = 2.60, p = .010$ ), which were deemed equally positive. Aggregate overall functionality was deemed as more positive in all anxious scenarios ( $M = 3.78$ ) as compared to all avoidant scenarios ( $M = 3.59$ ) ( $t(163) = 2.28, p = .024$ ).

When put together, these results suggest that anxious scenarios were evaluated as slightly more positive as compared to avoidant scenarios, which is to be

expected considering the sample was taken from an inherently collectivist culture. Yet, evidence suggests that there were not any systematic differences between the scenarios that could have confounded the results.

**Table 3.3.2.4. Differences among the Scenarios**

Variables	Scenario 1		Scenario 2		Scenario 3		Scenario 4	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Appraisal of Behavior	3.84 <sub>a</sub>	1.52	3.66 <sub>ab</sub>	1.66	3.54 <sub>b</sub>	1.53	3.75 <sub>ab</sub>	1.67
Appraisal of Character	4.14 <sub>a</sub>	1.02	3.49 <sub>b</sub>	1.15	4.12 <sub>a</sub>	1.11	3.67 <sub>c</sub>	1.12
Probability of Own Compliance	3.72 <sub>a</sub>	1.68	3.46 <sub>b</sub>	1.75	3.34 <sub>b</sub>	1.64	3.51 <sub>ab</sub>	1.71
Overall Functionality	3.90 <sub>a</sub>	1.27	3.54 <sub>b</sub>	1.43	3.66 <sub>b</sub>	1.28	3.64 <sub>b</sub>	1.40

Variables	All Anxious Scenarios		All Avoidant Scenarios	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Aggregate Appraisal of Behavior	3.69 <sub>a</sub>	1.25	3.71 <sub>a</sub>	1.29
Aggregate Appraisal of Character	4.13 <sub>a</sub>	.93	3.58 <sub>b</sub>	.90
Aggregate Probability of Own Compliance	3.53 <sub>a</sub>	1.43	3.49 <sub>a</sub>	1.32
Aggregate Overall Functionality	3.78 <sub>a</sub>	1.08	3.59 <sub>b</sub>	1.09

Note.

Means which do not share any subscripts across the scenarios for the variables appraisal of behavior, appraisal of character, probability of own compliance, and overall functionality are significantly different at  $p < .05$

### 3.3.2.5. Manipulation Check

The effects of the experimental manipulation were examined via an analysis of variance (ANOVA). Although the independence values scores of the experimental group that was primed with independence ( $M = 6.01$ ) was higher as compared to the group that was primed with interdependence ( $M = 5.88$ ); and the interdependence values scores of the experimental group that was primed with interdependence ( $M = 5.47$ ) was higher as compared to the group that was primed with independence ( $M = 5.41$ ); these differences failed to reach statistical significance. The fact that these independence and interdependence values are not entirely opposite to each other, but exist as orthogonal constructs (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004) could explain the absence of a significant difference. The plausible and expected interaction effects of prime type also suggest that the experimental manipulations worked in the anticipated directions.

### **3.3.2.6. Overview of the Results**

The overall results of the second study provided partial support to the general hypothesis that insecure attachment behaviors would be evaluated as more functional by the members of a culture, as long as they are compatible with the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within that cultural context.

Specifically, continuous analyses showed that secure participants evaluated behavior in avoidant scenarios as more functional when they were under the independence prime, lending support to Hypothesis 1, which stated that rapid fight-or-flight behaviors associated with avoidant attachment would be evaluated as more functional under an individualistic/independent cultural mindset.

The second hypothesis, which stated that people who are high on attachment anxiety would evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors as more functional; whereas people who are high on attachment avoidance would evaluate avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors as more functional, also received empirical support: Participants who scored high on attachment avoidance evaluated anxious scenarios as less positive as compared to other participants across a variety of measures.

Significant interaction effects of attachment style and prime type lend partial support to the third hypothesis suggesting that the chronic attachment tendencies of individuals would interact with the effect of cultural context on their evaluations of insecure attachment behavior. Hypothesis 3b, stating that a cultural context which is congruent with the specific insecure attachment behavior would have an attenuating effect on the negative appraisal on this behavior when it is incompatible with the individual's own attachment orientation, received considerable empirical support: On numerous measures, participants with high attachment avoidance evaluated the anxious/sentinel behaviors as less dysfunctional when they were under the interdependence prime; whereas they reported lower functionality scores in their evaluations of these behaviors when they were under the independence prime, supporting Hypothesis 3a, which stated that a cultural context which is congruent with the specific insecure attachment behavior would have an intensifying effect on the positive appraisal on this behavior when it is compatible with the individual's own attachment orientation.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DISCUSSION**

The overarching aim of the present dissertation was to investigate if insecure attachment can have any adaptive functions in relation to cultural context. In order to carry out this investigation, first a correlational study was conducted, where potential relationships between attachment orientations and cultural constructs were explored. Next, an experimental study was carried out to see if these relationships serve any adaptive functions for the members of a particular culture. In the following sections, first the findings of the present research will be summarized and discussed, then the contributions and implications will be presented, and finally the limitations will be addressed with suggestions for future research.

#### **4.1. Discussion of the Main Findings of the Present Research**

##### **4.1.1. Study 1**

Although it has been shown that the different forms of attachment insecurity (i.e., attachment avoidance and anxiety) vary among cultures in terms of prevalence (see Schmitt, 2010), no studies to date have investigated the direct links between attachment orientations and cultural values and mindsets. In an effort to fill this gap and lay the groundwork for the investigation of the potential adaptive functions of different forms of attachment insecurity in different cultural contexts, Study 1 explored the relationships between attachment dimensions and cultural constructs.

In line with the previous findings showing that attachment anxiety is more prevalent in collectivist cultures whereas attachment avoidance is more prevalent in individualist cultures (e.g., Sagi, van IJzendoorn, & Karie-Koren, 1991; Schmitt, 2010; Schmitt et al., 2004; van IJzendoorn & Kroonenberg, 1988), the American sample of the present study reported significantly higher attachment avoidance as compared to the Turkish sample and the Turkish sample reported significantly higher attachment anxiety as compared to the American sample. The Turkish participants

also reported significantly higher levels of attachment anxiety than attachment avoidance, a phenomenon well documented in previous Turkish samples (Sümer, 2014).

The overall results of this study supported the first hypothesis and showed that significant relationships between attachment orientations and cultural constructs indeed exist, where attachment avoidance is significantly related to an individualist/independent mindset and attachment anxiety is significantly related to a collectivist/relational mindset in both collectivist (Turkish) and individualist (American) cultural settings.

Supporting the first hypothesis, measures of collectivism, such as interdependence values, harmony control, horizontal collectivism, and communal values, emerged as negatively related to attachment avoidance in both Turkish and American samples. Avoidance has also been negatively linked to vertical collectivism, another measure of collectivism, in the American sample. Also, in line with predictions, avoidance has been positively linked to measures of individualism, such as vertical individualism in the American sample, and agentic values in the Turkish sample. Lending further support to the first hypothesis, attachment anxiety emerged as both positively related to measures of collectivism, such as vertical collectivism and communal goals, and negatively related to measures of individualism, such as desirability of control, in both Turkish and American samples. Attachment anxiety also emerged as positively related to interdependence values, harmony control, and horizontal collectivism, all measures of collectivism, in the Turkish sample; and negatively related to horizontal individualism, a measure of individualism, in the American sample.

When put together, these results suggest that compulsive self-reliance in interpersonal relationships also goes hand in hand with individualist tendencies when it comes to cultural worldviews. In a similar vein, people who have a widespread fear of being rejected or abandoned also feel the need to be more relational, and value the goals of the group above their own. These results are in line with Schmitt and colleagues' (2004) findings, which showed that national levels of attachment anxiety are negatively correlated with measures of individualism. Other researchers have also

found positive associations between attachment anxiety and measures of collectivism and interdependence (e.g., Agishtein & Brumbaugh, 2013; Cheng & Kwan, 2008; You & Malley-Morrison, 2000). These findings also make theoretical sense: Attachment anxiety, which entails dependence on others and a desire to be enmeshed with them, logically relates to collectivist values of inter-connectedness, seeing oneself as part of the group, and maintaining the harmony of the group; while attachment avoidance, which involves compulsive self-reliance and evasion of intimacy, naturally relates to individualist values of independence, autonomy, and large personal space (Sorensen & Oyserman, 2010). A recent finding by Ein-Dor, Reizer, Shaver, and Dotan (2012) corroborates this logic in showing that attachment avoidance predicts better performance in fields that require independence and self-reliance.

The fact that these patterns were identified largely regardless of cultural setting offered further support to the first hypothesis. The results of this study offer preliminary support to the idea that the relationships between attachment anxiety and an interdependent/relational mindset and attachment avoidance and an independent/individualist mindset may be universal. Although different cultures reflecting different values vary in their distribution of insecure attachment due to the fact that the key factors in attachment formation, such as the content of mother-child interaction, diverge as a function of culture (e.g., Leyendecker, Lamb, Scholmerich, & Fricke, 1997; Posada et al., 2002), the findings of this study suggest that the latent relationships between attachment orientations and cultural values may be valid universally.

This study also incorporated implicit cultural constructs, such as harmony control and desirability of control to investigate the possible relationships between attachment orientations and cultural values at a deeper level. The results derived from these measures were corroborative with the other, more frequently used measures of cultural values, such as individualism/collectivism, and independence/interdependence scales: While harmony control was positively associated with attachment anxiety and negatively associated with attachment avoidance, desirability of control emerged as positively related with attachment

avoidance and negatively related with attachment anxiety. These results are quite intuitive in the sense that relinquishing control to forces other than the self (e.g., a higher power, other people, or the social context), as measured by harmony control, can be very functional in a collectivist cultural setting, where belief in a higher power is very prevalent and uncertainty is a fact of life. Similarly, it is rather adaptive for individuals who are high on attachment anxiety to regulate their hypervigilance through endorsing culturally accepted collectivist values by adopting this harmony control mindset and facing less adverse consequences by fitting the cultural atmosphere, i.e., be more functional (Friedman et al., 2010). In a similar vein, in an individualist cultural context where each member of the society is expected to stand up for him/herself and take control of his/her life without relying on other members of the society, it is adaptive for individuals with high attachment avoidance to deactivate their need for affiliation and rather seek alternatives of personal salvation and ultimately cultivate a domineering motivation for personally controlling events in one's life, rather than depending on others, who have been chronically unavailable anyway.

Contrary to expectations, vertical individualism and agentic values emerged as positively related to attachment anxiety in both Turkish and American cultures, both effects were more pronounced in the American sample. As vertical individualism and agentic values measure the extent to which an individual wants to be better than others in competitive settings and assert one's agency, these findings might suggest that anxious individuals may want to push themselves to be better than the others to combat with the chronic hypervigilance they suffer from. The negative model of self that typifies anxious individuals might drive them to try to perform better than others to compensate for their feelings of not being worthy of love and support. Similar findings have been recorded by Lee and Sawang (2016) where participants high on anxiety were revealed to be more likely to perceive intergroup competition in a project team setting and to be more willing to put more resources in outperforming competitors. The fact that this finding of the present study seems to be more prominent in the American sample, an individualist setting, where such competitive acts are valued more highly, lends support to the functionality argument

of attachment insecurity. Individuals high on attachment anxiety may be trying to buffer the negative effects of their hypervigilance in an individualistic culture that does not approve of dependence and clinginess, by trying to assert themselves by adopting agentic and competitive values, which are more acceptable. In a culture where their dominant need to be enmeshed with close others is not approved of, anxious individuals may try to overcome the stress of having a negative model of self by trying to adopt more acceptable values, such as differentiating the self from others in a competitive manner and asserting the self as an independent agent. Although these are plausible arguments for the interpretation of this unexpected finding, further research is needed to better construe the mechanisms of this relationship. Another unexpected finding emerged in the Turkish sample, a number of individualism values, namely, independence, desirability of control, and horizontal individualism emerged as negatively related to attachment avoidance. Possibly, these individualist values, which are highly dysfunctional in a collectivist/relational setting, are not endorsed by even those members of the culture who have individual relational tendencies that favor these values.

In addition to these linear relationships between attachment orientations and cultural values, significant non-linear relationships also emerged between the said variables. Several measures of collectivism, namely, interdependence values, harmony control, and vertical collectivism, were associated with attachment anxiety in quadratic relationships, where moderate levels of attachment anxiety emerged as related to higher levels of these measures of collectivism, while low and high levels of attachment anxiety were related to lower levels of these outcome variables in the Turkish sample. These results confirm the expectation that moderate levels of a construct are more representative as compared to extreme values. As a matter of fact, this points to a common method and measurement error - even though high levels of a construct are usually regarded as more prototypical, in fact moderate levels are the real prototypes and are more representative. Moreover, considering that these measures of collectivism are the prevalent norm in the relational Turkish culture, these findings lend support to the notion that insecure attachment is relatively functional - neither extreme dependence nor interdependence is functional, but

moderate levels of attachment insecurity can be associated with culturally adaptive values. These findings are very much in line with the psychological/emotional interdependence family model of Kağıtçıbaşı (2005), which argues that with increased urbanization and parental (especially maternal) education, the economic value of the child diminishes, yet the psychological value of the child substantially increases. In this family model, which has been repeatedly shown to be valid for the Turkish culture, emotional interdependence and relatedness is still valued, given the collectivist cultural context, yet autonomy of the child is also valued as there is no longer the need for material interdependence. In line with this model, the present results confirm that neither extreme dependence nor independence, but moderate levels of a desire to be close with significant others, may be more representative of the Turkish culture and more functional in it.

A measure of individualism, namely horizontal individualism, also emerged as significantly related to attachment anxiety in quadratic relationships in both Turkish and American samples, where only low and high levels of attachment anxiety emerged as related to higher levels of horizontal individualism, while moderate levels of attachment anxiety emerged as related to lower levels of this outcome variable in both samples. It is plausible that the high and low levels of attachment anxiety may be related to high levels of horizontal individualism through different mechanism. Low levels of attachment anxiety may be related to individualism due to the dismissing pattern whereas high levels may be associated with individualism due to the fact that extreme anxiety causes extreme concern with one self (e.g., Mikulincer et al., 2003), individuals who are extremely focused on themselves due to high anxiety may also logically score high on a measure of individualism. These findings are especially plausible for the Turkish sample, lending support to the functionality argument of attachment insecurity in showing that only extreme values of attachment anxiety is related to a cultural construct that is incompatible with the cultural context in the relational Turkish sample.

The second hypothesis was also supported; the results showed that cultural context was an important determinant of the strength of the universal relationships between attachment dimensions and cultural values identified in this study. The

positive relationship between attachment anxiety and collectivist values emerged more strongly in the Turkish sample, whereas the negative relationship between attachment avoidance and collectivist values emerged more strongly in the American sample. This finding lend support to the idea of functionality of attachment insecurity with respect to cultural context - the prevalent form of attachment insecurity goes hand in hand with the prevalent cultural values, i.e. anxiety with collectivist values in the collectivist Turkish context, and avoidance with individualist values in the individualist American context. These findings are very much in line with the cultural fit hypothesis which argues that the prevalent form of attachment insecurity is associated with less adverse outcomes (Friedman et al., 2010). As adaptation to local environment offers a major advantage in increasing survival fitness (e.g., Belsky et al., 1991; Chisholm, 1996), adapting to local culture is also a key survival tool. Strongly adhering to the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural value relationship in respective ecologies seems to be part of this strategy. Studies showing that the less prevalent form of attachment insecurity poses a specific risk factor in many domains in both collectivist and individualist cultures (e.g., Harma & Sümer, 2016; Rothbaum et al., 2002; Selçuk et al., 2010; Sümer, 2015; Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Sümer, Sakman, Harma, & Savaş, 2016) provide further evidence that incongruence with the culture's dominating atmosphere, which shapes close relationships, is the less favorable strategy. The results of the present study also corroborate with these findings in suggesting that members of a specific culture indeed tend to adhere to the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural value relationship of their cultural context.

#### **4.1.2. Study 2**

Building on the results of the first study, which showed that romantic attachment orientations and cultural values are in fact significantly related to each other, the second study explored whether this relationship also serves any real-life functions for the members of a culture. The aim of this experimental study was to investigate whether different types of insecure attachment offer any specific functions in different cultural contexts.

The results provided partial support to the general hypothesis stating insecure attachment behaviors would be evaluated as more functional by the members of a culture, as long as they are in line with the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within that particular cultural context.

Although the results failed to yield any significant main effects of prime type on evaluations of typical anxious/sentinel and avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behavior; lending partial support to the first hypothesis, continuous analyses showed that secure participants evaluated behavior in avoidant scenarios as more functional when they were under the independence prime, suggesting that rapid fight-or-flight behaviors associated with avoidant attachment are evaluated as more functional in an individualistic/independent cultural context. This finding is in line with Friedman and colleagues' (2010) cultural fit hypothesis and all the other research findings reviewed above that corroborate it: The prevalent form of attachment insecurity is deemed as more functional by the members of that particular cultural context because it fits the cultural atmosphere better, and in turn is associated with less adverse outcomes. The selfish, yet problem-focused coping strategies depicted in the rapid fight-or-flight behaviors of avoidant characters are arguably evaluated as a better fit to the low-context communicative style of individualistic/independent cultural contexts, which values direct confrontation and solution-oriented strategies (Gudykunst et al., 1988; Hall, 1976). The individualist mindset that cherishes self-sufficiency and regards the individual as a disjoint agent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) seems to be more approving of the avoidant characters that act on their own without thinking about the others in the rapid fight-or-flight scenarios.

The second hypothesis, stating that individuals who are high on attachment anxiety would evaluate anxious/sentinel behaviors as more functional whereas individuals who are high on attachment avoidance would evaluate avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors as more functional, also received support in this second study. Both categorical and continuous analyses results showed that participants who scored high on attachment avoidance evaluated anxious scenarios as less positive as compared to other participants in a number of different measures. These findings align with Ein-Dor and colleagues' (2011a) original findings, which showed that

individuals high on attachment anxiety have a cognitive tendency for the sentinel script and individuals high on attachment avoidance have a cognitive tendency for the rapid fight-or-flight script, and build on them by showing that people not only more readily process cognitive information regarding a behavior compatible with their own attachment tendencies, but also judge the incompatible behaviors as more dysfunctional.

An interesting finding emerged in these analyses, the fearful participants did not differ from secure participants in their evaluations of the anxious/sentinel behaviors and these evaluations were significantly more favorable than those of dismissing participants. One possible explanation is when both attachment anxiety and avoidance is high (i.e., fearful), meaning when an individual is truly insecure with respect to attachment, typical insecure behaviors may be regarded as positive. Another explanation may lie at Levy, Blatt, and Shaver's (1998) findings, which have found marked similarities between fearful individuals and what Pearson, Cohn, Cowen, and Cowen (1994) call *earned secure* individuals, who describe difficult early relationships with caregivers but do so in a highly coherent way in Adult Attachment Interviews, just like secure individuals. Levy and colleagues (1998) report that both earned secure and fearful participants report difficult childhoods, yet have clear and coherent representations of their parents, unlike preoccupied and dismissing participants. They go on to note that many of the fearful individuals can in fact be secure in some sense, in that they are more aware of their situation and do not use hyperactivating and deactivating strategies as defensive tactics like the preoccupieds and dismissings. This reported similarity between fearful and secure individuals may also manifest itself in their evaluations of typical anxious and avoidant behaviors, as reported in this study.

The third hypothesis, predicting that the attachment orientations of people would interact with the effect of cultural context on their evaluations of insecure attachment behavior received only partial support, the expected effects were observed for the participants high on attachment avoidance, but not for the participants high on attachment anxiety. The results of the categorical analyses showed that dismissing participants evaluated the typical anxious/sentinel behavior

as more dysfunctional only when they were under the independence prime, but not the interdependence prime, lending partial support to Hypothesis 3a, which stated that a cultural context which is congruent with the specific insecure attachment behavior will have an intensifying effect on the positive appraisal on this behavior when it is compatible with the individual's own attachment orientation. This result is in line with the well-established findings of social psychology literature: People tend to judge their own tendencies, values, and attitudes as more positive and adhere to them even more when they are in social situations that are compatible with these orientations (see Isenberg, 1986 for a review). The participants with an avoidant attachment style apparently found the anxious/sentinel behavior more negative only when they were in a mindset that affirmed their own orientation; probably because they were expecting behavior that is compatible with the cultural context they were primed with. The results of the continuous analyses also showed that participants who scored high on attachment avoidance evaluated the anxious/sentinel behaviors as less dysfunctional when they were under the interdependence prime as compared to when they were under the independence prime on various measures, lending support to Hypothesis 3b, which stated that a cultural context which is congruent with the specific insecure attachment behavior would have an attenuating effect on the negative appraisal on this behavior when it is incompatible with the individual's own attachment orientation. This result also makes intuitive sense considering the abundance of findings in social psychology literature showing people are predisposed to conform to the salient norm of a social context in order to fit in (see Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004 for a review). When in a cultural mindset that favors anxious behaviors, even people who possess opposite tendencies can be more accepting of such behavior, which they are rather disapproving of under normal circumstances. This can be attributed to an overreaching need to conform, be accepted, and not stand out as deviant.

Finally, the absence of a significant difference in the independence and interdependence scores, used for manipulation check, could be attributed to the fact that independence and interdependence values are not entirely opposite to each other, but exist as orthogonal constructs and slightly correlate with each other (e.g., Kam,

Zhou, Zhang, & Ho, 2012; Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 2007; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004, Singelis, 1994). The significant interaction effects of prime type, which emerged in the anticipated trends, suggest that the experimental manipulation worked in the desired directions. The meta-analysis of Oyserman and Lee (2008) also attest that the pronoun circling task employed in this study is an effective tool for priming independence versus interdependence.

#### **4.1.3. General Overview of the Findings**

The studies conducted in the present dissertation aimed at jointly investigating the possible functions of attachment insecurity vis-à-vis cultural context. The first study provided correlational evidence that attachment orientations and cultural values are in fact related to one another in the anticipated directions: Attachment anxiety goes hand in hand with a collectivist/relational mindset, and attachment avoidance goes hand in hand with an individualist/independent mindset. Although these relationships were identified in both a collectivist and an individualist cultural setting, the strength of the relationships differed with respect to cultural context, where the positive relationship between attachment anxiety and collectivist values emerged more strongly in the collectivist setting, and the negative relationship between attachment avoidance and collectivist values emerged more strongly in the individualist setting. These findings established that there are in fact certain attachment orientation-cultural values relationships and by doing so it laid the groundwork for the second study that manipulated the cultural mindset within an experimental setting via priming in order to investigate whether these relationship between insecure attachment tendencies and cultural values serve any adaptive functions for the members of a particular culture. This second study aimed to complement the first study by investigating if the attachment orientation-cultural values link established by it can also govern the functionality of certain insecure attachment behavior, which manifest in the judgments of the members of the culture. Building on the results of the first study, the second study provided evidence that the prevalent attachment orientation-cultural values relationship within a particular cultural context in fact affects how functional insecure attachment behaviors are evaluated by the members of that culture, hence how culturally adaptive they are. In

line with expectations, the second study showed that the sentinel behaviors associated with anxious attachment are evaluated as more dysfunctional by individuals who are high on attachment avoidance, and the rapid fight-or-flight behaviors associated with avoidant attachment are evaluated as more functional within an individualistic/independent cultural mindset. Significant interaction effects of cultural context and individual attachment orientations also emerged and showed that a cultural context congruent with one's own attachment tendency strengthens the negative evaluations of insecure attachment behavior which is contrary to one's own attachment orientation; whereas a cultural context incongruent with one's own attachment tendency attenuates these negative evaluations associated with such behaviors. In sum, the first study established that there are certain relationships between insecure attachment tendencies and cultural values, and the second study showed that these relationships do affect how members of a culture evaluate insecure attachment behaviors as functional or dysfunctional, which signals the cultural adaptivity of such behaviors. When put together, the results of these two studies provide a valid cultural extension to the social defense theory which has put forward that different insecure attachment behaviors have different functions (Ein-Dor et al., 2010). Different insecure attachment tendencies are shown to be in fact related with different cultural values and when these values are made salient, the evaluations of insecure attachment behavior differ in a way that is sensitive to cultural mindset. The sentinel behavior associated with anxious attachment is judged as more functional under an interdependent context, because such hypervigilant behavior is more in tune with the high context of collectivist cultures that tolerate fuzzy interpersonal boundaries and small interpersonal space. The rapid fight-or-flight behavior associated with avoidant attachment, on the other hand, is judged as more functional under an independent context, because such distant behavior is more congruous with the low context of individualist cultures that can accommodate self-centeredness and large interpersonal space. In conclusion, the overall results of the present dissertation showed that the predictions of the social defense theory are in fact sensitive to cultural context: Different insecure attachment behaviors are not only

functional, but they are functional with respect to the specific attachment orientation-cultural context relationship that dominates the cultural atmosphere.

#### **4.2. Contributions and Implications of the Present Research**

As reviewed in Chapter 1, despite the impressive amount and eminence of research in the domain of attachment, possible adaptive functions of its insecure form have been widely neglected. Yet, investigating and understanding the adaptive value of insecure attachment may be especially important as recent research findings suggest that its prevalence may be on the rise (Konrath et al., 2014). Insecure attachment evolved as a *secondary attachment strategy* because it serves some adaptive functions and solves certain survival problems, yet it is more “costly” to the individual as compared to the *primary attachment strategy*, i.e., secure attachment. The evolutionary accounts of how attachment insecurity can be adaptive in terms of increasing reproductive fitness (e.g., Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; Chisholm, 1996) and chances of group survival (Ein-Dor et al., 2010) have taken substantial steps in solving the attachment paradox (i.e., despite the fact that attachment research is heavily dominated by findings linking insecure attachment with adverse outcomes, half of the population still displays insecure attachment tendencies); yet they fail to take the fact that insecure attachment varies among cultures into account. The incorporation of cultural differences to attachment processes (see Ainsworth & Marvin, 1995; Posada et al., 1995; Posada et al., 2013; Rothbaum & Morelli, 2005; Rothbaum, Morelli, & Rusk, 2011; van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz (2008) have concentrated on the cultural variations of specific attachment behaviors and parental sensitivity/responsiveness, and not tapped into how different insecure attachment behaviors can be functional with respect to culture either. The present research is a pioneering effort in filling these gaps and introducing cultural context into the investigation of functionality of attachment insecurity for the first time. The major contribution of this work is to offer an extension to the solution of the attachment paradox through the lenses of culture, contextual compatibility, and the underlying mechanisms of how different insecure attachment behaviors can be relatively functional in different cultures.

The first main contribution of the present research is to systematically test if attachment dimensions and cultural constructs are significantly related to each other. Although previous research has established that attachment anxiety is more prevalent in collectivist cultures whereas attachment avoidance is more prevalent in individualist cultures (see Schmitt, 2010), to the best of the author's knowledge, there are no studies to directly investigate the links between attachment orientations and culturally shaped mindsets, such as interdependence, individualism, harmony control, etc. Study 1 of the present dissertation filled this gap and provided the first correlational evidence that attachment anxiety is significantly related to a collectivist/relational mindset, and attachment avoidance is significantly related to an individualist/independent mindset. Another contribution of this first study is to reinforce these findings by utilizing implicit cultural values as complementary measures, such as harmony control and desirability of control, which serve as proxies for collectivism and individualism. The first study is also fruitful in the sense that it provided both universal and cultural evidence: Attachment dimensions and cultural constructs emerged to be evident regardless of culture, yet the strength of these relationships seemed to be influenced by cultural effects. Moreover, the fact that community samples were used in both cultural settings, instead of student samples, could also be considered as a point of strength of this study.

The second main contribution of the present research is to empirically test for the first time if another function of insecure attachment may lie at the cultural level. Study 2 of the present dissertation provided the first experimental evidence that insecure behavior that is incongruent with the cultural context and the individuals' own attachment orientation is regarded as more dysfunctional, and vice versa. This is pioneering evidence that different types of insecure attachment indeed serve specific functions within different cultures, and hence regarded as functional by the members of those particular cultures. Similarly, the negative evaluation of a culturally incongruous attachment behavior signals a specific dysfunctionality within that culture. Such behavior is unanimously judged as unfavorable because it has been associated with maladaptive outcomes. Another contribution of this second study is having produced four novel scenarios depicting typical anxious/sentinel and

avoidant/rapid fight-or-flight behaviors and four sets of different measurements for the evaluations of these behaviors, which could be utilized in future research.

The present dissertation also bears notable implications on how attachment styles, and particularly insecure attachment, are viewed from a cross-cultural standpoint. The present research has showed that not only insecure attachment functions as an early alarm and escape mechanism, but it does so in a culturally sensitive manner. This is pioneering evidence that could challenge the long standing view that insecure attachment is dysfunctional in showing that insecure members are in fact functional in alerting the other members of potential dangers and helping them escape the threatening situations by identifying or creating escape routes. The fact that this function is sensitive to cultural context bears important implications: Anxious members can be more functional for the group in collectivist settings, whereas avoidant members can be more functional for the group in individualist settings. Moreover, as the members possessing the attachment style that is incompatible with the cultural atmosphere are tolerated to a lesser degree by the other members of that culture, this can pose a risk factor for them. These conjectures could help explain the repeated findings showing anxious attachment is more prevalent in collectivist cultures, while avoidant attachment is more prevalent in individualist cultures.

The group level adaptive advantage of insecure attachment could also extend beyond the domain of survival in face of imminent threat. For instance, individuals with insecure attachment could differ in their perceptions of intergroup emotions (Smith, 1993) and thereby provide the group with adaptive advantages: Members with avoidant attachment may be more prone to feel powerful emotions, such as hatred, anger, and disgust; whereas members with anxious attachment may be more likely to feel shame, sadness, and fear. This differentiation in emotionality could benefit the overall group by balancing the relations with out-groups and serving a regulatory function within the group (Maitner, Mackie, & Smith, 2006). Such differentiated emotional screening can be especially beneficial in different cultural settings. Moreover, group compositions heterogeneous with respect to attachment could also be more functional in work settings with their complementary action

tendencies: Anxious members could be helpful in detecting potential problems and dangers, avoidant members could facilitate acting without too much deliberation and compromise, and secure members could act as leaders and coordinators. Lavy and colleagues (2015) documented recent evidence supporting this conjecture: Student project teams comprised of members with heterogeneous attachment tendencies were identified to perform better on both objective outcomes and measures of the members' subjective perceptions of team functioning. The cultural differences can have further implications on this front: As suggested by the findings of the present research, anxious individuals would be better tolerated in a collectivist work setting, while avoidant individuals would be better tolerated in an individualist work setting, hence may be capitalized better in these respective ecologies. In a similar vein, individuals who have an attachment tendency that is incompatible with the dominant cultural atmosphere could be accommodated to a lesser degree, which could deteriorate performance.

#### **4.3. Limitations of the Present Research and Suggestions for Future Studies**

The potential contributions of the present study notwithstanding, the results should be approached with caution due to certain limitations. The major limitation of the first study is its correlational nature. Although this study established the links between attachment orientations and cultural values, the causality between these constructs can not be derived from the results. Further research is needed to investigate whether attachment tendencies are affected by the dynamics of the culture or chronic attachment tendencies shape the cultural values individuals hold.

The major limitation of the second study is having measured functionality of insecure attachment behaviors by mere evaluations of individuals. Although these evaluations can serve a proxy of functionality, as they are shared by the members of the culture, more direct measures of functionality should be employed in future research. Moreover, the cultural context was created by priming in this study. Even though past research has shown that priming individualist/collectivist values is a fairly reliable method of activating different self-construals (see Oyserman & Lee, 2008), the results of this study should be replicated in real cultural settings in future

research. In addition, the insecure attachment behaviors were presented to the participants by four vignettes created for his study. These vignettes were tested in a pilot study, nonetheless, the reliability and validity of these novel materials should be better assessed by further research and more fine-tuned tools representing insecure attachment behaviors should be produced. Finally, having employed a student sample may be listed as another potential limitation of this study, with a lack of randomness and representativeness.

All in all, the study of adaptive advantages of insecure attachment is arguably a fruitful avenue for future research. Contexts other than survival threat, as studied in this dissertation, should be utilized as potential fields of investigation. Especially considering the implications for group formation decisions, the adaptive advantages of insecure attachment in work teams definitely merit further research attention.

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

The way we get attached to significant others in order to survive in this world is not uniform. One could argue that the dominant research perspective in how we relate to our attachment figures should be broadened by the potential strengths and contributions of insecurely attached individuals, who have been widely regarded as deficient and poorly adapted. Mounting evidence suggests that not only they are not dissonant to the norm, they may be just as important as the secure ones in forwarding our existence. This dissertation humbly aimed at postulating and testing if such attachment insecurity can be adaptive for human beings in their respective cultural settings, and provided preliminary evidence that this can indeed be the case. It is sincerely hoped that this work could offer some new insights to the matter of why different forms of attachment tendencies still exist.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Study 1 – Ethics Committee Approval

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Sayı: 28620816/ 298

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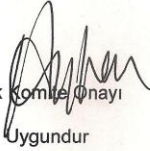
Gönderilen : Prof. Dr. Nebi Sümer  
Psikoloji Bölümü

Gönderen : Prof. Dr. Ayhan Sol  
Etik Komitesi Üyesi

İlgi : Etik Onayı

Danışmanlığını yapmış olduğunuz Psikoloji Bölümü öğrencisi Ezgi Sakman'ın **"An Investigation of the Relationships between Attachment Orientations and Cultural Constructs"** isimli araştırması "İnsan Araştırmaları Komitesi" tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

  
Etik Komitesi Onayı  
Uygundur  
6/07/2015

Prof.Dr. Ayhan Sol  
Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi  
( UEAM ) Etik Komitesi Üyesi  
ODTÜ 06800 ANKARA

## Appendix B: Study 1 - The Questionnaire Package

### Araştırmaya Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Bu çalışma ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Nebi Sümer'in danışmanlığında ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Uzman Psikolog Ezgi Sakman tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

#### **Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?**

Kişinin içinde yetiştiği kültürel ortam onun benlik özelliklerini etkileyebilir. Bu çalışmanın amacı farklı kültürel ortamların benlik özellikleri ve bağlanma süreçleri arasındaki ilişkiye etkilerini incelemektir.

#### **Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?**

Araştırma internet ortamında yapılacaktır. Çalışmada sizden bazı anket sorularına cevap vermeniz istenecektir.

#### **Katılımla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:**

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Araştırma esnasında cevap vermek istemediğiniz sorular olursa boş bırakabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, sizden herhangi bir kimlik bilgisi istenmeyecektir. Toplanan verilere sadece araştırmacılar ulaşabilecektir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları sadece bilimsel ve profesyonel yayınlarda veya eğitim amaçlı kullanılabilir, fakat katılımcıların kimliği tamamen gizli tutulacaktır.

#### **Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:**

Çalışmayla ilgili soru ve yorumlarınızı araştırmacıya ezgi.sakman@metu.edu.tr adresinden iletebilirsiniz.

***Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.***

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

---/---/---

## Demografik Bilgi Formu

Yaşınız: \_\_

Cinsiyetiniz: \_\_ Erkek      \_\_ Kadın

En son hangi okuldan mezun oldunuz?

- İlkokul
- Ortaokul
- Lise
- Üniversite
- Master/Doktora

Nerede yaşıyorsunuz?

- İlçe/Kasaba
- İl
- Büyükşehir

Gelir düzeyiniz nedir?

- Düşük
- Orta
- Yüksek

Aşağıdaki maddeler romantik ilişkilerinizde hissettiğiniz duygularla ilintilidir. Bu araştırmada sizin ilişkinizde yalnızca şu anda değil genel olarak neler olduğuyla ya da neler yaşadığınızla ilgilenmekteyiz. Maddelerde sözü geçen "birlikte olduğum kişi" ifadesi ile romantik ilişkide bulunduğunuz kişi kastedilmektedir. Eğer halihazırda bir romantik ilişki içerisinde değilseniz, aşağıdaki maddeleri bir ilişki içinde olduğunuzu varsayarak cevaplandırınız. Lütfen her bir maddenin ilişkilerinizdeki duygu ve düşüncelerinizi ne oranda yansıttığını karşılardaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde, ilgili rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Tamamen  
katılmıyorum fikrim yok katılıyorum

1. Gerçekte ne hissettiğimi birlikte olduğum kişiye göstermemeyi tercih ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Terk edilmekten korkarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Romantik ilişkide olduğum kişilere yakın olmak konusunda çok rahatımdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. İlişkilerim konusunda çok kaygılıyım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Birlikte olduğum kişi bana yakınlaşmaya başlar başlamaz kendimi geri çekiyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Romantik ilişkide olduğum kişilerin beni, benim onları umursadığım kadar umursamayacaklarında endişelenirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Romantik ilişkide olduğum kişi çok yakın olmak istediğinde rahatsızlık duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Birlikte olduğum kişiyi kaybedeceğim diye çok kaygılanırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Birlikte olduğum kişilere açılma konusunda kendimi rahat hissetmem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Genellikle, birlikte olduğum kişinin benim için hissettiklerinin, benim onun için hissettiklerim kadar güçlü olmasını arzu ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Birlikte olduğum kişiye yakın olmak isterim, ama sürekli kendimi geri çekerim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Genellikle birlikte olduğum kişiyle tamamen bütünleşmek isterim ve bu bazen onları korkutup benden uzaklaştırır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Birlikte olduğum kişilerin benimle çok yakınlaşması beni gerginleştirir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Yalnız kalmaktan endişelenirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Özel duygu ve düşüncelerimi birlikte olduğum kişiyle paylaşmak konusunda oldukça rahatımdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Çok yakın olma arzumu bazen insanları korkutur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

uzaklaştırır							
17. Birlikte olduğum kişiyle çok yakınlaşmaktan kaçınmaya çalışırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Birlikte olduğum kişi tarafından sevildiğimin sürekli ifade edilmesine gereksinim duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Birlikte olduğum kişiyle kolaylıkla yakınlaşabilirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Birlikte olduğum kişileri bazen daha fazla duygu ve bağlılık göstermeleri için zorladığımı hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Birlikte olduğum kişilere güvenip dayanma konusunda kendimi rahat bırakmakta zorlanırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Terk edilmekten pek korkmam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Birlikte olduğum kişilere fazla yakın olmamayı tercih ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Birlikte olduğum kişinin bana ilgi göstermesini sağlayamazsam üzülür ya da kızarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Birlikte olduğum kişiye hemen hemen her şeyi anlatırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Birlikte olduğum kişinin bana istediğim kadar yakın olmadığını düşünürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Sorunlarımı ve kaygılarımı genellikle birlikte olduğum kişiyle tartışırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Bir ilişkide olmadığım zaman kendimi biraz kaygılı ve güvensiz hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Birlikte olduğum kişilere güvenip dayanmakta rahatımdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. Birlikte olduğum kişi istediğim kadar yakınımda olmadığında kendimi engellenmiş hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Birlikte olduğum kişilerden teselli, öğüt ya da yardım istemekten rahatsız olmam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. İhtiyaç duyduğumda, birlikte olduğum kişiye ulaşamazsam kendimi engellenmiş hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. İhtiyacım olduğunda birlikte olduğum kişiden yardım istemek işe yarar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. Birlikte olduğum kişiler beni onaylamadıkları zaman kendimi gerçekten kötü hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Rahatlama ve güvencenin yanı sıra birçok şey için birlikte olduğum kişiyi ararım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. Birlikte olduğum kişi benden ayrı zaman geçirdiğinde üzülürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Lütfen aşağıdaki değerlerin sizin için ne kadar önemli olduğunu aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçeği kullanarak değerın yanına ilgili rakamı yazarak belirtiniz.**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Önemli değil fikrim yok önemli

Özgürlük  
Bireysel bağımsızlık  
İşinde yetkin olma  
Yaratıcılık  
Renkli bir yaşam  
İnsanların üzerinde etki sahibi olma  
Heyecanlı bir yaşam  
Kendine saygı duymak  
Kendi hedefini belirleyebilme  
Aidiyet hissi  
Öz-disiplin  
Ailenin güvenliği  
Sadakat  
Mütevazılık  
İtaatkar olmak  
Yardımseverlik  
Affedebilme  
Sorumluluk sahibi olmak

**Lütfen her bir maddeye ne kadar katıldığınızı karşısındaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde, ilgili rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
katılmıyorum fikrim yok katılıyorum

1 – Mevcut durumu kabul ediyorum, çünkü bunun daha yüksek bir gücün iradesi olduğunu biliyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2 – Daha yüksek bir gücün sonunda benim iyiliğimi sağlayacağını biliyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 – Benim için belirlenmiş bir yol olduğunu düşünmüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 – Kadere karşı gelmenin faydası yok.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 – Hayatımızdaki iyi ve kötü anları nihai olarak daha yüksek bir güç belirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 – Hayatlarımızın daha yüksek bir güç tarafından yönetildiğine inanmıyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 – İhtiyacım olduğunda arkadaşlarımla benimle ilgileneceğini bilmek kendimi güvende hissettiriyor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 – Benim adıma önemli kararlar vermeleri için başka insanlara güvenmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9 – Başkalarının beni destekleyeceğini bilmek benim için o kadar da önemli değil.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10 – Başka insanların ihtiyaçlarını karşıladığımda benim de çoğu ihtiyacım karşılanmış olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11 – İnsanların ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacaklarına güvenebilirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12 – Arkamda başka insanlar oldukça hiçbir zaman dibe vurmayacağımı biliyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13 – Çoğu zaman ne yapacaklarını bildiğimden, insanlarla iyi geçiniyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14 – Ne istediklerini veya neye ihtiyaç duyduklarını bildiğinde, insanlarla geçinmek daha kolaydır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15 – Diğer insanların hedeflerini ve davranışlarını öngörmemin onlarla iyi geçinmemeye pek yardım etmediğini düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16 – Diğer insanlarla beraberken, bazen kendimi tamamen yaptıkları şeye kapırıyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17 – Diğer insanlarla beraber olduğumda, kişisel olarak ne istediğim aklımdan çıkıyor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18 – İyi ve kötü şansın olduğu dönemler sonuçta birbirini dengeler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19 – İyi bir şekilde kaybetmek kazanmaktır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20 – Kötü zamanlarımı umursamıyorum çünkü eninde sonunda iyi zamanlar da gelecektir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21 – Art arda şansımın iyi gitmediği anlarda şansımın dönmesini beklerim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Aşağıda insanların zaman zaman düşündüklerini yansıtan bazı ifadeler bulunmaktadır. Lütfen bu ifadeleri dikkatle okuyarak her bir ifadenin sizi ne ölçüde tanımladığını “ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum”dan “Tamamen Katılıyorum”a kadar uzanan beş seçenekten bir tanesini işaretleyerek belirtiniz.**

- 1- Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
- 2- Katılmıyorum
- 3- Kararsızım
- 4- Katılıyorum
- 5- Tamamen Katılıyorum

- .....1- Neyi, ne zaman yapacağım konusunda kontrolün bende olduğu bir işte çalışmayı tercih ederim.
- .....2- Politik katılımlardan hoşlanırım; çünkü ülke yönetiminde söz sahibi olmak isterim.
- .....3-Birisinin bana ne yapmam gerektiğini söyleyeceği durumlardan kaçınmaya çalışırım.
- .....4- Bir takipçi olmaktansa lider olmayı tercih ederim.
- .....5- Diğer insanların tavır ve davranışlarını etkilemek hoşuma gider.
- .....6- Uzun bir yolculuğa çıkmadan önce otomobildeki her şeyi dikkatle kontrol ederim.
- .....7- Benim için neyin daha iyi olduğunu genellikle başkaları bilir.
- .....8- Kararlarımı kendim vermekten hoşlanırım.
- .....9- Kendi kaderimi kendim tayin etmekten hoşlanırım.
- .....10-Bir ekip çalışması sırasında yöneticiliği bir başkasının üstlenmesini tercih ederim.
- .....11-Değişik olaylarla başa çıkmada kendimi diğer insanlardan daha yetenekli buluyorum.
- .....12-Bir başkasından emir almaktansa kendi işimi kendim yürütmeyi ve kendi hatalarımı kendim yapmayı tercih ederim.
- .....13- Bir işe başlamadan önce iş hakkında iyice fikir edinmek isterim.
- .....14- Bir problem gördüğüm zaman onu kendi haline bırakmaktansa bir şeyler yapmaya çalışırım.
- .....15-Emir almayı değil vermeyi tercih ederim.
- .....16-Keşke yaşamla ilgili günlük kararlar alma sorumluluğunu bir başkasına yükleyebilseydim.
- .....17-Araba kullanırken bir başkasının hatası nedeniyle zarar görebileceğim durumlara düşmekten kaçınmaya çalışırım.
- .....18-Birisinin bana neyin yapılması gerektiğini söyleyeceği durumlardan uzak durmayı tercih ederim.
- .....19-Bir karar vermektense tek bir seçeneğin olmasını tercih ettiğim bir çok durum vardır.
- .....20-Bir problemle uğraşmaktansa bu problemi çözebilecek bir kişinin ortaya çıkmasını beklemeyi tercih ederim.

**Aşağıda bazı ifadeler bulunmaktadır.**

**Lütfen bu ifadeleri dikkatle okuyarak her bir ifadeye ne kadar katıldığınızı karşılardaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde, ilgili rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Katılmıyorum Fikrim Yok Katılıyorum

1. İnsanlarla konuşurken dobra ve açık sözlü olmayı tercih ederim.
2. Benim mutluluğum çevremdekilerin mutluluğuna çok bağlıdır.
3. O işten nefret etsem bile, ailemi memnun ederse o işi yapardım.
4. Kazanmak her şeydir.
5. İnsan hayatını diğerlerinden bağımsız olarak yaşamalıdır.
6. Başıma gelenler benim yaptıklarımın sonucudur.
7. Genellikle kendi çıkarlarımı yakın çevrem için menfaati için feda ederim.
8. Diğer insanların performansı benden daha iyi olduğunda rahatsız olurum.
9. Yakın çevremdekilerin birbiriyle uyumunu muhafaza etmek benim için önemlidir.
10. İşimi diğerlerinden daha iyi yapmak benim için önemlidir.
11. Komşularıyla ufak tefek şeyler paylaşmayı severim.
12. Başkalarıyla rekabet içeren ortamlarda çalışmak hoşuma gider.
13. Yaşlanan ana-babalarımız bizimle yaşamalıdır.
14. İş arkadaşlarımla iyiliği benim için önemlidir.
15. Birçok yönden diğer insanlardan farklı ve özgün olmaktan zevk alırım.
16. Eğer bir akrabamın maddi sıkıntısı olsaydı imkânlarım dahilinde yardım ederdim.
17. Çocuklar, ana-babaları seçkin bir ödül alırlarsa şeref duymalıdır.
18. Çoğu zaman kendi bildiğim gibi yaşarım.
19. Rekabet doğanın kanunudur.
20. İş arkadaşlarımdan biri bir ödül kazansa gurur duyarım.
21. Ben özgün bir bireyim.
22. Benim için zevk, başkalarıyla vakit geçirmektir.
23. Başkası benden daha başarılı olduğu zaman kendimi gergin ve kamçılanmış hissederim.
24. Ailem uygun görmediği takdirde hoşuma giden bir faaliyetten vazgeçebilirdim.
25. Üyesi olduğum gruplarda çoğunluğun isteklerine saygı gösteririm.
26. Özel hayatımın dokunulmazlığı hoşuma gider.
27. Rekabet olmadan iyi bir toplum olmasına imkan yoktur.
28. Çocuklara görevlerini eğlenceden daha öncelikli tutmaları öğretilmelidir.
29. Başkalarıyla işbirliği yaptığım zaman kendimi iyi hissederim.
30. Yakın çevremle fikir ayrılığına düşmekten hoşlanmam.
31. Bazı insanlar kazanmanın üstünde çok dururlar, ben o insanlardan biri değilim.
32. Bir geziye çıkmadan önce aile fertlerimin çoğuna ve birçok arkadaşşıma danışırım.
33. Başarılı olduğum zaman, genellikle yeteneklerim sayesinde.
34. Ana-baba ve çocuklar mümkün olduğu kadar birlikte kalmalıdır.
35. Kendi isteklerimden fedakârlık yapmam gerekse dahi, aileme bakmak benim görevimdir.
36. Başkalarına güvenmektense kendime güvenirim.
37. Bir karar vermeden önce, yakın arkadaşlara danışıp onların fikirlerini almak önemlidir.
38. Başkalarından bağımsız özel kimliğim benim için çok önemlidir.
39. Ait olduğum gruplarda çoğunluğun isteklerine saygı göstermek benim için önemlidir.
40. Özgün bir insan olmak benim için önemlidir.

**Lütfen aşağıdaki her bir madde için şu soruyu cevaplayın:**

“Kişilerarası durumlarda olduğumda (yakın arkadaşlarla, yabancılarla, iş yerinde, sosyal buluşmalarda, vb.) genel olarak bu şekilde davranmak, görünmek veya muamele görmek benim için ne kadar önemlidir?”

Diğer insanlarla beraber olduğumda...

1. Kendime güvenli görünmem
2. Onlarla bağlantı kurmuş hissetmem
3. Emsalsiz olmam
4. Ben haklı olduğumda onların bunu kabul etmeleri
5. Onların söyleyeceklerime ilgi göstermeleri
6. Onların beni kandırmaması
7. Görüşlerimi dillendirmek için fırsat bulmam
8. Problemlerim olduğunda bana destek olmaları
9. Kendimi açıkça ifade etmem
10. Onların mahremiyetime saygı göstermeleri
11. Onların beni anlaması
12. Onların söylediklerime saygı göstermeleri
13. Tartışmalar çıktığında geri adım atmamam
14. Onların bana problemlerini anlatmaları
15. Onlar üzerinde bir etkimin olması
16. Onların bana ne yapacağımı söylememesi
17. Onların düşünceli olması
18. Onların bana saygı göstermeleri
19. Ben otorite sahibiyken onların bana itaat etmesi
20. İşler iyi gitmediğinde benimle beraber kalmaları
21. Onların beni sorumluluk sahibi olarak görmeleri
22. Onların hatalı olduğunda bunu itiraf etmeleri
23. Benim ne hissettiğime aldırmış etmeleri
24. Onların benim söyleyeceklerimi dinlemeleri

1	2	3	4	5
Benim için hiç önemli değildir	Benim için biraz önemlidir	Benim için orta derecede önemlidir	Benim için önemlidir	Benim için çok önemlidir

## Appendix C: Study 2 - Ethics Committee Approval

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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03 MAYIS 2016

Gönderilen: Ezgi SAKMAN

Psikoloji Bölümü

Gönderen: Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

İlgi: Etik Onayı

Sayın Ezgi SAKMAN'ın "An Experimental Investigation of the Functionality of Insecure Attachment" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2016-SOS-041 protokol numarası ile 28.03.2016-27.06.2016 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

## Appendix D: Study 2 (Pilot) - The Questionnaire Package

### Arařtırmaya Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Bu pilot alıřma ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öđrencisi Uzman Psikolog Ezgi Sakman tarafından yürütölmektedir. Bu form sizi arařtırma kořulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıřtır.

#### **alıřmanın Amacı Nedir?**

Kiřinin içinde yetiřtiđi kültürel ortam onun benlik özelliklerini etkileyebilir. Bu alıřmanın amacı farklı kültürel ortamların benlik özellikleri ve bađlanma süreçleri arasındaki iliřkiye etkilerini incelemektir.

#### **Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceđiz?**

alıřmada sizden bazı senaryolar okumanız ve bu senaryolarla ilgili kimi sorularına cevap vermeniz istenecektir.

#### **Katılımla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:**

Bu alıřmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllölük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma maruz kalmadan alıřmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya alıřmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Arařtırma esnasında cevap vermek istemediđiniz sorular olursa boş bırakabilirsiniz.

Arařtırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, sizden herhangi bir kimlik bilgisi istenmeyecektir. Toplanan verilere sadece arařtırmacılar ulaşabilecektir. Bu arařtırmanın sonuçları sadece bilimsel ve profesyonel yayınlarda veya eğitim amaçlı kullanılabilir, fakat katılımcıların kimliđi tamamen gizli tutulacaktır.

#### **Arařtırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:**

alıřmayla ilgili soru ve yorumlarınızı arařtırmacıya ezgi.sakman@metu.edu.tr adresinden iletebilirsiniz.

***Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu alıřmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.***

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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**Bu pilot çalışmada sizden dört tane hikaye okumanız ve bu hikayelerle ilgili bazı sorulara 7’li ölçek üzerinde sizin için doğru rakamı işaretleyerek cevap vermeniz istenecektir.**

**Şimdi lütfen aşağıdaki ilk hikayeyi okuyun:**

Deniz ve dört arkadaşı Uludağ’a kamp kurmaya giderler, bu gezi için çok heyecanlıdırlar. Bütün günü kamp alanında çeşitli doğa sporları aktiviteleri yaparak geçirirler. Gece olunca ateşin etrafında yemek yer ve sohbet ederler. Bu sırada Deniz hep huzursuzdur, diğerleri neşe içinde konuşup şakalaşırken o sıklıkla etrafına göz gezdirip, kulak kabartmaktadır. Bir yandan da arkadaşlarına “Ne işimiz vardı bu dağın başında, ya başımıza bir iş gelirse” diye dert yanmaktadır. Derken ormanın içinden gelen bir hışırtı duyar ve gölgelerin içinde bir şeyin hareket ettiğini fark eder. Çılgılık çılgılığa arkadaşlarını uyarır: “Kaçın, ağaçların arasında bir şeyler var!” Herkes elindekileri bırakıp ateşin etrafından koşarak kaçmaya başlar.

**1. Sizce biraz önce okuduğunuz hikaye ne kadar mantıklı ve tutarlı bir hikayedir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Mantıklı/Tutarlıdır  
Değildir

**2. Bu hikayedeki gibi kişiler gerçek hayatta da var mıdır?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Yoktur Fikrim Yok Vardır

**3. Bu hikayedeki gibi olaylar gerçek hayatta da olur mu?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Olmaz Fikrim Yok Olur

**Şimdi lütfen bu hikaye için aşağıdaki iki farklı alternatif sonun yazıldığını düşünün:**

- A. Ağaçların arasından Uludağ bölgesinde çok yaygın görülen yırtıcı yaban domuzlarından biri çıkar ve grubun üzerine doğru gelir. Grup Deniz'in zamanında uyarısı sayesinde erken davranıp koşmaya başladığı için yaban domuzundan kurtulur ve civardaki bir kulübeye sığınır. Herkes Deniz'e bu kadar uyanık olduğu ve kendilerini bu tehlikeden kurtardığı için minnettardır.
- B. Ağaçların arasından çıka çıka ufak bir sincap çıkar. Herkes boşu boşuna endişelendikleri ve ateşin etrafındaki güzel atmosferleri bozulduğu için üzülür ve Deniz'e hep böyle gereksiz yere telaş ettiği ve keyiflerini kaçırdığı için kızar.

**4. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından A hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**5. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından B hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**6. Bu hikayedeki Deniz sizce nasıl bir karakterdir? Lütfen birkaç kelime yazarak betimleyiniz.**

**7. Bu hikaye ve alternatif sonları ile ilgili problemleri gördüğünüz, eleştirmek, düzeltmek istediğiniz bir şey veya genel olarak başka önerileriniz var mı?**

**Şimdi lütfen aşağıdaki ikinci hikayeyi okuyun:**

Deniz ve dört arkadaşı Uludağ'a kamp kurmaya giderler, bu gezi için çok heyecanlıdırlar. Bütün günü kamp alanında çeşitli doğa sporları aktiviteleri yaparak geçirirler. Gece olunca ateşin etrafında yemek yer ve sohbet ederler. Derken hava aniden bozar ve çok şiddetli bir rüzgar çıkar. Rüzgar bütün çadırlarını yıkar. Herkes rüzgara rağmen çadırları tekrar kurmaya uğraşır, sadece Deniz bu ortak çabaya katılmaz ve "Bu kadar rüzgarda çadır kurulmaz, ben kalacak başka bir yer bulmaya gidiyorum" der, eşyalarını alarak uzaklaşır.

**1. Sizce biraz önce okuduğunuz hikaye ne kadar mantıklı ve tutarlı bir hikayedir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Mantıklı/Tutarlıdır  
Değildir

**2. Bu hikayedeki gibi kişiler gerçek hayatta da var mıdır?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Yoktur Fikrim Yok Vardır

**3. Bu hikayedeki gibi olaylar gerçek hayatta da olur mu?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Olmaz Fikrim Yok Olur

**Şimdi lütfen bu hikaye için aşağıdaki iki farklı alternatif sonun yazıldığını düşünün:**

- A. Diğerleri bir süre çadırları tekrar kurmaya uğraşırlar ama rüzgar çok şiddetli olduğu için başaramazlar. En sonunda eşyalarını alıp Deniz'in gittiği yöne doğru ilerleyip onun kalacak bir yer bulup bulmadığına bakmaya karar verirler. Deniz'i yoldan arayıp tarif alarak onun bulduğu kulübeye gelirler ve geceyi hep beraber orada geçirirler. Deniz'in erken hareket etmesiyle sığınacak bir yer buldukları için herkes ona minnet duyar.
- B. Diğerleri bir süre uğraşarak çadırları tekrar kurmayı başarırlar ve geceyi kamp alanında geçirirler. Deniz'e kendilerini bırakıp gittiği için öfkelenen grup, ertesi gün geri döndüğünde ona kızar.

**4. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından A hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**5. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından B hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir

**6. Bu hikayedeki Deniz sizce nasıl bir karakterdir? Lütfen birkaç kelime yazarak betimleyiniz.**

**7. Bu hikaye ve alternatif sonları ile ilgili problemleri gördüğünüz, eleştirmek, düzeltmek istediğiniz bir şey veya genel olarak başka önerileriniz var mı?**

**Şimdi lütfen aşağıdaki üçüncü hikayeyi okuyun:**

Derya ve dört arkadaşı bir gün sinemaya giderler. Hepsinin evi sinemaya yakın olduğu için eve yürüyerek dönmeye karar verirler ancak öğle vakti olduğu için hava çok sıcaktır, bir an önce varabilmek için kestirme yola saparlar. Yolda yürürken kendi aralarında filmi tartışmaktadırlar. Herkes neşe içinde sohbet ederken Derya hayli tenha olan bu kestirme yola saptıkları için huzursuzdur, devamlı arkasına bakıp birilerinin onları takip edip etmediğini kontrol etmekte, bir taraftan da “Keşke anayoldan gitseydik, başımıza bir bela almasak bari” diye arkadaşlarına söylenmektedir. Derken arkalarından hızlıca yaklaşan bir ayak sesi duyar ve bağırarak arkadaşlarını uyarır: “Kaçın, biri bizi takip ediyor!” Herkes panik halinde koşmaya başlar.

**1. Sizce biraz önce okuduğunuz hikaye ne kadar mantıklı ve tutarlı bir hikayedir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Mantıklı/Tutarlıdır  
Değildir

**2. Bu hikayedeki gibi kişiler gerçek hayatta da var mıdır?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Yoktur Fikrim Yok Vardır

**3. Bu hikayedeki gibi olaylar gerçek hayatta da olur mu?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Olmaz Fikrim Yok Olur

**Şimdi lütfen bu hikaye için aşağıdaki iki farklı alternatif sonun yazıldığını düşünün:**

- A. Herkes can havliyle koşarken refleksiyle dönüp arkalarına bakar, sokağın başında gerçekten de elinde bıçak olan bir kapkaççı vardır. Grup Derya'nın zamanında uyarısı sayesinde erken davranıp koşmaya başladığı için kapkaççı onları yakalamadan ana caddeye varmayı başarır. Herkes Derya'ya dikkatli davranışı sayesinde kapkaççıdan kurtulmalarını sağladığı için minnettardır.
- B. Herkes can havliyle koşarken refleksiyle dönüp arkalarına bakar, sokağın başında sadece genç bir kadın vardır. Bunun üzerine koşmayı bırakırlar, bu sırada kadın da arkalarından seslenir: "Kusura bakmayın, sizi korkutmak istememiştim, sadece yol tarifi soracaktım." Grup Derya yüzünden düştükleri gülünç durumdan çok utanır ve ona hep böyle olur olmaz tedirginlik yarattığı için kızar.

**4. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından A hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**5. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından B hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**6. Bu hikayedeki Derya sizce nasıl bir karakterdir? Lütfen birkaç kelime yazarak betimleyiniz.**

**7. Bu hikaye ve alternatif sonları ile ilgili problemleri gördüğünüz, eleştirmek, düzeltmek istediğiniz bir şey veya genel olarak başka önerileriniz var mı?**

**Şimdi lütfen aşağıdaki son hikayeyi okuyun:**

Derya ve dört arkadaşı bir gün sinemaya giderler. Hepsinin evi sinemaya yakın olduğu için eve yürüyerek dönmeye karar verirler ancak öğle vakti olduğu için hava çok sıcaktır, bir an önce varabilmek için kestirme yola saparlar. Yolda yürürken kendi aralarında filmi tartışmakta ve neşe içinde sohbet etmektedirler. Derken kaybolduklarını fark ederler, nerede olduklarını bilmemektedirler. Herkes cep telefonlarındaki haritalardan yönlerini bulmaya uğraşır fakat bu ara sokakta internet çekmediği için harita üzerinde nerede bulduklarını bulamazlar, yine de denemeye devam ederler. Derya bu ortak çabaya katılmaz ve “Bu تنها yerde internet çekmez, ben şu yan yoldan giderek şansımı deneyeceğim” der ve o yola girerek uzaklaşır.

**1. Sizce biraz önce okuduğunuz hikaye ne kadar mantıklı ve tutarlı bir hikayedir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Mantıklı/Tutarlıdır  
Değildir

**2. Bu hikayedeki gibi kişiler gerçek hayatta da var mıdır?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Yoktur Fikrim Yok Vardır

**3. Bu hikayedeki gibi olaylar gerçek hayatta da olur mu?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Kesinlikle Kararsızım/ Kesinlikle  
Olmaz Fikrim Yok Olur

**Şimdi lütfen bu hikaye için aşağıdaki iki farklı alternatif sonun yazıldığını düşünün:**

- A. Diğerleri bir süre daha internet yardımıyla konumlarını bulmaya uğraşırlar ancak internet servisi ulaşmadığı için başarılı olamazlar. Sonunda Derya'nın gittiği yolu denemeye karar verirler. Yoldan Derya'yı arayarak bu yolun bildikleri ana caddelerden birine çıktığını öğrenirler. Herkes Derya'ya doğru yolu bulduğu için minnet duyar.
- B. Diğerleri bir süre daha internet yardımıyla konumlarını bulmaya uğraşırlar ancak internet servisi ulaşmadığı için başarılı olamazlar. Sonunda geldikleri kestirme yoldan geri dönmeye ve sonra evlerine bildikleri yoldan gitmeye karar verirler. Derya'ya onları zor bir durumda yalnız bıraktığı için öfkelenen grup bir dahaki görüşmelerinde ona kızar.

**4. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından A hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**5. Bu hikayenin alternatif sonlarından B hikaye için ne kadar anlamlı, mantıklı ve hikaye ile tutarlı bir bitiştir?**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı Fikrim Yok Anlamlı/Mantıklı/Tutarlı  
Bir Bitiş Değildir Bir Bitiştir

**6. Bu hikayedeki Derya sizce nasıl bir karakterdir? Lütfen birkaç kelime yazarak betimleyiniz.**

**7. Bu hikaye ve alternatif sonları ile ilgili problemleri gördüğünüz, eleştirmek, düzeltmek istediğiniz bir şey veya genel olarak başka önerileriniz var mı?**

## Appendix E: Study 2 - The Questionnaire Package

### Araştırmaya Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Bu çalışma ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Uzman Psikolog Ezgi Sakman tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

#### **Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?**

Kişinin içinde yetiştiği kültürel ortam onun benlik özelliklerini etkileyebilir. Bu çalışmanın amacı farklı kültürel ortamların benlik özellikleri ve bağlanma süreçleri arasındaki ilişkiye etkilerini incelemektir.

#### **Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?**

Araştırma bilgisayar ortamında yapılacaktır. Çalışmada sizden bazı anket sorularına cevap vermeniz istenecektir. Bu soruların ilk bölümü sizin romantik ilişkilerde hissettiğiniz duygularla ilgili olacaktır. Bunun ardından bir metin içindeki fiilleri seçerek işaretlemeyi içeren bir kelime arama görevi olacaktır. Daha sonra sizden bir grup gencin boş zamanlarını değerlendirmek için yaptıkları aktiviteleri ve bu aktiviteler sırasında meydana gelen olayları anlatan bazı hikayeler okumanız ve bu hikayelerdeki karakterleri ve onların davranışlarını değerlendirmeniz istenecektir. Son olarak da kimi değerlerin sizin için ne kadar önemli olduğunu değerlendirmeniz istenecektir.

#### **Katılımla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:**

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Araştırma esnasında cevap vermek istemediğiniz sorular olursa boş bırakabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, sizden herhangi bir kimlik bilgisi istenmeyecektir. Toplanan verilere sadece araştırmacılar ulaşabilecektir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları sadece bilimsel ve profesyonel yayınlarda veya eğitim amaçlı kullanılabilir, fakat katılımcıların kimliği tamamen gizli tutulacaktır.

#### **Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:**

Çalışmayla ilgili soru ve yorumlarınızı araştırmacıya [ezgi.sakman@metu.edu.tr](mailto:ezgi.sakman@metu.edu.tr) adresinden iletebilirsiniz.

***Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.***

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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## Demografik Bilgi Formu

Yaşınız: \_\_

Cinsiyetiniz: \_\_Erkek      \_\_Kadın

Okumakta Olduğunuz Üniversite: \_\_

Okumakta Olduğunuz Bölüm: \_\_

Kaçıncı sınıftasınız?

Lütfen üniversiteye başlayana kadar yaşamınızın en uzun süresini geçirdiğiniz yeri işaretleyiniz

Köy/Kasaba

İl/İlçe

Büyükşehir

Lütfen ailenizin gelir düzeyini işaretleyiniz

Düşük

Orta

Yüksek

Aşağıdaki maddeler romantik ilişkilerinizde hissettiğiniz duygularla ilintilidir. Bu araştırmada sizin ilişkinizde yalnızca şu anda değil genel olarak neler olduğuyla ya da neler yaşadığınızla ilgilenmekteyiz. Maddelerde sözü geçen "birlikte olduğum kişi" ifadesi ile romantik ilişkide bulunduğunuz kişi kastedilmektedir. Eğer halihazırda bir romantik ilişki içerisinde değilseniz, aşağıdaki maddeleri bir ilişki içinde olduğunuzu varsayarak cevaplandırınız. Lütfen her bir maddenin ilişkilerinizdeki duygu ve düşüncelerinizi ne oranda yansıttığını karşısındaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde, ilgili rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Tamamen  
katılmıyorum fikrim yok katılıyorum

1. Gerçekte ne hissettiğimi birlikte olduğum kişiye göstermemeyi tercih ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Terk edilmekten korkarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Romantik ilişkide olduğum kişilere yakın olmak konusunda çok rahatımdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. İlişkilerim konusunda çok kaygılıyım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Birlikte olduğum kişi bana yakınlaşmaya başlar başlamaz kendimi geri çekiyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Romantik ilişkide olduğum kişilerin beni, benim onları umursadığım kadar umursamayacaklarında endişelenirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Romantik ilişkide olduğum kişi çok yakın olmak istediğinde rahatsızlık duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Birlikte olduğum kişiyi kaybedeceğim diye çok kaygılanırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Birlikte olduğum kişilere açılma konusunda kendimi rahat hissetmem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Genellikle, birlikte olduğum kişinin benim için hissettiklerinin, benim onun için hissettiklerim kadar güçlü olmasını arzu ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Birlikte olduğum kişiye yakın olmak isterim, ama sürekli kendimi geri çekerim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Genellikle birlikte olduğum kişiyle tamamen bütünleşmek isterim ve bu bazen onları korkutup benden uzaklaştırır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Birlikte olduğum kişilerin benimle çok yakınlaşması beni gerginleştirir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Yalnız kalmaktan endişelenirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Özel duygu ve düşüncelerimi birlikte olduğum kişiyle paylaşmak konusunda oldukça rahatımdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Çok yakın olma arzumu bazen insanları korkutur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

uzaklaştırır							
17. Birlikte olduğum kişiyle çok yakınlaşmaktan kaçınmaya çalışırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Birlikte olduğum kişi tarafından sevildiğimin sürekli ifade edilmesine gereksinim duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Birlikte olduğum kişiyle kolaylıkla yakınlaşabilirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Birlikte olduğum kişileri bazen daha fazla duygu ve bağlılık göstermeleri için zorladığımı hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Birlikte olduğum kişilere güvenip dayanma konusunda kendimi rahat bırakmakta zorlanırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Terk edilmekten pek korkmam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Birlikte olduğum kişilere fazla yakın olmamayı tercih ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Birlikte olduğum kişinin bana ilgi göstermesini sağlayamazsam üzülür ya da kızarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Birlikte olduğum kişiye hemen hemen her şeyi anlatırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Birlikte olduğum kişinin bana istediğim kadar yakın olmadığını düşünürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Sorunlarımı ve kaygılarımı genellikle birlikte olduğum kişiyle tartışırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Bir ilişkide olmadığım zaman kendimi biraz kaygılı ve güvensiz hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Birlikte olduğum kişilere güvenip dayanmakta rahatımdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. Birlikte olduğum kişi istediğim kadar yakınımda olmadığında kendimi engellenmiş hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Birlikte olduğum kişilerden teselli, öğüt ya da yardım istemekten rahatsız olmam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. İhtiyaç duyduğumda, birlikte olduğum kişiye ulaşamazsam kendimi engellenmiş hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. İhtiyacım olduğunda birlikte olduğum kişiden yardım istemek işe yarar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. Birlikte olduğum kişiler beni onaylamadıkları zaman kendimi gerçekten kötü hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Rahatlama ve güvencenin yanı sıra birçok şey için birlikte olduğum kişiyi ararım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. Birlikte olduğum kişi benden ayrı zaman geçirdiğinde üzülürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Şimdi lütfen aşağıdaki paragrafı okuyunuz ve bu paragraftaki fiilleri (eylemleri) işaretleyiniz.**

### **Independence Prime**

Ben çok sık yeni bir şehre gezmeye giderim. Gitmeden önce ne göreceğimi hayal etmeyi çok severim. Ben şehir ufukta belirince çok heyecanlanırım. Her bir köşeyi tek başıma keşfetmek için zamanımı sonuna kadar kullanırım, görülecek önemli şeylerden hiç birini kaçırmak istemem. Ben havayı ve sokakları sesimle doldururum, gördüğüm her yere duygularıyla dokunurum. Ben gezerken her zaman görülecek her yere giderim, vitrinleri gezerim ve gittiğim her yerde yüzlerce vitrinin camından yansıyan yansımamı görürüm. Yürürüm, koşarım, hayal dünyamın bu keşfimde özgürce uçmasına izin veririm. Gece olunca şehirdeki zamanım bitmek üzere olduğu için oyalanırım. Artık gitmek zorunda olduğumda, ben şehirden oraya tekrar geri döneceğimi hayal ederek ayrılırım. Şehir benimdir.

### **Interdependence Prime**

Biz çok sık yeni bir şehre gezmeye gideriz. Gitmeden önce ne göreceğimizi hayal etmeyi çok severiz. Biz şehir ufukta belirince heyecanlanırız. Her bir köşeyi beraberce keşfetmek için zamanımızı sonuna kadar kullanırız, görülecek önemli şeylerden hiç birini kaçırmak istemeyiz. Biz havayı ve sokakları sesimizle doldururuz, gördüğümüz her yere duygularımızla dokunuruz. Biz gezerken her zaman görülecek her yere gideriz, vitrinleri gezeriz ve gittiğimiz her yerde yüzlerce vitrinin camından yansıyan yansımamızı görürüz. Yürürüz, koşarız, hayal dünyamızın bu keşfimizde özgürce uçmasına izin veririz. Gece olunca şehirdeki zamanımız bitmek üzere olduğu için oyalanırız. Artık gitmek zorunda olduğumuzda, biz şehirden oraya tekrar geri döneceğimizi hayal ederek ayrılırız. Şehir bizimdir.

**Şimdi sizden dört adet hikaye okumanız ve sonra bu hikayelerle ilgili bazı sorulara cevap vermeniz istenecektir.**

1. Deniz ve dört arkadaşı Uludağ'a kamp kurmaya giderler, bu gezi için çok heyecanlıdırlar. Bütün günü kamp alanında çeşitli doğa sporları aktiviteleri yaparak geçirirler. Gece olunca ateşin etrafında yemek yer ve sohbet ederler. Bu sırada Deniz hep huzursuzdur, diğerleri neşe içinde konuşup şakalaşırken o sıklıkla etrafına göz gezdirip, kulak kabartmaktadır. Bir yandan da arkadaşlarına "Ne işimiz vardı bu dağın başında, ya başımıza bir iş gelirse" diye dert yanmaktadır. Derken ormanın içinden gelen bir hışırtı duyar ve gölgelerin içinde bir şeyin hareket ettiğini fark eder. Çığlık çığlığa arkadaşlarını uyarır: "Kaçın, ağaçların arasında bir şeyler var!" Herkes elindekileri bırakıp ateşin etrafından koşarak kaçmaya başlar.

Bu hikayenin sonunda aşağıdaki olaylardan hangisinin olması sizce daha olasıdır?

- A. Ağaçların arasından Uludağ bölgesinde çok yaygın görülen yırtıcı yaban domuzlarından biri çıkar ve grubun üzerine doğru gelir. Grup, Deniz'in zamanında uyarısı sayesinde erken davranıp koşmaya başladığı için yaban domuzundan kurtulur ve civardaki bir kulübeye sığınır. Herkes Deniz'e bu kadar uyanık olduğu ve kendilerini bu tehlikeden kurtardığı için teşekkür eder.
  - B. Ağaçların arasından çıka çıka Uludağ bölgesinde çok yaygın görülen dağ keçilerinden biri çıkar. Herkes boşu boşuna endişelendikleri ve ateşin etrafındaki güzel atmosferleri bozulduğu için üzülür ve hep böyle gereksiz yere telaş ettiği ve keyiflerini kaçırdığı için Deniz' kızır.
- Şimdi lütfen biraz önce okuduğunuz hikayedeki Deniz adlı karakteri düşününüz ve aşağıdaki soruları aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek cevaplayınız.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/fikrim yok Çok

Sizce Deniz'in davranışı

1. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kurtulmak için ne kadar etkiliydi?
2. Durumun gerektirdiklerine ne kadar uygundu?
3. Grup için ne kadar faydalıydı?
4. Genel olarak ne kadar işlevseldi?
5. Genel olarak ne kadar rahatsız edici/sinir bozucuydu?
6. Genel olarak ne kadar gereksizdi?

- Şimdi lütfen Deniz’i bir karakter olarak aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek değerlendiriniz:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
fikrim yok

Sizce Deniz ne kadar

1. Sempatik (sevimli)?
2. Yetkin (becerili, ehil)?
3. Güvenilir?
4. Yardımsever?
5. Sinir bozucu?
6. İyi bir arkadaş?
7. Düşünceli?
8. Akıllı?
9. Uyanık/Dikkatli?

- Şimdi lütfen bu okuduğunuz hikayedeki grubun bir üyesi olduğunuzu ve bu olayın sizin de başınıza geldiğini düşününüz.

Lütfen aşağıda tarif edilen davranışları yapma olasılığınızı aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Olası Değil fikrim yok Olası

1. Deniz’i takip eder ve onun dediğini yapardım.
2. Grubun diğer üyelerini de Deniz’i takip etmek ve onun dediklerini yapmak konusunda yönlendirirdim.
3. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kaçabilmek için Deniz’in bana vereceği görevleri yapardım.

2. Deniz ve dört arkadaşı Uludağ'a kamp kurmaya giderler, bu gezi için çok heyecanlıdırlar. Bütün günü kamp alanında çeşitli doğa sporları aktiviteleri yaparak geçirirler. Gece olunca ateşin etrafında yemek yer ve sohbet ederler. Derken hava aniden bozar ve çok şiddetli bir rüzgar çıkar. Rüzgar çadırlarının hepsini yıkar. Herkes rüzgara rağmen çadırları tekrar kurmaya uğraşır, sadece Deniz bu ortak çabaya katılmaz ve "Bu kadar rüzgarda çadır kurulmaz, ben kalacak başka bir yer bulmaya gidiyorum" der, eşyalarını alarak uzaklaşır.

Bu hikayenin sonunda aşağıdaki olaylardan hangisinin olması sizce daha olasıdır?

- A. Diğerleri bir süre çadırları tekrar kurmaya uğraşırlar ama başaramazlar. En sonunda Deniz'in gittiği yöne doğru ilerleyip onun kalacak bir yer bulup bulmadığına bakmaya karar verirler. Deniz'i yoldan telsizle arayıp tarif alarak onun bulunduğu kulübeye gelirler ve geceyi hep beraber orada geçirirler. Deniz'in erken hareket etmesiyle sığınacak bir yer buldukları için herkes ona teşekkür eder.
  - B. Diğerleri bir süre daha uğraşırlar ve sonunda çadırları tekrar kurmayı başarırlar, geceyi hep beraber kamp alanında çadırlarında geçirirler. Deniz'e kendilerini zor bir durumda bırakıp gittiği için öfkelenen grup, ertesi gün yanlarına geri döndüğünde ona kızar.
- Şimdi lütfen biraz önce okuduğunuz hikayedeki Deniz adlı karakteri düşününüz ve aşağıdaki soruları aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek cevaplayınız.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/fikrim yok Çok

Sizce Deniz'in davranışı

1. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kurtulmak için ne kadar etkiliydi?
2. Durumun gerektirdiklerine ne kadar uygundu?
3. Grup için ne kadar faydalıydı?
4. Genel olarak ne kadar işlevseldi?
5. Genel olarak ne kadar rahatsız edici/sinir bozucuydu?
6. Genel olarak ne kadar gereksizdi?

- Şimdi lütfen Deniz’i bir karakter olarak aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek değerlendiriniz:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
fikrim yok

Sizce Deniz ne kadar

1. Sempatik (sevimli)?
2. Yetkin (becerili, ehil)?
3. Güvenilir?
4. Yardımsever?
5. Sinir bozucu?
6. İyi bir arkadaş?
7. Düşünceli?
8. Akıllı?
9. Uyanık/Dikkatli?

- Şimdi lütfen bu okuduğunuz hikayedeki grubun bir üyesi olduğunuzu ve bu olayın sizin de başınıza geldiğini düşününüz.

Lütfen aşağıda tarif edilen davranışları yapma olasılığınızı aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Olası Değil fikrim yok Olası

1. Deniz’i takip eder ve onun dediğini yapardım.
2. Grubun diğer üyelerini de Deniz’i takip etmek ve onun dediklerini yapmak konusunda yönlendirirdim.
3. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kaçabilmek için Deniz’in bana vereceği görevleri yapardım.

3. Deniz ve dört arkadaşı bir gün sinemaya giderler. Hepsinin evi sinemaya yakın olduğu için eve yürüyerek dönmeye karar verirler ancak öğle vakti olduğu için hava çok sıcaktır, bir an önce varabilmek için kestirme yola saparlar. Yolda yürürken kendi aralarında filmi tartışmaktadırlar. Herkes neşe içinde sohbet ederken Deniz hayli تنها olan bu kestirme yola saptıkları için huzursuzdur, devamlı arkasına bakıp birilerinin onları takip edip etmediğini kontrol etmekte, bir taraftan da “Keşke anayoldan gitseydik, başımıza bir bela almasak bari” diye arkadaşlarına söylenmektedir. Derken arkalarından hızlıca yaklaşan bir ayak sesi duyar ve bağırarak arkadaşlarını uyarır: “Kaçın, biri bizi takip ediyor!” Herkes panik halinde koşmaya başlar.

Bu hikayenin sonunda aşağıdaki olaylardan hangisinin olması sizce daha olasıdır?

- A. Herkes can havliyle koşarken refleksle dönüp arkalarına bakar, sokağın başında gerçekten de üzerlerine doğru gelmekte olan bir kapkaççı vardır. Grup, Deniz’in zamanında uyarısı sayesinde erken davranıp koşmaya başladığı için kapkaççı onları yakalamadan ana caddeye varmayı başarır. Herkes Deniz’e dikkatli davranışı sayesinde kapkaççıdan kurtulmalarını sağladığı için teşekkür eder.
- B. Herkes can havliyle koşarken refleksle dönüp arkalarına bakar, sokağın başında sadece genç bir kadın vardır. Bunun üzerine koşmayı bırakırlar, bu sırada kadın da arkalarından seslenir: “Kusura bakmayın, sizi korkutmak istememiştim, sadece yol tarifi soracaktım.” Grup, Deniz yüzünden düştükleri gülünç durumdan çok utanır ve hep böyle olur olmaz tedirginlik yarattığı için ona kızar.
- Şimdi lütfen biraz önce okuduğunuz hikayedeki Deniz adlı karakteri düşününüz ve aşağıdaki soruları aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek cevaplayınız.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/fikrim yok Çok

Sizce Deniz’in davranışı

1. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kurtulmak için ne kadar etkiliydi?
2. Durumun gerektirdiklerine ne kadar uygundu?
3. Grup için ne kadar faydalıydı?
4. Genel olarak ne kadar işlevseldi?
5. Genel olarak ne kadar rahatsız edici/sinir bozucuydu?
6. Genel olarak ne kadar gereksizdi?

- Şimdi lütfen Deniz’i bir karakter olarak aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek değerlendiriniz:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
fikrim yok

Sizce Deniz ne kadar

1. Sempatik (sevimli)?
2. Yetkin (becerili, ehil)?
3. Güvenilir?
4. Yardımsever?
5. Sinir bozucu?
6. İyi bir arkadaş?
7. Düşünceli?
8. Akıllı?
9. Uyanık/Dikkatli?

- Şimdi lütfen bu okuduğunuz hikayedeki grubun bir üyesi olduğunuzu ve bu olayın sizin de başınıza geldiğini düşününüz.

Lütfen aşağıda tarif edilen davranışları yapma olasılığınızı aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Olası Değil fikrim yok Olası

1. Deniz’i takip eder ve onun dediğini yapardım.
2. Grubun diğer üyelerini de Deniz’i takip etmek ve onun dediklerini yapmak konusunda yönlendirirdim.
3. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kaçabilmek için Deniz’in bana vereceği görevleri yapardım.

4. Deniz ve dört arkadaşı bir gün sinemaya giderler. Hepsinin evi sinemaya yakın olduğu için eve yürüyerek dönmeye karar verirler ancak öğle vakti olduğu için hava çok sıcaktır, bir an önce varabilmek için kestirme yola saparlar. Yolda yürürken kendi aralarında filmi tartışmakta ve neşe içinde sohbet etmektedirler. Derken kaybolduklarını fark ederler, nerede olduklarını bilmemektedirler. Herkes cep telefonlarındaki haritalardan yönlerini bulmaya uğraşır fakat bu ara sokakta internet çekmediği için harita üzerinde nerede bulduklarını bulamazlar, yine de denemeye devam ederler. Deniz bu ortak çabaya katılmaz ve “Bu tenha yerde internet çekmez, ben şu yan yoldan giderek şansımı deneyeceğim” der ve o yola girerek uzaklaşır.

Bu hikayenin sonunda aşağıdaki olaylardan hangisinin olması sizce daha olasıdır?

- A. Diğerleri bir süre daha internet yardımıyla konumlarını bulmaya uğraşırlar ancak internet çekmediği için başarılı olamazlar. Sonunda Deniz’in gittiği yolu denemeye karar verirler. Yoldan Deniz’i arayarak bu yolun bildikleri ana caddelerden birine çıktığını öğrenirler ve evlerine sağ salim varırlar. Herkes Deniz’e doğru yolu bulduğu için teşekkür eder.
- B. Diğerleri bir süre daha internet yardımıyla konumlarını bulmaya uğraşırlar ancak internet çekmediği için başarılı olamazlar. Sonunda geldikleri kestirme yoldan geri dönmeye ve sonra evlerine bildikleri yoldan gitmeye karar verirler. Deniz’e kendilerini zor bir durumda yalnız bıraktığı için öfkelenen grup bir dahaki görüşmelerinde ona kızar.
- Şimdi lütfen biraz önce okuduğunuz hikayedeki Deniz adlı karakteri düşününüz ve aşağıdaki soruları aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek cevaplayınız.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/fikrim yok Çok

Sizce Deniz’in davranışı

1. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kurtulmak için ne kadar etkiliydi?
2. Durumun gerektirdiklerine ne kadar uygundu?
3. Grup için ne kadar faydalıydı?
4. Genel olarak ne kadar işlevseldi?
5. Genel olarak ne kadar rahatsız edici/sinir bozucuydu?
6. Genel olarak ne kadar gereksizdi?

- Şimdi lütfen Deniz'i bir karakter olarak aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek değerlendiriniz:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
fikrim yok

Sizce Deniz ne kadar

1. Sempatik (sevimli)?
2. Yetkin (becerili, ehil)?
3. Güvenilir?
4. Yardımsever?
5. Sinir bozucu?
6. İyi bir arkadaş?
7. Düşünceli?
8. Akıllı?
9. Uyanık/Dikkatli?

- Şimdi lütfen bu okuduğunuz hikayedeki grubun bir üyesi olduğunuzu ve bu olayın sizin de başınıza geldiğini düşününüz.

Lütfen aşağıda tarif edilen davranışları yapma olasılığınızı aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçek üzerinde uygun rakamı işaretleyerek gösteriniz.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Olası Değil fikrim yok Olası

1. Deniz'i takip eder ve onun dediğini yapardım.
2. Grubun diğer üyelerini de Deniz'i takip etmek ve onun dediklerini yapmak konusunda yönlendirirdim.
3. Bu tehlikeli durumdan kaçabilmek için Deniz'in bana vereceği görevleri yapardım.

**Lütfen aşağıdaki değerlerin sizin için ne kadar önemli olduğunu aşağıdaki 7 aralıklı ölçeği kullanarak değerın yanına ilgili rakamı yazarak belirtiniz.**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7  
Hiç Kararsızım/ Çok  
Önemli değil fikrim yok önemli

Özgürlük  
Bireysel bağımsızlık  
İşinde yetkin olma  
Yaratıcılık  
Renkli bir yaşam  
İnsanların üzerinde etki sahibi olma  
Heyecanlı bir yaşam  
Kendine saygı duymak  
Kendi hedefini belirleyebilme  
Aidiyet hissi  
Öz-disiplin  
Ailenin güvenliği  
Sadakat  
Mütevazılık  
İtaatkar olmak  
Yardımseverlik  
Affedebilme  
Sorumluluk sahibi olmak

## Katılım Sonrası Bilgi Formu

Öncelikle arařtırmamıza katıldığınız için teřekkür ederiz.

Bu arařtırma daha önce de belirtildiđi gibi ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Uzman Psikolog Ezgi Sakman tarafından yürütölen bir çalışmadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı farklı kültürel ortamların benlik özellikleri ve bağlanma süreçleri arasındaki ilişkiye etkilerini incelemektir.

Bu amaçla çalışmayı tamamlayan katılımcıların bireyci ve ilişkisel benliklerinin onların çeşitli bağlanma davranışlarına dair değerlendirmelerini nasıl etkilediđini arařtırmak amacı ile bu çalışmada katılımcıların yarısına bireyci benliđi aktive eden “ben” dilinin kullanıldığđı bir metindeki fiilleri işaretlemeleri istenirken, katılımcıların diđer yarısına ilişkisel benliđi aktive eden “biz” dilinin kullanıldığđı bir metindeki fiilleri işaretlemeleri istenmiştir. Daha sonra verilen hikayelerin bazılarında kaygılı bazılarında ise kaçınan bağlanma davranışları resmedilmiştir ve katılımcıların bu hikayelerdeki karakterleri ve davranışlarını değerlendirmeleri istenmiştir. Literatüre göre beklenen bireyci benliđi aktive edilmiş katılımcıların kaygılı bağlanma davranışlarını, toplulukçu benliđi aktive edilmiş katılımcıların ise kaygılı bağlanma davranışlarını daha olumlu değerlendireceđidir. Çalışmanın en sonunda verilen değerler listesi ise bireyci ve toplulukçu benliđin ne kadar aktive edilebildiđini ölçmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Katılımcıların arařtırmanın hipotezlerini fark etmesi verecekleri tepkileri etkileyebileceđinden, arařtırma ile ilgili bu detaylı bilgiler arařtırma öncesinde deđil sonrasında paylaşılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Mayıs 2016 sonunda elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel arařtırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sađlıklı ilerleyebilmesi ve bulguların güvenilir olması için çalışmaya katılacađını bildiđiniz diđer kişilerle çalışma ile ilgili detaylı bilgi paylaşımında bulunmamanızı dileriz. Bu arařtırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teřekkür ederiz.

Arařtırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için arařtırmacı Ezgi Sakman’a řu mail adresinden ulařabilirsiniz:  
ezgi.sakman@metu.edu.tr

Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ilgili veya etik ilkelerle ilgi soru veya görüşlerinizi ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Arařtırma Merkezi’ne iletebilirsiniz. e-posta: ueam@metu.edu.tr

## Appendix F: Curriculum Vitae

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Sakman, Ezgi  
Nationality: Turkish (TC)  
Date and Place of Birth: May 31, 1986 Ankara  
Marital Status: Single  
Phone: +90 536 349 1286  
email: ezgi.sakman@metu.edu.tr

### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Psychology	2011
BS	Bilkent Management	2007
High School	TED Ankara College, Ankara	2003

### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2015	Bilkent Psychology	Part-Time Instructor

### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

### PUBLICATIONS

- Sümer, N., Sakman, E., Harma, M., & Savaş, Ö. (2016). Turkish mothers' attachment orientations and mental representations of their children. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, 34, 49-63. doi: 10.1080/02646838.2015.1092020
- Sakman, E. (2012). Cinsel şiddet: Ataerkil cinsellik anlayışının bir ürünü [Sexual Violence: A product of patriarchal sexuality]. *PIVOLKA - Başkent Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Psikoloji Bölümü Eleştirel-Yaratıcı Düşünme ve Davranış Araştırmaları Laboratuvarı Bülteni [PIVOLKA - Başkent University Faculty of Arts and Sciences Department of Psychology Critical-Creative Thinking and Behavior Research Laboratory Bulletin]*, 23(7), 5-7.

## Appendix G: Turkish Summary

### Bir Erken Uyarı ve Uzaklaşma Sistemi Olarak Güvensiz Bağlanmanın Kültürel Bağlamda İşlevselliği

Hem korunmasız insan yavrusunun erken dönemde hayatta kalma problemi hem de yetişkin insanın ileri dönemde bağ kurma ve üreme problemi, evrimsel olarak gelişen ve destek veren kişilere (*bağlanma figürleri*) yakınlığı sağlayan uyumlayıcı bir düzenleme mekanizması olarak çalışan *bağlanma davranışsal sistemi* ile çözülür (Bowlby, 1969/1982, 1973, 1980). Bu sistem kişiyi fiziksel ve psikolojik tehditlerden korur ve böylece türün devamını sağlar. Bağlanma sistemi, bağlanma figürleriyle yaşanan deneyimlerden kaynaklanan kişisel farklılıklarla işler. Bir yandan, eğer bağlanma figürü ihtiyaç duyulan hassas bakım vermeyi tutarlı bir şekilde sağlarsa, birey güven ve ilişkililik hissi geliştirir (*güvenli bağlanma*); öte yandan eğer bağlanma figürü bir şekilde bu temel bağlanma ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamazsa birey ihtiyaç duyduğu güven duygusunu hissedemez ve *güvensiz bağlanma* gelişir. Güvensiz bağlanma iki ayrı mekanizma sonucu ortaya çıkar. Bağlanma figürü tutarlı bir biçimde katı, reddedici ve bakım vermeye niyetsiz ise, birey *aktivasyonu engelleme stratejisi* (*deactivating strategy*) geliştirir ve ilgisiz bakım verenden asgari düzeyde yardımla hayatta kalmayı sağlamak için yalnızca kendine güvenmeyi öğrenir; ve sonuç olarak bireyde *kaçınan bağlanma* gelişir. Bağlanma figürü tutarsız, yetersiz/dengesiz veya orantısız müdahaleci olduğunda ise birey *yüksek aktivasyon stratejisi* (*hyperactivating strategy*) geliştirir ve öngörülemeyen bağlanma figüründen daha çok kaynak sağlayabilme şansını arttırabilmek için yakınlık arama davranışlarını yoğunlaştırır; ve sonuç olarak bireyde *kaygılı bağlanma* gelişir (Mikulincer ve Shaver, 2007).

Bowlby'nin bağlanma kuramı muazzam sayıda araştırma üretmiş, bağlanma boyutları hemen hemen bütün psikolojik kavramlarla ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bu araştırma bulgularının ortak teması, güvenli bağlanmanın “iyi” bağlanma stili olduğu yönündedir. Güvenli bağlanan bireyler daha yüksek hayat kalitesi, mutluluk ve güvenli öz saygı rapor etmiştir. Bu bireyler aynı zamanda hayattan daha çok tatmin almakta, yakın ilişki başlatma ve sürdürmede ve stresle başa çıkmada daha başarılı

olmakta, hem birey olarak hem de bir takımın parçası olarak akademik ve profesyonel görevlerde daha iyi işlev görmekte, hatta daha sağlıklı ve uzun yaşamaktadırlar. Buna zıt olarak, araştırma bulguları tutarlı bir biçimde güvensiz bağlanmayı problemlili yakın ilişkiler, stresle işlevsiz başa çıkma yolları, düşük hayat doyumu ve mutluluk, başarısız duygu düzenlemesi ve kendini açma, düşük veya güvensiz öz saygı, düşük bilişsel, akademik ve profesyonel performans, hatta kötü fiziksel ve psikolojik sağlık gibi olumsuz çıktılarla ilişkilendirmiştir (kapsamlı bir derleme için bakınız Mikulincer ve Shaver, 2007).

Görüntüdeki bu pek çok olumsuz sonuçla ilişkisine karşın güvensiz bağlanma hala var olmakla kalmayıp, hayli yaygın olarak da görülmektedir. Pek çok kültürden araştırmalar, nüfusun neredeyse yarısının, tüm gelişim aşamaları, kültürler ve ölçme tekniklerinden bağımsız olarak, güvensiz bağlanmaya yatkın olduğunu göstermektedir (bkz., Hesse, 2008; van IJzendoorn ve Sagi-Schwartz, 2008).

Bağlanma kuramının evrimsel bakış açısı düşünüldüğünde, güvensiz bağlanmanın insan türüne herhangi bir uyumlayıcı üstünlük sağlamadan bin yıllardır doğal seçimle elenmemesi ve güvenli bağlanma kadar da yaygın olabilmesi ancak işlevselliğe dayalı bir açıklamayla anlaşılabilir. Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron ve Shaver (2010) yakın zamanda bu ilginç ikileme dikkat çekmiş ve bunu *bağlanma paradoksu* olarak adlandırmıştır.

Bağlanma kuramının orijinal hali temel olarak evrimsel bakış açısından bebeğin hayatta kalmasına odaklanır ve kaçınan ve kaygılı bağlanmanın neden evrimleşmiş olabileceğini açıkça belirtmez. Buna ek olarak, yukarıda da tartışıldığı gibi, ana akım bağlanma araştırmaları temel olarak güvenli bağlanmanın faydalarına odaklanmış ve güvensiz bağlanmanın olası faydalarını yaygın olarak göz ardı etmiştir. Buna rağmen, bazı araştırmacılar, güvensiz bağlanmanın üreme uyumu (reproductive fitness) ve grubun hayatta kalması gibi alanlarda uyumlayıcı değeri olabileceğini öne sürmüştür (örn., Belsky, Steinberg ve Draper, 1991; Chisholm, 1996; ve Ein-Dor ve ark., 2010). Bağlanma kuramının bu evrimsel yorumlamaları, geleneksel bağlanma araştırmalarının geçmişte yaptığı gibi farklı bağlanma örüntülerinin *nasıl* değil, *neden* geliştiği sorusunu cevaplamayı hedeflemektedir.

Üreme uyumu bakış açısı, bağlanma sisteminin sadece çocuklukta hayatta kalmayı sağlamak için değil, aynı zamanda yetişkinlikte üreme uyumunu arttırmak için çevreye duyarlı bir mekanizma olarak çalışmak için de evrimleşmiş olabileceği öne sürer (Belsky ve ark., 1991; Chisholm, 1996; ayrıca bakınız Ellis, 2004; Kirkpatrick, 1998; Zeifman ve Hazan, 1997). Bu perspektifteki kuramlardan Belsky ve arkadaşlarının modeli (1991), Draper ve Harpending'in (1982) babanın yokluğunun çocuğun gelecekteki üreme stratejisini şekillendirdiği fikrini geliştirerek, erken dönem aile deneyimlerinin bireyi yetişkinlikte üreme uyumunu ekolojik şartlara göre arttıran farklı üreme stratejilerine götüren farklı gelişimsel yollara nasıl sevk ettiğini açıklar. Model, sosyal ve ekolojik bağlamın (örn., çevresel stres, yetersiz kaynaklar, mutsuz evlilik) ebeveynliği etkilediğini (örn., bakım vermenin duyarlılığı), bunun da çocuğun psikolojik ve davranışsal gelişimini (örn., bağlanma örüntüsü ve içsel çalışan/zihinsel model) belirlediğini, bunun da bedensel gelişimi (örn., cinsel olgunlaşma) etkilediğini ve bunun üzerinden de en sonunda bir yetişkin olduğunda üreme stratejisini (örn., kısa vadeli veya uzun vadeli çiftleşme, düşük veya yüksek kaliteli döl) şekillendirdiğini öne sürer (Belsky ve ark., 1991). Belsky ve arkadaşları (1991), erken dönem aile ortamında kaynakların kıt ve/veya öngörülemez, insanların güvenilmez ve ilişkilerin istikrarsız olduğunu öğrenen çocukların güvensiz bağlanma stili geliştirdiğini, cinsel olgunluğa erken ulaştığını, erken başlayan, kısa vadeli ve çok eşli bir üreme stratejisi benimsediğini ve kendi çocuklarına da düşük ebeveynlik yatırımı sunduğunu iddia eder. Buna zıt olarak, kaynakların devamlı erişilebilir olduğunu, insanların güvenilir ve ilişkilerin ödüllendirici olduğunu işaret eden erken dönem deneyimleri yaşayan çocuklar güvenli bağlanma stili geliştirirler, cinsel olgunluğa geç ulaşırlar, geç başlayan, uzun vadeli ve tek eşli bir üreme stratejisi benimserler ve kendi çocuklarına da yüksek ebeveynlik yatırımı yaparlar.

Yine bu perspektifteki modellerden Chisholm'ün (1993, 1996) gözden geçirilmiş ve genişletilmiş modeli, şimdiki zamanda (anında) ve gelecekte (ertelenmiş) üreme arasındaki ödünleşime odaklanmıştır. Düşük ölüm oranlarının olduğu ekolojilerde, güvenli bağlanan çocuklar daha uzun süren ebeveyn yatırımının tadını çıkarabilirler, böylece kendi kaynaklarını gelişmeye ayırabilirler ve üremeyi

erteleyebilirler. En sonunda ürediklerinde, uzun vadeli eş ararlar ve kendi çocuklarına da yüksek ebeveyn yatırımı sunarlar (Chisholm, 1996). Bunun aksine, zorlu çevre koşulları altında kaçınan bağlanan çocuklar, reddedici aileleri tarafından erken yaşta bağımsız olmaya zorlandıkları için kısıtlı kaynaklarını erken başlayan üremeye ayırırlar ve kısa vadeli üreme stratejisi benimserler. Chisholm (1996), kaygılı bağlanan çocukların ise tutarsız ebeveynlerinden kaynak isteme girişimlerini bırakmadıklarını, ancak bu kaynakları kendi gelişimlerine değil erken yaşta üremeye kanalize ettiklerini iddia eder.

Güvensiz bağlanmanın bir diğer uyumlayıcı değerinin grubun hayatta kalması alanında olabileceğini ortaya atan sosyal savunma kuramı (Ein-Dor ve ark., 2010) ise güvensiz bağlanmanın görece uyumlayıcı faydasının tehdit durumlarında ortaya çıktığını iddia eder. Güvenli bağlanan bireylerin sahip olduğu içselleştirilmiş güvenlik ve rahatlık hissi yukarıda tartışılan geniş bağlamlarda onlar için faydalı olsa bile, çevrede bir tehlike baş gösterdiğinde bu, onların dezavantajına olabilir. Güvenli bağlanan bireylerin tehdit işaretlerine karşı pek de uyanık olmaması ve tehdit algılandığında da otomatik olarak bağlanma figürlerine yönelmeleri (örn., Mikulincer, Gillath ve Shaver, 2002), acil bir durum, erken tespit ve hızlı kaçış gerektirdiğinde onların aleyhine işleyebilir. Yaygın güven hisleri, erken tehdit işaretlerini tespit etmelerini erteleyebilir ve bağlanma figürlerine yakın olma yatkınlıkları, bireysel kurtuluş için küçük kaçış şanslarını kaçırmalarına sebep olabilir.

Sosyal savunma kuramı, güvenli bağlanan insanlara zıt olarak, güvensiz bağlanan bireylerin, tehlide karşı içselleştirilmiş tepkilerinden dolayı bu gibi tehlikeli durumlarda faydalı olabileceği fikrini ortaya atar (Ein-Dor ve ark., 2010). Bir taraftan, bağlanma kaygısı yüksek olan insanlar, kronik olarak yüksek aktivasyon düzeyindeki bağlanma sistemlerinden dolayı tehdit ve stres işaretlerine karşı hep tetiktedir: Fiziksel veya sosyal tehdit ipuçlarını daha kolay ve hızlı tespit ederler ve bunlara daha yoğun tepki verirler (Ein-Dor ve Perry, 2014; Mikulincer, Birnbaum, Woddis ve Nachmias, 2000; Mikulincer ve ark., 2002). Sosyal savunma kuramı (Ein-Dor ve ark., 2010), bu şema ve eylem yatkınlıklarının kaygılı bağlanan bireyleri grup için iyi birer *bekçi (sentinel)* yapabileceğini iddia eder. Bu bekçiler, ortaya çıkmakta

olan bir tehlikenin erken ve muğlak işaretlerini (örn., alışık olunmayan ses, çatırtı, koku ve hareketler) tespit eder ve grubun diğer üyelerini uyarırlar. Böylece, grubun güvenli bağlanan üyelerinin tehdit işaretlerini zamanında tespit etmedeki eksiklerini kapatmış ve grup düzeyinde hayatta kalmada uyumlayıcı fayda sunmuş olabilirler. Diğer taraftan, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek olan insanlar, temel olarak sadece kendine güvenen ve kendini koruyan, faydacı ve kronik olarak kaçmaya eğilimlidir (örn., Mikulincer ve Shaver, 2007). Sosyal savunma kuramı, yüksek bağlanma kaçınması olan kişilerin bu özelliklerinin, onları tehlike anlarında *hızlı savaş-veya-kaç (rapid fight-or-flight)* tepkileri vererek kimseden yardım beklemeden kendilerini korumaya ve (her zaman olumsuz durumdan kaçmaya meyilli oldukları için) kaçış yollarını daha çabuk fark etmeye yatkın hale getirdiğini iddia eder. Diğer insanların grubun kaçınan bağlanan üyelerini fark ettikleri veya yarattıkları bu kaçış yollarında takip etme olasılığı yüksek olduğu için, bu eylem yatkınlıklarının grubun geri kalanı için de faydalı olduğu iddia edilmiştir. Böylece, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek olan grup üyeleri, tahliye stratejileri aramaktansa bağlanma figürlerini bulmakla meşgul olan grubun diğer güvenli bağlanan üyeleri için bir nevi kurtuluş yolu yaratarak grup düzeyinde uyumlayıcı fayda sağlamış olur (Ein-Dor ve ark., 2010).

Güvensiz bağlanmayı yerel çevredeki tehlikelere uyum sağlayan bir *erken uyarı ve uzaklaşma sistemi* olarak iş görerek hayatta kalmayı ve böylece üremeyi garantileyen bir yapı olarak kurgulayan sosyal savunma kuramı, güvensiz bağlanmanın uyumlayıcı değeri araştırmalarına önemli bir katkıda bulunmuştur. Ancak kuram güvensiz bağlanma ile ilgili kritik bir bulguyu çerçevesine dahil etmemiştir: Her ne kadar güvenli bağlanma evrensel bir norm olsa da (van IJzendoorn ve Sagi-Schwartz, 2008), güvensiz bağlanmanın yaygınlığı kültürler arası farklılıklar göstermektedir. Toplulukçu kültürlerde kaygılı bağlanma daha yaygın iken, kaçınan bağlanmaya bireyci kültürlerde daha çok rastlanmaktadır (bkz., Schmitt, 2010). Bu nedenle, güvensiz bağlanmanın uyumlayıcı değerini açıklamayı hedefleyen bir kuramın, güvensiz bağlanmanın yaygınlığının kültürlerarası farklılıklarını göz önüne alması ve analizine dahil etmesi gerektiği öne sürülebilir. Bu tezin amacı, sosyal savunma kuramına kültürel bağlamı ekleyerek bu boşluğu doldurmaktır.

Bağlanma kuramının normatiflik hipotezi ile uyumlu olarak, farklı kültürel bağlamlar farklı güvensiz bağlanma stillerini (muhtemelen farklı güvensiz bağlanma biçimleri farklı kültürel talepleri daha iyi karşıladığı için) besliyor olabilir. Bu tezde temel olarak, kültürde daha sık görülen güvensiz bağlanma biçiminin daha az olumsuz sonuçlar doğurduğunu ortaya atan “kültüre uyum hipotezi”nden (Friedman ve ark., 2010) yola çıkarak, kültürdeki yaygın güvensiz bağlanma stiline daha fazla uyumlayıcı değerinin olacağı fikri ortaya atılmaktadır.

Buna göre, kaygılı bağlanmanın daha yaygın görüldüğü toplulukçu/ilişkisel kültürlerde kaygılı bağlanma ile tanımlanan bekçi davranışları daha uyumlayıcı olurken, kaçınan bağlanmanın daha yaygın görüldüğü bireyci/bağımsız kültürlerde kaçınan bağlanma ile tanımlanan hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarının daha uyumlayıcı olacağı beklenmektedir. Bir yandan, görece müdahaleci kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarının, kişisel alanın dar olduğu, insanların benliklerini ilişki içinde oldukları diğer insanlara göreli kurguladıkları (Markus ve Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), iletişimin örtük mesajlar ve bağlamı okumak üzerinden yürütüldüğü (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey ve Chua, 1988; Hall, 1976) toplulukçu/ilişkisel kültürlerle uyumlu olacağı düşünülmektedir. Diğer yandan, görece bencil kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarının, kişisel alanın geniş olduğu, insanların benliklerini temel olarak kendi varlıkları üzerinden kurguladıkları (Markus ve Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), iletişimin açık mesajlar ve direk yüzleşme ile yürütüldüğü (Gudykunst ve ark., 1988; Hall, 1976) bireyci/bağımsız kültürlerle uyumlu olacağı ön görülmektedir.

### **Çalışma 1: Bağlanma Boyutları ve Kültürel Değerler Arasındaki İlişkinin Araştırılması**

#### **Amaç ve Hipotezler**

Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi, güvensiz bağlanmanın farklı türlerinin farklı kültürlerde farklı yaygınlık seviyelerinde görüldüğü daha önce rapor edilmiş olsa da (bkz., Schmitt, 2010; van Ijzendoorn ve Sagi, 2008), şimdiye kadar hiçbir çalışma bağlanma boyutları ile kültürel değerler arasındaki ilişkiyi sistematik olarak test etmemiştir. Bu tezin ilk çalışmasının amacı, toplulukçu Türk kültüründe ve bireyci Amerikan kültüründe bir araştırma yaparak bu boşluğu doldurmaktır.

Çalışmanın ilk hipotezi, hem toplulukçu (Türkiye) hem de bireyci (ABD) kültürlerde bağlanma kaçınmasının bireycilik/bağımsızlıkla ilintili değerler ile bağlanma kaygısının ise toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik ile ilintili değerler ile ilişkili bulunacağıdır. Çalışmanın ikinci hipotezi ise, bağlanma kaçınması ile bireycilik/bağımsızlık ile ilintili değerler arasındaki ilişkinin bireyci Amerikan örnekleminde daha güçlü, bağlanma kaygısı ile toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik ile ilintili değerler arasındaki ilişkinin ise toplulukçu Türk örnekleminde daha güçlü olacağıdır.

### **Katılımcılar**

Çalışmanın Türk örneklemini 368 yetişkin Facebook kullanıcılarından, Amerikan örneklemini ise 350 Amazon Mechanical Turk çalışanından oluşmaktadır. Türk katılımcıların % 62'si kadındır ve yaş ortalamaları 37.47'dir ( $SS = 12.38$ ). Amerikalı katılımcıların ise % 58'i kadındır ve yaş ortalamaları 38.86'dır ( $SS = 12.60$ ).

### **Veri Toplama Araçları ve İşlem**

ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'nden alınan etik izin (bkz., Ek A) ardından katılımcılar Qualtrics ile hazırlanan çevrimiçi ankete yönlendirilmişlerdir (bkz., Ek B).

**Yakın İlişkilerde Yaşantılar Envanteri (YİYE).** Katılımcıların yetişkin bağlanma yatkınlıklarını ölçmek için yakın ilişkilerde yaşantılar envanteri (YİYE; Brennan, Clark ve Shaver, 1998) kullanılmıştır. Bağlanma kaygısı ve bağlanma kaçınmasını ölçen 18'er sorudan oluşan iki alt ölçeği olan anketteki ifadeleri katılımcılar hangi oranda katıldıklarını (1 = *kesinlikle katılmıyorum*, 7 = *kesinlikle katılıyorum*) belirtmişlerdir. Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları Türkiye örnekleminde kaçınma alt ölçeği için .90, kaygı alt ölçeği için .87; Amerika örnekleminde ise kaçınma alt ölçeği için .94, kaygı alt ölçeği için .95'tir.

**Bağımsızlık/Bağlılık Değerleri.** Katılımcıların bağımsızlık ve bağlılık değerlerini ölçmek için Schwartz Değerler Anketi'nin (Schwartz ve Boehnke, 2004) kısaltılmış versiyonu (Kam, Zhou, Zhang ve Ho, 2012) kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılar 18'er bağımsızlık ve bağlılık değerinin kendileri için ne kadar önemli olduğunu (1 = *hiç önemli değil*, 7 = *çok önemli*) belirtmişlerdir. Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları Türkiye örnekleminde bağımsızlık alt ölçeği için .70, bağlılık alt ölçeği için .78;

Amerika örneğinde ise bağımsızlık alt ölçeği için .76, bağımlılık alt ölçeği için .84 olarak bulunmuştur.

**Ahenk Kontrolü.** Morling ve Fiske (1999) tarafından hazırlanan 21 maddeli ahenk kontrolü ölçeği katılımcıların daha yüksek bir güce inanma ve kendini başkalarıyla bir bütün halinde hissetme eğilimlerini ölçmek için kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılar maddelere ne hangi oranda katıldıklarını (1 = *kesinlikle katılmıyorum*, 7 = *kesinlikle katılıyorum*) belirtmişlerdir. Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları Türkiye örneğinde .79; Amerika örneğinde ise .83 olarak bulunmuştur.

**Kontrol isteği.** Burger ve Cooper'ın (1979) hazırladığı 20 maddeli kontrol isteği ölçeği katılımcıların hayatlarındaki olaylar üzerinde kontrol sahibi olma isteklerini ölçmek için kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılar maddelere ne hangi oranda katıldıklarını (1 = *kesinlikle katılmıyorum*, 5 = *kesinlikle katılıyorum*) belirtmişlerdir. Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları Türkiye örneğinde .80; Amerika örneğinde ise .83 olarak bulunmuştur.

**INDCOL.** Yatay ve dikey bireycilik ile toplulukçuluğu ölçmek için INDCOL ölçeği (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk ve Gelfand, 1995) kullanılmıştır. Bu ölçekte yatay bireycilik, dikey bireycilik, yatay toplulukçuluk ve dikey toplulukçuluk 10'ar madde ile ölçülmektedir. Katılımcıların maddelere ne hangi oranda katıldıklarını (1 = *kesinlikle katılmıyorum*, 7 = *kesinlikle katılıyorum*) belirttikleri ölçekte Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları Türkiye örneğinde yatay bireycilik için .76, dikey bireycilik için .77, yatay toplulukçuluk için .71, ve dikey toplulukçuluk için .76; Amerika örneğinde ise yatay bireycilik için .83, dikey bireycilik için .83, yatay toplulukçuluk için .79, ve dikey toplulukçuluk için .85 olarak bulunmuştur.

**Çembersel Kişilerarası Değerler Ölçeği.** Locke tarafından 2000 yılında kişilerarası değerleri ölçmek için geliştirilen ölçeğin eylem odaklı (agency) ve paylaşımcı (communal) değerler alt ölçekleri bu çalışmada Türkçeye uyarlanmıştır. Katılımcıların bu değerlerin kendileri için ne kadar önemli olduğunu (1 = *hiç önemli değil*, 5 = *çok önemli*) belirttikleri ölçekte Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları Türkiye örneğinde eylem odaklı değerler için .72, paylaşımcı değerler için .86; Amerika örneğinde ise eylem odaklı değerler için .84, paylaşımcı değerler için .89 olarak bulunmuştur.

## **Bulgular**

**Türk Örnekleminde Sonuçlar.** İlk hipotezi test etmek için korelasyon, kanonik korelasyon ve regresyon analizleri yapılmıştır. Tablolar 2.3.2.1, 2.3.2.2 ve 2.3.2.3'te görülebileceği üzere, ilk hipotezi destekler biçimde Türk örnekleminde bağlanma kaçınması bireycilik/bağımsızlıkla ilintili değerler ile bağlanma kaygısı ise toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik ile ilintili değerler ile temel olarak ilişkili bulunmuştur. Beklendiği üzere, kaçınan bağlanma, bağlılık değerleri, ahenk kontrolü, yatay toplulukçuluk ve paylaşımcı değerler gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerler ile negatif ilişkili; bir bireycilik/bağımsızlık ölçümü olan eylem odaklı değerler ile ise pozitif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Bağlanma kaçınması, beklenenin aksine, bağımsızlık değerleri, kontrol isteği ve yatay bireycilik gibi bireycilik/bağımsızlık ölçümleriyle negatif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Bağlanma kaygısı ise, beklediği üzere, bağlılık değerleri, ahenk kontrolü, yatay ve dikey toplulukçuluk ve paylaşımcı değerler gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerler ile pozitif ilişkili; kontrol isteği gibi bireycilik/bağımsızlık ile ilintili bir değer ile de negatif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Bağlanma kaygısı, beklenenin aksine, dikey bireycilik ve eylem odaklı değerler gibi bireycilik/bağımsızlık ölçümleriyle pozitif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Ayrıca yapılan doğrusal olmayan eğrisel (karesel) regresyon analizinde de bağlanma kaygısının orta derece değerlerinin, bağlılık değerleri, ahenk kontrolü ve dikey toplulukçuluk gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerlerin yüksek seviyeleri ile ilişkili olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır (bkz., Figürler 2.3.2.4.1, 2.3.2.4.2 ve 2.3.2.4.4). Bağlanma kaygısının düşük ve yüksek değerleri ise yatay bireyciliğin yüksek seviyeleri ile ilintili bulunmuştur (bkz., Figür 2.3.2.4.3).

**Amerikan Örnekleminde Sonuçlar.** İlk hipotezi test etmek için korelasyon, kanonik korelasyon ve regresyon analizleri Amerikan örnekleminde de tekrarlanmıştır. Tablolar 2.3.3.1, 2.3.3.2 ve 2.3.3.3'te görülebileceği üzere, ilk hipotezi destekler biçimde Amerikan örnekleminde de bağlanma kaçınması bireycilik/bağımsızlıkla ilintili değerler ile bağlanma kaygısı ise toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik ile ilintili değerler ile temel olarak ilişkili bulunmuştur. Beklendiği üzere, kaçınan bağlanma, bağlılık değerleri, ahenk kontrolü, yatay ve dikey toplulukçuluk ve paylaşımcı değerler gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerler ile

negatif ilişkili; dikey bireycilik gibi bireycilik/bağımsızlık ile ilintili bir değer ile de pozitif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Bağlanma kaygısı ise, beklendiği üzere, dikey toplulukçuluk ve paylaşımcı değerler gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerler ile pozitif ilişkili; kontrol isteği ve yatay bireycilik gibi bireycilik/bağımsızlık ile ilintili değerler ile de negatif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Bağlanma kaygısı, beklenenin aksine, dikey bireycilik ve eylem odaklı değerler gibi bireycilik/bağımsızlık ölçüleriyle pozitif ilişkili bulunmuştur. Ayrıca yapılan doğrusal olmayan eğrisel (karesel) regresyon analizinde de hem bağlanma kaçınmasının hem de bağlanma kaygısının düşük ve yüksek değerlerinin yatay bireyciliğin yüksek seviyeleri ile ilişkili olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır (bkz., Figürler 2.3.3.4.1 ve 2.3.3.4.2).

İkinci hipotezi test etmek içinse her iki örnekleme korelasyon katsayılarının arasında istatistikî düzeyde anlamlı fark olup olmadığı Cohen ve Cohen'in (1983) yöntemleri izlenerek test edilmiştir. Sonuçlar, bağlanma kaçınması ile bireycilik/bağımsızlık ile ilintili değerler arasındaki ilişkinin bireyci Amerikan örnekleminde daha güçlü, bağlanma kaygısı ile toplulukçuluk/ilişkisel değerler arasındaki ilişkinin ise toplulukçu Türk örnekleminde daha güçlü olacağı hipotezini desteklemiş ve bağlanma kaçınması ile ahenk kontrolü, yatay toplulukçuluk ve paylaşımcı değerler gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerler arasındaki negatif korelasyon katsayılarının Amerikan örnekleminde Türk örneklemindeki aynı katsayılara göre anlamlı düzeyde daha yüksek olduğunu; bağlanma kaygısı ile dikey toplulukçuluk gibi toplulukçu/ilişkisel bir değer arasındaki pozitif korelasyon katsayısının ise Türk örnekleminde Amerikan örneklemindeki aynı katsayıya göre anlamlı düzeyde daha yüksek olduğunu göstermiştir.

## **Çalışma 2: Güvensiz Bağlanmanın İşlevselliğinin Deneysel bir Araştırması**

### **Amaç ve Hipotezler**

Bu tezin genel amacı olan güvensiz bağlanmanın olası uyumlayıcı işlevlerini kültüre bağlı olarak inceleme doğrultusunda, ilk çalışma romantik bağlanma boyutları ile kültürel değerler arasında gerçekten de bir ilişki olduğunu ve bu ilişkinin kültürdeki yaygın bağlanma stili ile kültürün yaygın değerleri arasında daha kuvvetli olduğunu göstermiştir. İkinci çalışmanın amacı, bu sonuçları temel alarak, bu bağlanma boyutu-kültürel değer ilişkisinin kültürün üyeleri için herhangi bir

uyumlayıcı işlev görüp görmediğini ilk defa araştırmaktır. Bu çalışmada güvensiz bağlanmanın işlevi, güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının o kültürün üyeleri tarafından ne kadar işlevsel olarak algılandığı ile ölçülmüştür ve bu ölçüm çalışmanın bağımlı değişkeni olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Yine bu çalışmada kültürel bağlam, hem bağımsız hem de bağlı benlik kurgusunun hangi kültürde yaşarsa yaşasın her bireyde bulunduğu (Singelis, 1994) ve karşılaştırma yöntemi ile bu zihinsel şemaların aktif hale getirilebileceği (bkz., Oyserman ve Lee, 2008) düşünceleri ile, katılımcılara bağımsızlık veya bağlılık değerleri karşılaştırılmak suretiyle deneysel olarak manipüle edilerek yaratılmıştır. Çalışmanın ilk bağımsız değişkeni bu yaratılan kültürel bağlamken, ikinci bağımsız değişkeni kişisel bağlanma stilleridir.

Çalışmanın genel hipotezi, güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının, kültürdeki yaygın bağlanma boyutu-kültürel değer ilişkisi ile uyumlu olduğu sürece kültürün üyeleri tarafından işlevsel algılanacağı, yani kültürel olarak uyumlayıcı olacaktır. İlk çalışmanın sonuçları üzerine inşa edilerek beklenmektedir ki, kaygılı bağlanma ile ilişkili bekçi davranışları toplulukçu/ilişkisel kültürel bağlamlarda (bağlılık karşılaştırıcısı altında) daha işlevsel olarak algılanırken, kaçınan bağlanma ile ilişkili hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışları bireyci/bağımsız kültürel bağlamlarda (bağımsızlık karşılaştırıcısı altında) daha işlevsel olarak algılanacaktır (Hipotez 1). Kişilerin bağlanma yatkınlıklarının da güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarını nasıl değerlendirecekleri üzerinde etkisi olacağı beklenmektedir. Bağlanma kaygısı yüksek bireyler kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını daha işlevsel algılayırken, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek bireylerin kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını daha işlevsel algılayacakları beklenmektedir (Hipotez 2). Son olarak, bireylerin bağlanma örüntüleri ile kültürel bağlamın güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının değerlendirmesi üzerinde bir ortak etkisinin olması da beklenmektedir. Bir yandan, belirli bir güvensiz bağlanma davranışı kişinin kendi bağlanma örüntüsü ile uyumlu olduğunda, içinde bulunulan kültürel bağlam da bu güvensiz bağlanma davranışı ile uyumlu ise, bu bağlamın bu davranışın olumlu değerlendirilmesi üzerinde artırıcı bir etkisi olacağı beklenmektedir (Hipotez 3a). Buna göre, bağlanma kaygısı yüksek bireylerin kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını bağlılık karşılaştırıcısı altındayken, bağımsızlık karşılaştırıcısı altında oldukları duruma göre, daha işlevsel değerlendirecekleri

beklenirken; bağlanma kaçınması yüksek bireylerin kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken, bağlılık çağrıştırıcısı altında oldukları duruma göre, daha işlevsel değerlendirecekleri beklenmektedir.

Diğer yandan, belirli bir güvensiz bağlanma davranışı kişinin kendi bağlanma örüntüsü ile uyumsuz olduğunda, içinde bulunulan kültürel bağlam bu güvensiz bağlanma davranışı ile uyumlu ise, bu bağlamın bu davranışın olumsuz değerlendirilmesi üzerinde hafifletici bir etkisi olacağı beklenmektedir (Hipotez 3b). Buna göre, bağlanma kaygısı yüksek bireylerin kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken, bağlılık çağrıştırıcısı altında oldukları duruma göre, daha az işlevsiz değerlendirecekleri beklenirken; bağlanma kaçınması yüksek bireylerin kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını bağlılık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken, bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altında oldukları duruma göre, daha az işlevsiz değerlendirecekleri beklenmektedir.

### **Katılımcılar**

Çalışmanın örneklemini 164 ODTÜ lisans öğrencisinden oluşmaktadır. Katılımcıların % 54.30'u kadındır ve yaş ortalamaları 21.84'dir ( $SS = 1.63$ ). Öğrencilere katılımları karşılığında kısmi ders notu verilmiştir.

### **Veri Toplama Araçları ve İşlem**

ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'nden alınan etik izin (bkz., Ek C) ardından katılımcılar Qualtrics ile hazırlanan çevrimiçi ankete yönlendirilmişlerdir (bkz., Ek E).

**Yakın İlişkilerde Yaşantılar Envanteri (YİYE).** Katılımcıların yetişkin bağlanma yatkinliklerini ölçmek için Çalışma 1'de kullanılan yakın ilişkilerde yaşantılar envanteri (YİYE; Brennan, Clark ve Shaver, 1998) kullanılmıştır. Cronbach alfa güvenirlik katsayıları kaçınma alt ölçeği için .91, kaygı alt ölçeği için .91 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

**Bağımsızlık/Bağlılık Çağrıştırılması.** Bu çalışmada farklı kültürel bağlamlar bir bağımsızlık/bağlılık çağrıştırılması görevi ile sağlanmıştır. Katılımcılar rastgele bir biçimde sayıca eşit iki gruba ayrılmıştır ve katılımcılara Gardner, Gabriel ve Lee (1999) tarafından geliştirilen zamir işaretleme görevi vasıtası ile bağımsızlık veya bağlılık çağrıştırıcısı verilmiştir. Bu görevde katılımcılardan bir şehir gezisini anlatan

bir paragraftaki zamirleri işaretlemeleri istenmektedir. Türkçe’de İngilizce’den farklı olarak özne vurgusu zamirde değil fiilde olduğu için (örn., “ben giderim” yerine “giderim” ifadesinin daha sık kullanılması), görev bu çalışma için biraz değiştirilmiş ve katılımcılardan cümlelerdeki fiilleri işaretlemeleri istenmiştir. Bağımsızlık koşulunda işaretlenecek fiiller birinci tekil şahıs çekimliken (örn., “giderim”), bağıllık koşulunda birinci çoğul şahıs çekimli (örn., “gideriz”) verilmiştir (bkz., Ek E).

**Bekçi ve Hızlı Savaş-veya-Kaç Davranışları.** Çağrıştırıcı görevinden sonra katılımcılar tipik kaygılı/bekçi ve tipik kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışları ile karşı karşıya bırakılmıştır. Katılımcılar bu çalışma için hazırlanan ve öncelikle bir pilot çalışma ile geçerlilik ve güvenilirlik analizi yapılan dört senaryo okumuştur (bkz., Ek E). Bu senaryolarda, bir grup genç çeşitli tehlikeli durumlarda kalmaktadır. 1. ve 3. senaryoda, gruptaki karakterlerden biri bu tehlike karşısında tipik bekçi davranışı sergilerken, 2. ve 4. senaryoda, gruptaki karakterlerden biri bu tehlike karşısında tipik hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışı sergilemektedir. Her katılımcı her hikayeyi rastgele dengelemiş bir sırada okumuştur.

**Bekçi ve Hızlı Savaş-veya-Kaç Davranışlarının Değerlendirilmesi.** Tüm hikayeleri okuduktan sonra katılımcılardan biraz önce gördükleri tipik bekçi ve hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını bir seri soruya cevap vererek değerlendirmeleri istenmiştir (bkz., Ek E). Bu değerlendirmeler çalışmanın bağımlı değişkenleri olarak kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılardan öncelikle okudukları her bir hikaye için iki alternatiften birini daha olası son olarak seçmeleri istenmiştir. Bu alternatiflerden birinde senaryoda anlatılan güvensiz bağlanma davranışı grup için işlevsel bir sonuç doğururken diğeri olumsuz bir sonuç doğurmaktadır. Bu soruya verilen cevap katılımcıların bu güvensiz bağlanma davranışının sonucunu ne kadar işlevsel gördüğünü ölçmüştür (bu değişkene *sonuç* adı verilmiştir). Daha sonra katılımcılara okudukları senaryolardaki güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarını ne kadar işlevsel gördüklerini, bu senaryolardaki karakterleri ne kadar sevilebilir bulduklarını ve son olarak bu karakterleri takip etme olasılıklarının ne kadar yüksek olduğunu ölçen bazı sorular 7’li Likert ölçekleri ile yöneltilmiştir (bu değişkenlere sırasıyla *davranışın değerlendirilmesi*, *karakterin değerlendirilmesi* ve *takip etme olasılığı* adları

verilmiştir). Bu üç sürekli ölçümün hepsinden alınan puanların ortalaması alınarak *genel işlevsellik* adlı bir toplam işlevsellik ölçütü de hesaplanmıştır. Son olarak, bu dört sürekli değişkenin her iki kaygılı/bekçi senaryosu ve her iki kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç senaryosu için ayrı ayrı ortalaması alınarak *toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi kaygı, toplam karakterin değerlendirilmesi kaygı, toplam takip etme olasılığı kaygı, toplam genel işlevsellik kaygı ve toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi kaçınma, toplam karakterin değerlendirilmesi kaçınma, toplam takip etme olasılığı kaçınma, toplam genel işlevsellik kaçınma* adlı toplam kaygılı ve kaçınan bağlanma davranışı ölçümleri halinde hesaplanmıştır. Hem kaygılı/bekçi hem de kaçınan/ hızlı savaş-veya-kaç senaryolarındaki süreksiz *sonuç* değişkenleri de senaryo çiftleri arasında toplanarak *toplam sonuç kaygı ve toplam sonuç kaçınma* değişkenleri de hesaplanmıştır. Tüm değişkenlerde yüksek puanlar yüksek işlevsellik değerlendirmesine işaret etmektedir.

**Bağımsızlık/Bağlılık Değerleri.** Çalışma 1’de kullanılan Schwartz Değerler Anketi’nin (Schwartz ve Boehnke, 2004) kısaltılmış versiyonu (Kam, Zhou, Zhang ve Ho, 2012) katılımcıların bağımsızlık ve bağlılık değerlerinde birbirilerinden deney grupları bazında ayırıp ayırmadıklarını ölçmek için manipülasyon kontrolü olarak kullanılmıştır. Cronbach alfa güvenilirlik katsayıları bağımsızlık alt ölçeği için .68, bağlılık alt ölçeği için .73 olarak bulunmuştur.

## **Bulgular**

### **Kategorik Analizler: Varyans Analizi (ANOVA) ve Ki Kare Testi.**

Hipotezler önce çağrıştırıcı tipleri ve K ortalama kümeleme analizi ile oluşturulmuş bağlanma stilleri bağımsız değişkenler olarak alınarak her bir sürekli bağımlı değişken için varyans analizine, her bir süreksiz bağımlı değişken için de ki kare testine tabi tutulmak sureti ile test edilmiştir.

**Çağrıştırıcı Tipleri Temel Etkileri.** İlk önce çağrıştırıcı tipleri tek bağımsız değişken olarak analize sokularak Hipotez 1 test edilmiştir. Hipotez 1 uyarınca kaygılı bağlanma ile ilişkili bekçi davranışları toplulukçu/ilişkisel kültürel bağlamlarda (bağlılık çağrıştırıcısı altında) daha işlevsel olarak algılanırken, kaçınan bağlanma ile ilişkili hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışları bireyci/bağımsız kültürel bağlamlarda (bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altında) daha işlevsel olarak algılanacağı

beklenmiştir. Ancak, Tablolar 3.3.2.2.1.1 ve 3.3.2.2.1.2’de görülebileceği gibi hiçbir bağımlı değişkende çağrıştırıcı tipine göre anlamlı düzeyde fark rapor edilmemiştir, böylece bu analiz Hipotez 1’e destek sağlayamamıştır.

**Bağlanma Stilleri Temel Etkileri.** Daha sonra bağlanma stilleri tek bağımsız değişken olarak analize sokularak Hipotez 2 test edilmiştir. Hipotez 2 uyarınca bağlanma kaygısı yüksek bireyler kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını daha işlevsel algılayarak, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek bireylerin kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını daha işlevsel algılayacakları beklenmiştir. Kayıtsız bağlanan katılımcıların (*Ort.* = 3.29; *Ort.* = 3.80; *Ort.* = 3.46; *Ort.* = 3.08; *Ort.* = 3.72; *Ort.* = 3.18; *Ort.* = 3.76; *Ort.* = 3.38), güvenli (*Ort.* = 4.15; *Ort.* = 4.33; *Ort.* = 4.08; *Ort.* = 3.92; *Ort.* = 4.44; *Ort.* = 4.03; *Ort.* = 4.39; *Ort.* = 4.00) ve korkulu (*Ort.* = 4.31; *Ort.* = 4.40; *Ort.* = 4.29; *Ort.* = 3.68; *Ort.* = 4.28; *Ort.* = 4.00; *Ort.* = 4.34; *Ort.* = 4.06) bağlanan katılımcılara göre kaygılı/bekçi davranışları değerlendirmelerini içeren 1. senaryo için davranışın değerlendirilmesi ( $F(3, 160) = 4.28, p = .006, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .07$ ), karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $F(3, 160) = 3.21, p = .025, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .06$ ) ve genel işlevsellik ( $F(3, 160) = 3.42, p = .019, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .06$ ); 3. senaryo için davranışın değerlendirilmesi ( $F(3, 160) = 2.56, p = .057, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .05$ ) ve karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $F(3, 160) = 3.99, p = .009, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .07$ ); bütün kaygılı senaryolarda toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi ( $F(3, 160) = 4.91, p = .003, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .08$ ), toplam karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $F(3, 160) = 4.71, p = .004, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .08$ ) ve toplam genel işlevsellik ( $F(3, 160) = 3.72, p = .013, \text{kısmi } \eta^2 = .07$ ) ölçümlerinde anlamlı düzeyde düşük puanlar verdiğini gösteren sonuçlar bu hipotezi kısmi olarak desteklemiştir (bkz., Tablo 3.3.2.2.2.1). Saplantılı bağlanan katılımcılar kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını diğer katılımcılara göre daha olumlu değerlendirmeyerek Hipotez 2’ye destek sağlamamıştır.

Ki kare testleri, süreksiz değişkenler içinden sadece bütün kaygılı senaryolarda toplam sonuç değişkeninin bağlanma stilleri ile sınırda anlamlı ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir ( $\chi^2(6) = 10.84, p = .093$ ) (bkz., Tablo 3.3.2.2.2.2). Tablo 3.3.2.2.2.3’de de görülebileceği üzere, Hipotez 2 ile paralel olarak, kayıtsız bağlanan katılımcılar bütün kaygılı senaryoları daha işlevsiz değerlendirmeye rastgele şansa göre sınırda anlamlı düzeyde daha yatkındır ( $z = 1.90, p = .057$ ). Yine aynı

katılımcılar bu senaryoları orta düzeyde işlevli bulmaya rastgele şansa göre sınırdan anlamlı düzeyde daha az yatkındır ( $z = -1.69, p = .091$ ).

**Çağrıştırıcı Tipleri ve Bağlanma Stilleri Ortak Etkileri.** Son olarak çağrıştırıcı tipleri ve bağlanma stilleri beraber analize sokularak Hipotez 3 test edilmiştir. Hipotez 3 uyarınca bireylerin bağlanma örüntüleri ile kültürel bağlamın güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının değerlendirilmesi üzerinde bir ortak etkisi olması beklenmiştir.

Varyans analizi, çağrıştırıcı tipleri ve bağlanma stillerinin, 3. senaryoda karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $F(7, 156) = 2.20, p = .037, \eta^2 = .09$ ); bütün kaygılı senaryolarda toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi ( $F(7, 156) = 2.21, p = .037, \eta^2 = .09$ ) ve toplam karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $F(7, 156) = 2.38, p = .024, \eta^2 = .10$ ) üzerinde anlamlı düzeyde; 1. senaryoda davranışın değerlendirilmesi ( $F(7, 156) = 1.94, p = .066, \eta^2 = .08$ ), karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $F(7, 156) = 1.84, p = .083, \eta^2 = .08$ ) ve genel işlevsellik ( $F(7, 156) = 1.80, p = .091, \eta^2 = .08$ ); tüm kaygılı senaryolarda toplam genel işlevsellik ( $F(7, 156) = 1.81, p = .089, \eta^2 = .08$ ) üzerinde sınırdan anlamlı düzeyde ortak etkisini ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Tablo 3.3.2.2.3.1’de görüldüğü üzere, ne kayıtsız ne de saplantılı bağlanan katılımcılar kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç ve kaygılı/bekçi senaryolarını değerlendirmelerinde farklı çağrıştırıcı koşullarına göre anlamlı düzeyde farklılaşmamıştır, bu da Hipotez 3’e destek vermemiştir. Hipotez 3a’ya kısmi destek vererek, kayıtsız bağlanan katılımcılar ( $Ort. = 3.14; Ort. = 3.61; Ort. = 3.30; Ort. = 3.79; Ort. = 3.21; Ort. = 3.70; Ort. = 3.32$ ), güvenli ( $Ort. = 4.31; Ort. = 4.44; Ort. = 4.31; Ort. = 4.49; Ort. = 4.00; Ort. = 4.46; Ort. = 4.11$ ) ve korkulu ( $Ort. = 4.40; Ort. = 4.62; Ort. = 4.43; Ort. = 4.35; Ort. = 4.12; Ort. = 4.49; Ort. = 4.17$ ) bağlanan katılımcılara göre kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarına dair pek çok ölçümde (sırasıyla 1. senaryoda davranışın değerlendirilmesi, karakterin değerlendirilmesi, genel işlevsellik; 3. senaryoda karakterin değerlendirilmesi; bütün kaygılı senaryolarda toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi, toplam karakterin değerlendirilmesi ve toplam genel işlevsellik) sadece bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken daha düşük değerlendirme puanları vermiştir. Aynı bulgu, bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken

sadece toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi kaygı değişkeninde gözlenmiştir. Bu bulgular, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek insanların kaygılı davranışları olumlu değerlendirmekte diğer insanlara göre daha çok zorlandıklarını göstererek aynı zamanda Hipotez 2'ye destek vermektedir.

Ki kare analizlerinde süreksiz bağımlı değişkenlerin hiç birinde çağrıştırıcı tipi ile bağlanma stiline etkileşiminin anlamlı düzeyde etkisi ortaya çıkmamıştır (bkz., Tablo 3.3.2.2.3.2).

**Sürekli Analizler: Hiyerarşik Regresyon Analizi.** Kategorik analizler varyansın daralmasına ve bu yüzden de analiz gücünün azalmasına sebep olabileceği için hipotezler bir kere de bağlanma boyutlarının sürekli değişkenler olarak alındığı bir seri hiyerarşik regresyon analizi ile test edilmiştir. Deneysel manipülasyonun etkisini test edebilmek için çağrıştırıcı adında bir değişken yaratılmış ve bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılar “1”, bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılar da “2” şeklinde kodlanmıştır. Analizlerde, Aiken ve West'in (1991) yöntemleri kullanılarak önce bağımsız değişkenler ortalamalarına göre merkezlenmiştir, daha sonra bu değişkenler birbiri ile çarpılarak ortak etki değişkenleri oluşturulmuştur. Analizlerin ilk adımında yaş, etkisini kontrol etmek için, girilmiştir. Daha sonra bağlanma kaygısı ve kaçınması ve çağrıştırıcı ikinci adımda analize sokulmuştur. Son olarak da bağımsız değişkenlerin ikili ve üçlü ortak etki değişkenleri analize sokulmuştur. Anlamlı ortak etkilerin yönlerini belirlemek içinse yine Aiken ve West'in (1991) yöntemleri kullanılarak ilgili bağımlı değişkenlerin ortalamalarının bir standart sapma üst ve bir standart sapma alt değerleri alınarak bağımsız değişkenlerin ortak etkileri grafik halinde çizilmiştir.

Analizlerde, tipik kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarının resmedildiği 1. senaryo için davranışın değerlendirilmesi ( $t(156) = 1.68, p = .094$ ) ve karakterin değerlendirilmesi ( $t(156) = 2.31, p = .022$ ) değişkenlerinde, bağlanma kaçınmasının yüksek ve bağlanma kaygısının düşük olduğu durumlarda, bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcıların bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılara göre sınırdan anlamlı ve anlamlı düzeyde daha yüksek puanlar verdiği ortaya çıkmıştır (bkz., Figürler 3.3.2.3.1 ve 3.3.2.3.2). Bu sonuçlar, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek olan insanların bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı aldıklarında bu çağrıştırıcı ile uyumlu kaygılı/bekçi

davranışlarını daha az işlevsiz olarak değerlendireceğini öngören Hipotez 3b'yi desteklemektedir. Beklenenin aksine, hem bağlanma kaygısı hem de bağlanma kaçınması yüksek olduğunda, bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılar bu senaryodaki karakteri bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılara göre daha olumlu değerlendirmiştir ( $t(156) = -2.21, p = .028$ ) (bkz., Figür 3.3.2.3.2).

Senaryo 1'e ait davranışın değerlendirilmesi, karakterin değerlendirilmesi, takip etme olasılığı ve genel işlevsellik; tüm kaygılı senaryolarda ise toplam davranışın değerlendirilmesi, toplam karakterin değerlendirilmesi ve toplam genel işlevsellik değişkenlerinin hepsi için aynı örüntü gözlenmiştir: Bağlanma kaygısının düşük olduğu durumlarda bağlanma kaçınması arttıkça kaygılı/bekçi davranışı daha az işlevsel olarak değerlendirilmiştir ( $t(160) = -2.46, p = .015$ ;  $t(160) = -2.04, p = .043$ ;  $t(160) = -1.98, p = .050$ ;  $t(160) = -2.40, p = .018$ ;  $t(160) = -2.14, p = .034$ ;  $t(160) = -1.92, p = .057$ ;  $t(160) = -2.07, p = .040$ ) (bkz., Figürler 3.3.2.3.3, 3.3.2.3.4, 3.3.2.3.5, 3.3.2.3.6, 3.3.2.3.7, 3.3.2.3.8 ve 3.3.2.3.9). Bir arada değerlendirildiğinde, bu sonuçlar bağlanma kaçınması yüksek bireylerin tipik kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını daha olumsuz değerlendirdiğini göstererek Hipotez 2'ye destek vermektedir.

Tipik kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarının resmedildiği Senaryo 2 için davranışın değerlendirilmesi değişkeninde hem bağlanma kaygısı hem bağlanma kaçınması düşük olduğunda, bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılar bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı alan katılımcılara göre anlamlı düzeyde daha yüksek işlevsellik puanları vermiştir ( $t(156) = -2.10, p = .038$ ) (bkz., Figür 3.3.2.3.10). Bu sonuç tipik kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya kaç davranışlarının bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altında daha işlevsel değerlendirileceği öngörüsünün gerçekleştiğini göstererek Hipotez 1'e kısmi destek vermektedir.

## **Tartışma**

### **Çalışma 1**

Güvensiz bağlanmanın farklı türlerinin farklı kültürlerde farklı yaygınlık seviyelerinde görüldüğü daha önce rapor edilmiş olsa da (bkz., Schmitt, 2010; van Ijzendoorn ve Sagi, 2008), şimdiye kadar hiçbir çalışma bağlanma boyutları ile kültürel değerler arasındaki ilişkiyi sistematik olarak test etmemiştir. Bu tezin ilk çalışması, bağlanma boyutları ile kültürel değerler arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyerek bu

boşluğu doldurmuştur ve tezin genel amacı olan farklı güvensiz bağlanma stillerinin farklı kültürlerde farklı işlevler görebileceği hipotezinin araştırılması için gerekli altyapıyı hazırlamıştır.

Bu çalışmanın genel sonuçları ilk hipotezi desteklemiştir ve hem toplulukçu Türk örnekleminde hem de bireyci Amerikan örnekleminde bağlanma kaçınmasının bireycilik/bağımsızlıkla ilintili değerler ile bağlanma kaygısının ise toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik ile ilintili değerler ile ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu sonuçlar bir araya geldiğinde ortaya çıkmaktadır ki, kişilerarası ilişkilerde kronik bir şekilde sadece kendine güvenmek, konu dünya görüşlerine geldiğinde de bireyci eğilimlerle el ele gitmektedir. Aynı şekilde, reddedilme ve terk edilme korkusu olan bireyler daha ilişki olma ve grubun hedeflerini kendi hedeflerinin üzerinde tutma eğiliminde olabilmektedir. Bu bulgular, milli kaygı seviyelerinin bireycilik ölçümleri ile negatif yönde ilişkili olduğunu gösteren Schmitt ve arkadaşlarının (2004) bulguları ile de örtüşmektedir. Başka araştırmacılar da bağlanma kaygısı ile toplulukçuluk ve bağlılık değerleri arasında pozitif ilişki bulmuştur (örn., Agishtein ve Brumbaugh, 2013; Cheng ve Kwan, 2008; You ve Malley-Morrison, 2000). Bu sonuçlar aynı zamanda kuramsal olarak tutarlıdır. Başkalarına dayanma ve onlarla iç içe geçme isteği ile tanımlanan bağlanma kaygısı doğal olarak kendini bir grubun parçası olarak tanımlama ve grubun harmonisini koruma gibi toplulukçu değerler ile ilişkili olarak görünürken; kronik bir biçimde sadece kendine güvenme ve yakınlıktan kaçma ile tanımlanan kaçınan bağlanma doğal olarak bağımsızlık, otonomi ve geniş kişisel alan isteği gibi bireyci değerler ile ilişkili çıkmaktadır.

Bu doğrusal ilişkilere ek olarak, bağlanma biçimleri ile kültürel değerler arasında doğrusal olmayan eğrisel (karesel) ilişkiler de ortaya çıkmıştır. Türk örnekleminde pek çok toplulukçuluk/ilişkisellik değeri ile bağlanma kaygısı eğrisel olarak ilintili çıkmıştır. Analizler göstermiştir ki, bağlanma kaygısının orta seviyeleri bu değerlerin yüksek seviyeleri ile ilişkilidir. Bu sonuçlar, bir ölçümün orta değerlerinin uç değerlerine göre daha temsili olduğu beklentisini desteklemektedir. Ayrıca, bu değerlerin Türk kültüründe yaygın olarak gözlenen değerler olduğu düşünüldüğünde, bu sonuçlar ne aşırı bağlılığın ne de aşırı bağımsızlığın işlevsel olduğunu, tam tersine orta seviyelerin kültüre uyumlayıcı olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır.

Bu bulgular, Kağıtçıbaşı'nın (2005) artan şehirleşme ve eğitim düzeyi ile çocuğun ekonomik değerinin azaldığı ama psikolojik değerinin arttığı “duygusal bağıntılılık aile modeli” ile de uyumludur.

Çalışmanın bulgularına göre ikinci hipotez de desteklenmiştir: Sonuçlar, bağlanma kaçınması ile toplulukçuluk/ilişkiselilik ile ilintili değerler arasındaki negatif ilişkinin bireyci Amerikan örneğinde daha kuvvetli, bağlanma kaygısı ile toplulukçuluk/ilişkiselilik ile ilintili değerler arasındaki pozitif ilişkinin ise toplulukçu Türk örneğinde daha kuvvetli olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu bulgular, güvensiz bağlanmanın kültürel bağlama has işlevleri olduğu fikrine destek vermektedir: Kültürde yaygın olarak görülen güvensiz bağlanma stili, yine kültürde yaygın olarak görülen kültürel değerler ile el ele gitmektedir (toplulukçu Türk kültüründe kaygılı bağlanma ile toplulukçu/ilişkisel değerler, bireyci Amerikan kültüründe ise kaçınan bağlanma ile bireyci/bağımsız değerler). Bu bulgular, kültürde yaygın görülen güvensiz bağlanma türünün daha az olumsuz çıktı ile ilişkili olduğunu öne süren kültüre uyum hipotezi (Friedman ve ark., 2010) ile de örtüşmektedir. Nasıl yerel ekolojiye uyum sağlamak hayatta kalma uyumu için büyük avantaj sağlıyorsa (örn., Belsky ve ark., 1991; Chisholm, 1996), kültürel ortama uyum sağlamak da aynı şekilde uyumlayıcı avantajlar sağlıyor gibi görünmektedir. Kültürde yaygın olarak görülen güvensiz bağlanma-kültürel değerler ilişkisine uyum sağlamak da bu stratejinin bir parçası olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

## **Çalışma 2**

Romantik bağlanma boyutları ile kültürel değerler arasında gerçekten de bir ilişki olduğunu ve bu ilişkinin kültürdeki yaygın bağlanma stili ile kültürün yaygın değerleri arasında daha kuvvetli olduğunu gösteren ilk çalışmanın sonuçlarının üzerine inşa edilen ikinci çalışma, bu bağlanma boyutu-kültürel değer ilişkisinin kültürün üyeleri için herhangi bir uyumlayıcı işlev görüp görmediğini ilk defa araştırmıştır.

Sonuçlar, güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının, kültürdeki yaygın bağlanma boyutu-kültürel değer ilişkisi ile uyumlu olduğu sürece kültürün üyeleri tarafından işlevsel algılanacağı, yani kültürel olarak uyumlayıcı olacağı şeklindeki genel hipoteze destek sağlamıştır.

Sürekli analizler birinci hipoteze destek vererek göstermiştir ki, güvenli bağlanan katılımcılar, bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken, bağıllık çağrıştırıcısı altında oldukları duruma göre, kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını daha işlevsel değerlendirmiştir. Bu sonuçlar Friedman ve arkadaşlarının (2010) kültüre uyum hipotezi ile uyumludur: Kültürde yaygın olarak görülen bağlanma stili, o kültürün üyeleri tarafından kültürel atmosferle daha uyumlu olduğu için daha işlevsel değerlendirilmekte ve daha az olumsuz sonuca neden olmaktadır. Bencil ama problem çözümüne odaklı kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışları, bireyselliğin ön planda olduğu, kendi çıkarlarını grubun çıkarlarından önce gözetmenin olumsuz algılanmadığı, direk yüzleşme ve açık iletişimin değer gördüğü (Gudykunst ve ark., 1988; Hall, 1976; Markus ve Kitayama, 1991) bireyci/bağımsız kültürler tarafından daha çok onaylanıyor gibi görünmektedir.

Bağlanma kaygısı yüksek bireyler kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını daha işlevsel algılayarak, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek bireylerin kaçınan/hızlı savaş-veya-kaç davranışlarını daha işlevsel algılayacaklarını öngören ikinci hipotez de bu çalışmada görgül destek kazanmıştır. Hem kategorik hem de sürekli analizler bağlanma kaçınması yüksek olan bireylerin kaygılı/bekçi senaryolarını pek çok ölçüm üzerinde daha olumsuz değerlendirdiğini göstermiştir. Bu bulgular, Ein-Dor ve arkadaşlarının (2011a) orijinal bulguları ile örtüşmekte ve bireylerin sadece kendi bağlanma örüntüleri ile uyumlu güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarına ilişkin şemalarının daha aktif olmadığını, aynı zamanda kendi bağlanma örüntüleri ile uyumsuz güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarını daha olumsuz değerlendirdiğini göstermektedir.

Bireylerin bağlanma örüntüleri ile kültürel bağlamın güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının değerlendirmesi üzerinde bir ortak etkisi olacağını öngören üçüncü hipotez sadece kısmi destek almıştır, bu etki sadece bağlanma kaçınması yüksek olan katılımcılarda gözlenmiştir. Kategorik analizlerin sonuçları kayıtsız bağlanan katılımcıların tipik kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını sadece bağımsızlık çağrıştırıcısı aldıkları durumda diğer katılımcılara göre daha işlevsiz değerlendirdiğini göstermiştir. Bu bulgu, değerlendirilen güvensiz bağlanma davranışı kişinin kendi bağlanma örüntüsü ile uyumlu olduğunda, içinde bulunan kültürel bağlam da bu güvensiz bağlanma davranışı ile uyumlu ise, bu bağlamın bu davranışın olumlu

değerlendirilmesi üzerinde arttırıcı bir etkisi olacağını öngören Hipotez 3a'ya kısmi destek vermektedir. Bu bulgu, sosyal psikolojinin tekrarlanan insanların kendi değer ve görüşlerini paylaşan bir sosyal ortamdayken bu görüşlere daha da sıkı sıkıya sarıldığı bulgusuyla (kapsamlı bir derleme için bakınız Isenberg, 1986) da uyumludur. Sürekli analizlerin sonuçları ise, bağlanma kaçınması yüksek katılımcıların, kaygılı/bekçi davranışlarını bağlılık çağrıştırıcısı altındayken daha az işlevsiz değerlendirdiğini göstererek, belirli bir güvensiz bağlanma davranışı kişinin kendi bağlanma örüntüsü ile uyumsuz olduğunda, içinde bulunan kültürel bağlam bu güvensiz bağlanma davranışı ile uyumlu ise, bu bağlamın bu davranışın olumsuz değerlendirilmesi üzerinde hafifletici bir etkisi olacağını öngören Hipotez 3b'ye destek sağlamıştır. Bu bulgu da insanların grup tarafından dışlanmamak için içinde oldukları sosyal ortamın normlarına uyum sağlamaya yatkın olduklarını gösteren sosyal psikoloji bulgularıyla (kapsamlı bir derleme için bakınız Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004) uyumludur.

### **Araştırmanın Sağladığı Katkılar ve Pratik Çıkarımlar**

Bu araştırmanın temel katkısı, güvensiz bağlanmanın olası işlevselliği araştırmalarına daha önce göz ardı edilen kültürel bağlamı eklemektir. Öncelikle, bu araştırma ile daha önce farklı kültürlerde farklı yaygınlıklarda görülen farklı güvensiz bağlanma örüntüleri ilk defa kültürel değerler ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Ayrıca, bu araştırma ile güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının kültürün üyeleri tarafından ne kadar işlevsel değerlendirildiğinin, yani kültürle ne kadar uyumlu olduğunun da bu yaygın güvensiz bağlanma örüntüsü-kültürel değerler ilişkisine uyuma bağlı olduğu ilk defa gösterilmiştir.

Bu bulgular, güvensiz bağlanmanın kültürel bağlamda nasıl değerlendirileceği hususunda önemli kuramsal ve pratik çıkarımlar da sunmaktadır. Güvensiz bağlanan grup üyelerinin gruba sağlayacağı avantajlar tehlike durumunda hayatta kalmanın ötesinde, grup görevleri (örn., Lavy, Bareli ve Ein-Dor, 2015) ve gruplar arası ilişkiler (örn., Maitner, Mackie ve Smith, 2006; Smith, 1993) alanlarında da görülebilir. Ayrıca, bağlanma örüntülerine göre hangi grup üyelerinin hangi kültürel bağlamlarda daha dezavantajlı konumda olduğunun bilgisi bu dezavantajı ortadan kaldırmak için faydalı bir araç olabilir.

## **Araştırmanın Kısıtlılıkları ve Gelecek Çalışmalar için Öneriler**

İlk çalışmanın en önemli kısıtlılığı korelatif doğasıdır. Bu çalışma, her ne kadar bağlanma boyutları ile kültürel değerler arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koysa da bu ilişkinin nedensel yönünü çıkarsamak eldeki verilerle imkansızdır. İkinci çalışma ise kültürel bağlamı sadece çağrıştırmacılarla yarattığı ve güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının işlevselliğini sadece katılımcıların değerlendirmeleri üzerinden ölçtüğü için kısıtlıdır. Gelecekteki çalışmalar, daha hassas işlevsellik ölçümleri geliştirmeli ve hipotezleri gerçek kültürel ortamlarda test etmelidir. Ayrıca güvensiz bağlanma davranışlarının gösterildiği senaryolar ilk defa bu çalışma için yaratılmış ve kullanılmıştır. Her ne kadar bu senaryolar bir ön pilot çalışmayla test edilmiş olsa da, bu senaryoların geçerlilik ve güvenilirlikleri ilerideki çalışmalarla da test edilmelidir.

## **Sonuç**

Bu dünyada hayatta kalmak için bakım verenlerle kurduğumuz yakın ilişkiler tek tip değildir. Bu yüzden, bağlanma figürlerimizle nasıl ilişki kurduğumuzu inceleyen araştırma perspektiflerinin, yaygın olarak yetersiz ve uyumsuz olarak değerlendirilen güvensiz bağlanan bireylerin olası güçlülük ve katkılarını da içine alacak şekilde genişlemesi gerektiği öne sürülebilir. Hızla biriken araştırma bulguları göstermektedir ki, güvensiz bağlanan bireyler kuralın istisnaları olmadıkları gibi, varlığımızı sürdürmede en az güvenli bağlananlar kadar önemli olabilirler. Bu tez çalışması, güvensiz bağlanmanın kültürel bağlamda bireylere uyumlayıcı avantajlar kazandırabileceğini ortaya atmıştır ve gerçek durumun da bu şekilde olabileceğine işaret eden ilk kanıtları ortaya koymuştur. Bu çalışmanın güvensiz bağlanmanın neden hala var olduğunun açıklamasına bir katkıda bulunarak gelecek çalışmalara yol göstermesi beklenmektedir.

## Appendix H: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Sakman  
Adı : Ezgi  
Bölümü : Psikoloji

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce): Functionality of Insecure Attachment in Cultural Context as an Early Alarm and Escape System

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**