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THE EFFECT OF ATTACHMENT ON JURY DECISION MAKING

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Effects of Attachment on Jury Decision Making

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The proposed research had two goals: 1) to examine the effects of attachment on the decisions that jurors make and 2) to investigate and replicate findings from previous studies that have shown a relationship, though inconsistent, to jury decision making. In Study 1, participants were asked to read three real life court cases and make decisions on them. Attachment style was assessed (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Brennan et al, 1998). It was shown that attachment was related to jury decisions in that highly anxious individuals tended to be more punitive toward the defendant in the cases. In Study 2, participants were primed into differing attachment categories and their decisions were examined to see if through temporarily modifying attachment style, jury decisions might also be amended. The results suggested that priming did not function in the expected manner as there was a general increase in avoidance scores across all categories. Despite these priming issues, attachment was related to jury outcomes. In order to remedy the confound in the Study 2, Study 3 was conducted to assess the same issue but with a change in methods. Unexpectedly, there was a decrease in anxiety across all priming conditions suggesting that an opportunity to emotionally disclose about a relationship significantly impacted the priming procedure. As in Studies 1 and 2, the results of Study

3 showed a relationship between jury decisions and attachment. Finally, Study 4 tested the effects of attachment on jury decision making in a mock jury atmosphere. It was shown that highly anxious individuals were more likely to be swayed during the jury decision making process. The implications for these findings in the realm of the jury decision making literature as well as other possible variables influencing jury decisions are discussed.

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Attachment and jury decision making

Most individuals believe that court cases are decided based solely upon the evidence, yet a plethora of research collected over the last five decades tells quite a different story. Beginning with the Chicago Jury Project in 1953 (Broeder, 1958), systematic research on jury decision making has unveiled a variety of extra-evidentiary factors that affect the outcomes of court cases. These variables include defendant and juror characteristics such as race, gender, physical attractiveness, political affiliation and memory capacity (Boyll, 1991; Devine, Clayton, Dunford, Seying & Pryce, 2001).

A number of court cases are concerned with interpersonal and intimate bonds, for example, parental custody and spousal relationships. Despite this fact, jury researchers have largely neglected attachment when examining variables that affect jury decision making. Attachment is defined as an enduring and influential bond existing between one individual and another “differentiated and preferred individual, who is usually conceived as stronger and/or wiser” (Bowlby, 1977, p. 203). These bonds are formed through repeated interactions between the two individuals. According to attachment theorists, the earliest and most significant attachments are that between infants and their caregivers, followed in adulthood by those of a romantic nature. In regard to the infant-caregiver bond, theorists argue that depending upon the type and quality of caregiver response when signals are elicited by the infant throughout repeated interactions, infants form representations of self and other (Cassidy, 1999), which are used to guide future patterns of behavior. These representations, deemed internal working models, are used as a template for various relationships throughout life (Paterson & Moran, 1988). Further, the internal working model is thought to affect behaviors, perceptions and cognitions, especially in regard to social stimuli (Fraley, Garner, & Shaver, 2000; Milkulincer,

Gillath, & Shaver, 2002). For these reasons, it is possible that attachment style, through the internal working model, can differentially influence jury decision making, both through cognitions regarding court cases and through the actual decision making process.

Attachment categories

Though the internal working model of individuals is distinct due to the idiosyncratic nature of the interaction between the attachment figure and the individual, general patterns emerge. These general similarities allow for classification of individuals into attachment categories. The two major categories of attachments are secure and insecure. A secure attachment is developed through interactions with a caregiver who has been consistently available and who has responded in a sensitive manner to the needs of the child. The child then forms an internal working model based upon the consistently sensitive, responsive, and supportive interactions with his or her attachment figure (Cassidy, 1999). This type of interaction results in the child gaining a positive view of self because the signals elicited by the child were responded to in an appropriate manner and therefore, the child feels valued. An individual who has been part of this interaction is also thought to have a positive view of others because their attachment figure has proven to be dependable and helpful (Bretherton & Munholland, 1999). Further, secure individuals, due to these sensitive and responsive interactions, learn how to appropriately regulate their emotions, meaning that their emotions are suitably matched with a given situation (Magai, 1999).

Individuals can also be classified as insecure, which was originally divided further into two categories: ambivalent and avoidant. An ambivalent person bases his or her internal working model upon an attachment figure who was inconsistently responsive (Cassidy, 1999). In this case, a negative view of self develops because the child's elicited

signals were not responded to in a consistent and positive manner. Thus, the child feels as though he or she is not valued (Bretherton & Munholland, 1999). However, the child forms a positive view of others because the inconsistency in the responses suggests that attachment figures hold the value and power in the relationship (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). With regard to emotional regulation, ambivalent individuals tend to be “hypervigilant,” they exaggerate or misinterpret interpersonal or situational signals to gain proximity to an attachment figure (Magai 1999).

An avoidant individual, the other type of insecure attachment, forms a representation of self and other based upon interactions with an attachment figure who more consistently rejected them (Paterson & Moran, 1988). This creates an internal working model consisting of a positive view of self, due to the development of a need for self-reliance and a negative view of others because of the rejection they have experienced (Dozier, Stovall, & Albus, 1999). Avoidant individuals regulate their emotions by simply deactivating or minimizing them, thus, stifling emotional expression (Magai, 1999).

Several years ago, a new model of attachment consisting of four categories was proposed (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). This new model added a fourth attachment category and sought to re-identify the existing classification scheme. While the secure categorization remained the same, ambivalent individuals became known as “preoccupied,” preoccupied with relationships. The avoidant classification was divided in two categories “dismissive avoidant,” the former avoidant category, and a new group known as “fearful avoidant” who appeared to share characteristics of both dismissives and preoccupieds. Individuals in this category, like the dismissive avoidant individuals, were thought to have an internal working model based upon rejection by their attachment figure, but unlike the dismissive avoidant who values his or her independence, the fearful

avoidant does not. Rather, the fearful avoidant would like to participate in relationships but is, in the same moment, fearful of them. For these reasons, they tend to have a negative view of self and others (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) and may employ both emotional hypervigilance and deactivation depending upon the given situation (Simpson & Rholes, 2002).

Attachment and jury decision making: A hypothetical link

While formation of attachment during childhood is an interesting topic, children clearly do not serve on juries, adults do. Thus, the question becomes, how do attachments in childhood influence adult attachment and subsequently, how might adult attachments influence the decisions that jurors make regarding court cases? The answer to the first question is theoretically quite simple. The internal working model, as previously discussed, remains relatively stable throughout life (Paterson & Moran, 1988). Therefore, early attachments shape the internal working model and influence later relationships (Shaver & Hazan, 1987).

As for the second question regarding the relationship of attachment history to jury decision making, the answer is currently unknown. It is known, however, that making attributions of guilt or innocence involves judging the individuals involved in the situation. More specifically, it signifies that the individuals who are providing judgment need to examine the motivations, emotions and behaviors of others (Boyll, 1991). Attachment theory, as previously mentioned, posits that the internal working model, which is the collection of cognitive schema regarding both self and other, influences cognitions and perceptions, especially those related to social stimuli (Fraley, Garner, & Shaver, 2000; Milkulincer, Gillath, & Shaver, 2002). Further, it has been suggested that these cognitions and perceptions that individuals form based upon their attachment

experiences are used to inform decisions related to other individuals' behaviors, emotions and cognitions (Bretherton & Munholland, 1999). Based on this evidence, a connection between attachment and jury decision making can be hypothesized. However, because a link between these two variables has never been examined, it is only through exploration of current jury research and the variables that have been previously studied in such research, that it will be possible to gain support for the hypothesis that attachment may affect jury decisions.

The effects of biases in information processing on jury decisions

Race Bias in Information Processing. One of the many variables that has previously been studied in regard to jury decision making is racial bias. A vast literature has uncovered an interaction between racial biases and jury verdicts. The most obvious prejudice occurs with regard to African American or Hispanic defendants. Various studies have shown that African Americans and Hispanics are more likely to be convicted than their Caucasian counterparts and are more likely to receive harsher sentences (Mitchell, Ryann, Pfeifer, & Meissner, 2005). It also has been shown that the disproportionate number of minority convictions cannot be wholly accounted for by the fact that minorities commit more crimes (Austin & Allen, 2000). Perhaps the most disturbing evidence of racial bias in jury decision making involves capital cases. In these situations, both defendant and victim race have been shown to significantly affect the possibility of receiving the sentence of death. For example, it has been found that African American defendants are more likely than Caucasian defendants to receive death sentences. This effect is amplified when the victim is Caucasian (Devine, Clayton, Dunford, & Searing, 2001).

One of the explanations that has been offered for the racial biases evident in jury decision making is that race influences the manner in which information is processed. In the literature on racial bias and jury decision making, it has been shown that jurors differentially process relevant legal information depending upon race. More specifically, even in a variety of different processing conditions including conditions requiring high and low cognitive functioning, when a defendant was African American, White jurors attended more to legally relevant information than when the defendant was White (Sargent & Bradfield, 2004). This suggests that implicit racial biases affect the processing of case-related information.

Gender Bias in Information Processing. Gender is another variable that appears to differentially affect the decisions that jurors make. A large literature has demonstrated that females are more likely to convict a criminal than their male counterparts (Crowley, O'Callaghan, & Ball, 1994; Gabora, Spanos, & Joab, 1993). In studying the reason for such an effect, researchers have shown that females and males tend to process case related information differently. Specifically, females appear to process more overall information, both emotional and evidentiary in nature, than males do (ForsterLee, ForsterLee, Horowitz & King, 2006). Further, females were shown to be more sensitive to the use of heuristic processing in their decision making. Heuristic processing creates a greater susceptibility to allowing a heuristic cue or stereotype, for example race, to affect decision making as opposed to basing a decision solely on the evidence presented, which ultimately may result in more punitive decisions (ForsterLee et al., 2006). Thus, like race, it is evident that gender affects the processing of case related information and subsequently the decisions that jurors make.

Other Biases in Information Processing. It is important to mention that race and gender are not the only variables that have been associated with biases in the processing of case related information. Other variables that also appear to bias the processing of evidence in court cases include memory load of case related facts (Goldinger, Kleider, Azuma & Beike, 2003) and victim impact statements (ForsterLee et al., 2004).

Attachment Bias in Information Processing. While not examined in the realm of court case related information, attachment, like race and gender, has been shown to affect the processing of other types of information, specifically emotional information. For example, it has been shown that avoidant adults find it difficult to recall their own emotional experiences as well as remember another individual's emotional experiences after they have received this information. The difficulty seems to reside in the fact that avoidant adults are less likely to encode information related to emotional experiences (Fraley et al., 2000). Thus, they do not process the information in the same manner as individuals with differing attachment styles. Further, it has been found that avoidant individuals have difficulty, specifically in the processing of positive emotion and attachment- related words (Cohen & Shaver, 2004).

The suggestion that attachment related differences exist in the processing of emotion- related information is particularly relevant to jury decision making, though it has never been studied in this capacity. It has been shown that jurors make decisions early during the trial and that these decisions are often based upon emotional reactions. For example, if a juror initially forms an "emotional impression" of a defendant as being an unsettling person, it is likely that this impression will be more salient in their decision than evidence or expert witnesses (Boyll, 1991). In fact, a variety of research on jury decision making has shown that many jurors make decisions on court cases first by using

affective or emotional information and then only later by applying logic to the decision making equation (Boyll, 1991). Further, not only does an individual's own emotion affect the outcome of a case, but jurors also often make decisions based upon the perceptions of another's emotions, more specifically a victim or defendant's expressed emotion and the expectancies that a juror has for these emotions (Rose, Nadler, & Clark, 2006). It is likely that if these expectancies are violated, emotional biases can develop and can affect verdicts in court cases (Horowitz, Kerr, Park & Gockel, 2006). Because attachment is related to emotions, both regulating one's own emotions and understanding and predicting others' emotions, as well as processing emotion related information, it can be theorized that attachment may be related to the decisions that jurors will make regarding court cases.

Empathy, Attachment and Jury Decision Making

Empathy is a variable that is both cognitive and affective in nature (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000). It is cognitive in that it is the "the cognitive act of adopting another's perspective" (Davis, 1994, p. 11) and it is affective in that it is "an affective reaction to the emotions of another" (Davis, 1994, p. 11). Because "empathy reflects amplified connectedness" as well as "heightened affective coordination" (Weinfield, Sroufe, Egeland, & Carlson, 1999), attachment theory posits that only individuals who are a product of a secure attachment can ever fully develop the ability to empathize (Weinfield et al., 1999). That is, while all children learn how to relate to other individuals, those who develop empathy skills, had a sensitive and responsive caregiver and "learn that when one person is needy, the other responds; when one person is emotionally overaroused, the other provides comfort or reassurance" (Weinfield et al., 1999, p. 78). On the other hand, insecure individuals differ with respect to empathy. Ambivalent individuals are

hypervigilant to their own emotions and to attempting to satisfy their own attachment needs (Magai, 1999) and as such are not motivated to be truly empathetic. Avoidant individuals, however, reside on the opposite end of the spectrum. They defensively devalue the importance of relationships and may be unable to develop high levels of empathy.

In a study of empathy and dimensions of attachment, such as anxiety, closeness, and trust, it was shown that higher degrees of reported closeness and trust were associated with greater empathic concern, while those individuals higher on anxiety focused more on personal distress, “a maladaptive form of empathy,” (Joireman, Needham, & Cummings, 2001, p. 76). Further, both anxiety and avoidance in romantic relationships have been demonstrated to be negatively related to empathy (Britton & Fuendeling, 2005). Though this research suggests a relationship between empathy and attachment, it has proven to be difficult to draw firm conclusions about the relationship due to the various constructs and concepts of empathy. Yet, the idea proposed by attachment theorists appears to have earned some support.

While attachment and empathy have been studied relatively extensively in relationship to each other, it has only been empathy that has been investigated in the context of jury research. For instance, under conditions in which empathy has been induced, usually by asking individuals to envision that they are a defendant in a criminal case, empathy for the defendant has been shown to significantly increase (Archer, Foushee, & Davis, 1979; Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000). Further, it has been shown that as empathy increases, jurors rated the defendant as being less guilty of the crime (Archer et al., 1979), were more likely to accept an alternate excuse for the crime and reported that the defendant was less responsible for the crime (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000).

Given the aforementioned evidence, empathy appears to have a relationship to jury decision making. Since attachment is related to empathy, it can be deduced that attachment also may have a relationship to jury decision making. In fact, by combining the information regarding the relationship between empathy and jury decisions and the information regarding empathy and attachment, it is possible to predict the manner in which those with different attachment styles judge court cases. Secure individuals, who represent the attachment style best able to be empathetic (Weinfield et al., 1999), may be more lenient in court cases, especially during a situation in which empathy is induced, perhaps during a closing argument. On the other hand, avoidant and ambivalent individuals who are not as capable of showing empathy (Weinfield et al., 1999) may not be as lenient even after an empathy- induced situation. Further, the impact of empathy on decision-making as a function of attachment may also be affected by the type of court case. For example, when empathy was induced in a case in which a child defendant killed a parent, the participants in the empathy induction were less harsh in their decision (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000). In such a case, attachment may be primed through attachment related concepts (Mikulincer, Gillath, Halevy, Avihou, & Eshkoli, 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004) inherent in the case and as such may influence the induction of empathy. For example, an avoidant individual, who normally is less able to empathize with others, may be able to relate more to a child in a patricide case, who experienced rejection or abuse, much like an avoidant individual had in his or her lifetime. While such predictions are purely speculative, it provides an understanding of how attachment may be related to jury decision making using the construct of empathy.

Attachment and Jury Decision Making—An undiscovered relationship

As is evident by the vast research on juries, many variables affect the decisions that jurors make regarding court cases. While a multitude of variables influence jury decision making, researchers appear to focus on the same several variables and by doing so, neglect other factors that are likely to influence these decisions. One such variable that has been overlooked by researchers is attachment. Given the aforementioned evidence, it seems plausible that attachment may be related to jury decision making. Attachment, as has been shown, significantly affects information processing (Fraley et al., 2000; Cohen & Shaver, 2004), which is a function that is closely related to jury decision making. Also, emotion, a basic component of attachment theory, has an effect on the decisions that jurors make (Boyll, 1991). Finally, empathy, which is connected to attachment (Weinfield et al., 1999; Joireman et al., 2001), affects jury decision making (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000). Overall, the theoretical basis and the aforementioned evidence together suggest the possibility that attachment may share a relationship with jury decision making.

The focus of the current research is to explore a connection between attachment and jury decision making. The first study was conducted to investigate the relationship between these two variables as there is currently no research that has previously attempted to connect them. The second and third studies centered on manipulating attachment style through the use of priming to determine the effects it may have on jury outcomes. The fourth study examined the role of attachment in the group decision making process.

In addition to examining the singular role of attachment in jury decision making, the aim of this research is also to investigate any possible interactions between race and attachment as well as interactions between gender and attachment on predicting court

cases. Race and gender have both been studied rather extensively in regard to jury decision making (Devine et al., 2001; ForsterLee et al., 2006) and have both been shown to affect the decisions that jurors make. Race and gender have also been shown to be differentially related to attachment. More specifically, culturally speaking, research has suggested that societies with high mortality rates and inadequate resources are associated with a more dismissing attachment because relationships often end and thus, investing in such relationships is not worthwhile. On the other hand, in cultures that are safe and secure, individuals are more likely to develop a secure attachment because the likelihood that relationships will continue and be supportive is high (Schmitt, 2008). In regard to gender, previous studies have shown that men tend to have a more dismissing attachment style than women (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). This seems to be reiterated in other literature which suggests that men are not as comfortable with emotional expression and tend to be less emotional, less nurturing, and less social in general (Bem, 1993).

Given that gender and race appear to be intimately linked to attachment and jury decision making, it can be hypothesized that in addition to the simple effect of attachment on jury decision making, interactive effects might also be evident. The current research set forth in this dissertation will also serve as an opportunity to explore this possible relationship.

Study 1

Attachment and Jury Decision Making

Beginning with the Chicago Jury Project (Broeder, 1958), research has demonstrated that the decisions that jurors make are affected by a number of variables including but not limited to race, age, military experience, affect, biases in perception and memory load (Boyll, 1991; Devine, Clayton, Dunford, Seying & Pryce, 2001).

Attachment style, as a variable has been largely neglected in the jury decision making literature. This study sought to establish a link between attachment and jury decision making. It also served as a forum for replication of previous findings which suggested that demographic variables such as age, race and gender share a relationship with jury decision-making.

The main goal of this study was to examine the possible link between attachment and jury decision making. Based on the four- category model of attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), it was predicted that secure individuals who have a positive view of self and other due to repeated sensitive and responsive interactions with an attachment figure would be appropriately punitive (i.e., neither overly harsh nor overly lenient) in their decisions on the court cases presented to them. Dismissive individuals, who also have a positive view of self, despite their negative view of others will behave in a similar manner to the secures. Preoccupied individuals, on the other hand, who have a negative view of self but a positive view of other, will be more punitive than the other attachment groups. Preoccupieds derive all self-value from relationships with other individuals. For this reason, it is predicted that they will be especially harsh toward defendants in court cases because these defendants have broken an attachment with another party involved. Finally, fearful individuals, who have a negative view of both self

and other, are predicted to also be punitive in judging the court cases. While these predictions are based solely on theoretical assumptions, previous research has shown that individuals who are insecure and who have low self-esteem or self view, which are characteristic shared by both the preoccupied and fearful individuals, are more likely to be high on authoritarianism (Larsen & Schwendiman, 1969). High authoritarianism, in turn, has been shown to lead to jurors being “conviction-prone” or more likely to convict a defendant than individuals who are lower on authoritarianism (Moran & Comfort, 1982). Though this research has not been applied to attachment and jury decision making, it can be hypothesized that the negative view of self is similar to having low self-esteem, which may lead to greater authoritarianism, and ultimately more harsh judgments.

The dimensional aspects of attachment, more specifically avoidance regarding close relationships and anxiety of abandonment, will also be examined in relation to decisions on court cases. It is theorized that each attachment category corresponds to specific levels of these dimensional aspects of attachment. Secure individuals tend to have low avoidance regarding relationships with intimate others and low anxiety in terms of fear of rejection and abandonment of others. Dismissive individuals typically display high levels of avoidance but low levels of anxiety. Preoccupied individuals display a high level of anxiety and a low level of avoidance and finally, fearful individuals, display high levels of both anxiety and avoidance (Brennan et al., 1998). No independent hypotheses are based solely on the dimensional aspects of attachment, though they will be used for theoretical and analytical purposes.

A secondary goal of this study was to replicate previous findings that have revealed that a number of extra-evidentiary factors have an effect on the decisions that jurors make after reviewing court cases. In particular, this study focuses on race and

gender. Consistent with previous research findings (Mitchell et al., 2005), it was hypothesized that Caucasian individuals will be more punitive in their ratings than African American participants. It was expected that female participants would be more punitive in their judgments than their male counterparts (Beckham et al., 2007). Furthermore, this study sought to examine the interactions among race and attachment as well as gender and attachment with regard to jury decision making. This analysis is purely exploratory and thus, no *a priori* hypotheses will be made.

Methods

Participants

Participants ($N=244$) in this study were undergraduate students at Rutgers University in Newark, New Jersey currently enrolled in the Principles of Psychology introductory course. Participation in this study could be used toward the research points requirement. The overall participant population consisted of 78 males (32.1%) and 165 females (67.9%). The mean age of the participants was 19.84 years ($SD=3.27$). Of the participant population, 55 (23.4%) individuals were categorized as Caucasian, 36 (15.3%) were classified as African American, 61 (25.9%) were of Asian descent, 36 (15.3%) were Middle Eastern or Indian, 43 (18.3%) were categorized as Hispanic and 4 (1.7%) were classified as other.

Materials

Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire to assess age, race, attachment style, and gender. Individuals participating in the study were also asked to read and make decisions on court cases.

Attachment style. Attachment style was measured using two scales. The first scale utilized was the Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan, Clark, &

Shaver, 1998), which consists of thirty- six one line statements that are used to measure dimensional aspects of attachment, namely avoidance and anxiety. Participants were asked to rate how representative each statement is of themselves using a 7 point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 7 (very much like me). The second attachment measure is the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991).

Participants were asked to read short paragraphs and rate how closely each resembles them using a 7 point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 7 (very much like me). Finally, the participants were then asked to read the same four paragraphs and choose the one the best describes them.

Court Cases. Participants were asked to read and make judgments regarding three actual court cases. All court cases were collected from the New Jersey State Superior Court in Camden County, both the family and criminal divisions, or from current cases highlighted on Court TV. Cases were selected only if attachment issues were involved to reinforce the activation of the attachment system and thus amplify any effects of attachment on jury decision making. The non-attachment cases were chosen to serve as a control. The exploratory nature of this research dictated the necessity for multiple versions of the survey to allow us to test a variety of court cases. Ultimately, there were four versions of the survey created. Each version contained a custody case, a domestic violence murder case and a check fraud/forgery case. Regarding the custody case, participants were asked to make a decision as to the appropriate custody arrangement for a child of divorced parents. For the domestic violence murder case, participants were asked to make a judgment as to whether a person is guilty of a domestic violence murder of a significant other. Participants in this case are also asked to make a decision as to what action should be taken against the perpetrator of this crime. Finally, participants

were asked to assign guilt or innocence and if guilty, to sentence the perpetrator in a check fraud/forgery case, which served as our non-attachment control case. In each of the cases, the possible choices for the individuals involved in the case were on a scale ranging from the least harsh to the most harsh alternative. For example, on the custody case, judgment options included, keeping the current custody situation, which signified that the defendant remained primary guardian, a shift to a joint custody arrangement, a change in primary custody with the defendant having visitation rights, and finally a change in primary custody with the defendant having no visitation rights. In regard to the criminal cases, which included both the domestic violence murder and theft cases, judgment options included finding the defendant not guilty, finding the defendant guilty of a lesser charge that required no jail time, finding the defendant guilty of the charge stated in the case with some jail time and the option of parole, and, finally finding the defendant guilty of the charge stated in the case but with significant jail time and no option for parole.

Procedure

Participants were asked to enter the Social Psychology Laboratory for a 20 minute lab session. After consent was obtained from the participants, they were then randomly assigned to receive one of the four possible versions of the survey. They were first asked to record their race, age, and sex. Participants were then asked to make judgments on three real life court cases. After participants had completed the decision-making portion of the study, they were requested to complete measures used to assess attachment styles.

Results

Data were analyzed using either the Pearson Product Moment Correlation for any continuous data and an omnibus *F* with post hoc Tukey comparison for any categorical

data. In regard to the interactive effects, an univariate analysis of variance was utilized with Post hoc Tukey test.

Version 1

Attachment. A series of Pearson Product Moment correlations were completed to establish a link between attachment and jury decision making. It was discovered that individuals who scored higher on the anxiety measure were less punitive than those individuals who maintained a lower total anxiety score on the domestic violence murder case, $r(60) = -.25, p=.058$ (see Table 1 in Appendix A). However, no significant relationships were found between attachment and jury decision making on either the custody case or the theft case, which served as our non-attachment control nor were any relationships found among jury decisions and categorical variables of attachment.

Race. No significant relationship was found between race and jury decision making on any of the court cases.

Gender. Gender was significantly related to jury decision making on two of the three court cases. Contrary to hypotheses, an ANOVA revealed that males were harsher in the judgments than females, $[F(1,59) = 5.68, p= .02]$ (see Figure 1) on the custody case. However, consistent with predictions regarding gender, males were more lenient than females on the theft control case, $[F(1,59)= 5.93, p= .03]$ (see Figure 1). There was no significant effect of gender on jury decision making for the domestic violence murder case.

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court cases. Results showed that no significant interactions were found between race and attachment or gender and attachment with regard to court cases.

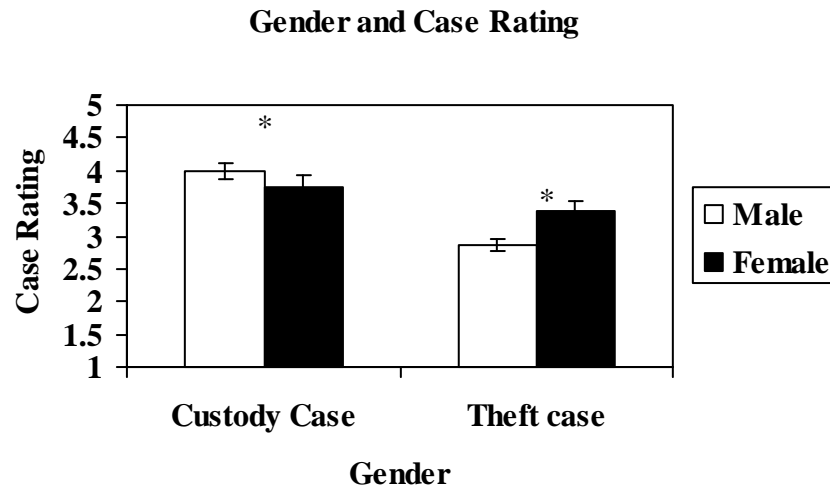


Figure 1. Effect of gender on mean (95%CI) custody case rating ($n= 60$) in version and Effect of gender on mean (95% CI) theft case rating ($n= 60$) in version 1.

Version 2

Attachment. A series of Pearson Product Moment Correlations revealed no significant relationships between attachment and jury decision making on any of the cases.

Race. Participants' race was related to their decisions on the domestic violence case, [$F(4, 56) = 2.703, p= .039$] (see Figure 2). A post hoc Tukey test revealed that Caucasian individuals were more punitive toward the defendant in a domestic violence case than African American or Middle Eastern participants.

Race and Court Case Ratings

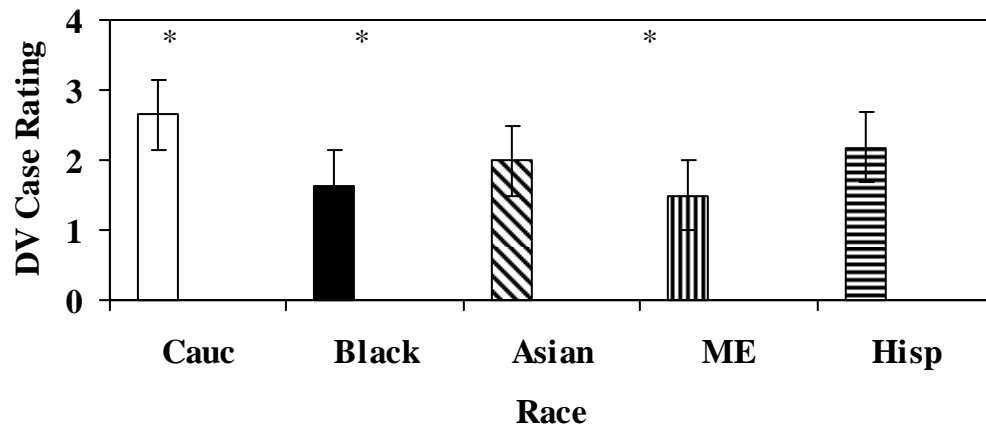


Figure 2. Race effects and mean (95% CI) domestic violence case ratings ($n=61$) in version 2.

Gender. Contrary to predictions, there were no gender effects with regard to jury decision making on any of the three court cases included in this version.

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court cases. Contrary to predictions, it was discovered that no significant interactions between race and attachment or gender and attachment with regard to court cases existed.

Version 3

Attachment. No significant effect of attachment on the court cases for version 3 existed.

Race. There was no significant effect of race on jury decision making for any of the three court cases included in this version.

Gender. No significant effect of gender on jury decision making was discovered for any of the court cases.

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court cases. Results showed that no significant interactions were found between race and attachment with regard to court cases. However, a significant interaction did exist between attachment and gender

with regard to punitive rating on the custody case. More specifically, it was discovered that fearful males were less punitive than fearful females [$F(1,54) = 3.945, p = .013$] (see Figure 3).

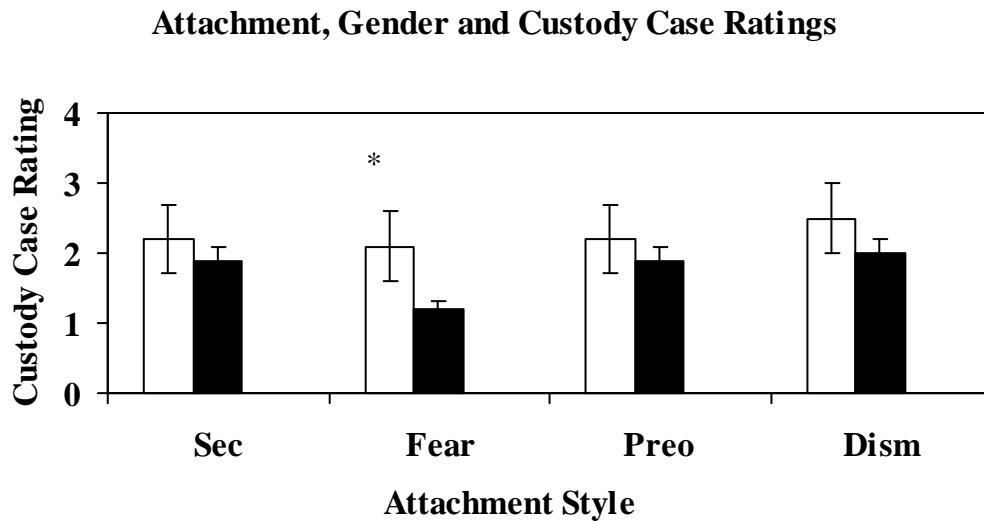


Figure 3. Interactive effect of attachment and gender on mean (95% CI) custody case rating ($n=55$) in version 3.

Version 4

Attachment. A series of Pearson Product Moment Correlations revealed that attachment and jury decision making did share a relationship. Consistent with predictions, it was discovered that individuals who rated themselves as more preoccupied were more punitive on the domestic violence case, [$r(61) = .27, p = .037$] (see Table 1 in Appendix A). It was also shown that participants who had a higher total anxiety score were more punitive on the domestic violence case, [$r(61) = .32, p = .014$] (see Table 1 in Appendix A). Finally, individuals who had a higher total anxiety score trended toward being more punitive on the child custody case, [$r(61) = .22, p = .091$] (see Table 1 in Appendix A).

Race. Contrary to predictions, there was no significant effect of race on jury decision making for any of the three court cases.

Gender. Analyses on gender and juror responses failed to reveal any significant interaction between these two variables.

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court cases. Findings indicated that there was no interactive effect between race and attachment nor gender and attachment on any of the court cases.

Discussion

Overall, the results of this study suggest that attachment does have an effect on jury decision making. Consistent with our predictions, it appears that individuals who have been classified as preoccupied were more punitive in their decisions regarding court cases that involve attachment issues. It was also discovered that, in general, individuals who score higher on total anxiety, a dimensional aspect of attachment that refers to anxiety regarding abandonment or rejection, tend to also be more punitive on the decisions that they make. In regard to race, the results of the current study support previous research which suggests that Caucasian individuals are harsher in their judgment than African Americans. It was additionally discovered that Caucasians are more punitive in their judgments than individuals of Middle Eastern descent. Finally, mixed results were found for the hypothesis that gender and jury decision making share a relationship. In one version of the survey that was conducted, females were found to be less punitive than their male counterparts. Such a prediction was inconsistent with hypotheses based upon the findings of prior research on gender and jury decision making. However, in another version of the survey, it was found that male participants were less punitive than female participants. The reason for this inconsistency may be due to differences in the

type of court cases upon which jurors were asked to make decisions. More specifically, women tended to be more lenient on the custody case in which a woman was at risk of losing the custody of her child. It may be that women who read and judged this case were more lenient because they could more easily imagine themselves in this woman's position. Some recent evidence, which has shown that jurors who are able to identify with the defendant are more lenient in their judgments of the defendant, lends support to this argument (Burke, Ames, Etherington, & Pietsch, 1990; Gonzalez- Perez, 2001).

Though the results display a relationship between jury decision making and attachment, there were some inconsistencies between the findings and the predictions, including several non-significant findings between attachment and court cases. Because this study was exploratory, it is difficult to explain the reasons for such inconsistencies. However, this study contained four different versions of surveys, each with three different cases. Though the general classification of the cases in each version was similar, for example, each contained a custody case, a theft case and a domestic violence murder case, these cases each had different issues and facts. Thus, some of the inconsistencies and non-significant findings may simply be attributed to the differences in the cases. This idea, however, suggests, that attachment will not be related to all cases equally. Further research is needed to examine this hypothesis as well as other ideas to explain these inconsistencies.

In general, the results of this study demonstrate support for the hypothesized relationship between attachment and jury decision making. Given that prior research has shown that jury decisions are affected by innumerable extra-evidentiary factors, such as race, gender, and cognitive variables (Boyll, 1991; Devine et al., 2001) as well as evidence that attachment influences perceptions, cognitions and behaviors about self and

other (Fraley et al., 2000; Milkulincer et al., 2002) through the cognitive affective mechanism known as the internal working model (Bowlby, 1982; Hazan & Shaver, 1987), it was logical to consider that attachment might affect the decisions that jurors make. The existence of this connection, as set forth by the findings of this study, is only a starting point for future research on this topic.

Study 2

Priming Attachment and Jury Decision Making

The goal of Study 2 was to investigate the effects of attachment priming on jury decision making. Recent literature suggested that by using certain words or paragraphs, individuals can be primed to temporarily identify more strongly with a particular attachment style (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004). Since it has been shown that attachment shares a relationship with jury decision making, temporarily modifying an attachment style may subsequently influence the decisions that will be made. More specifically, once individuals have been primed into a certain attachment category, the decisions that they make may be consistent with the primed attachment category as opposed to their own attachment category prior to priming.

Given the nature of this study, there were two distinct goals. The first goal was to reiterate previous findings suggesting that attachment can be primed. Various researchers have claimed success with priming individuals into different attachment categories (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004), however, few have conducted pre- prime and post- prime measures of attachment to examine if a change in either dimensional aspects, namely anxiety and avoidance, or categorical aspects of attachment have occurred. Based on the previous research regarding priming and attachment (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004), research regarding the four- category model of attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) and the theory concerning the dimensional aspects of attachment and its relationship to the categorical measures (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998), it is hypothesized that individuals who are primed into the secure category will experience an increase in their secure rating on the categorical measures of attachment and will display a decrease in anxiety and avoidance scores on the

dimensional measures of attachment. Dismissively primed individuals were predicted to display an increase in their dismissive rating on the categorical measure of attachment, a decrease in their anxiety score and an increase in their avoidance score. Individuals included in the preoccupied priming subset of participants will experience an increase in their preoccupied categorical rating, an increase in their anxiety score but a decrease in their total avoidance score. It is important to mention that in lieu of including a fearfully primed group into this study, a control group of participants will be receiving a neutral prime. It is predicted that neutrally primed individuals will experience no change in their pre-prime and post-prime measures of attachment.

The second goal of this study is to examine the effects that priming attachment style ultimately has on jury decision making. Based on the four- category model of attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) as well as the findings from Study 1, it is hypothesized that individuals who receive a secure prime will be appropriately punitive in their ratings given their positive view of self and other. Secure individuals have a high degree of self- worth and for this reason, can make appropriate decisions. Dismissively primed individuals, who have a positive view of self, despite a negative view of other, will also be appropriately punitive in their case ratings. Like the secure individuals, dismissives also have a high level of self-worth, which signifies that they, in many cases, behave similarly to the secures. Individuals who have received the preoccupied prime, on the other hand, will be significantly more punitive. Preoccupied thinking involves a negative view of self and a positive view of others. These individuals derive personal value from their relationships with others and thus, when a relationship is dissolved, as it is in the court cases that are utilized in this study, it is predicted it will be viewed

unfavorably. Individuals primed into the neutral category are hypothesized to rate the court cases in a manner consistent with their pre-prime attachment style assessment.

A final goal was to again examine the effects of race and gender on jury decision making. It was hypothesized that Caucasian individuals will be harsher in their decisions than African American participants. Further, it was expected that female participants would be more punitive in their judgments than their male counterparts. Additionally, as part of an exploratory analysis, the possible interactive effects of race and attachment as well as gender and attachment on jury decision making will be investigated.

Methods

Participants

Participants ($N = 108$) were undergraduate students at Rutgers and earned research credits for their participation. The overall participant population consisted of 38 (36.1%) men and 54 (50.0%) women. Fifteen individuals did not report their gender. The mean age of the participants was 20.59 years ($SD = 4.12$). Of the participant population, 24 (22.2%) individuals reported their race as Caucasian, 8 (7.4%) were categorized as African American, 19 (17.6%) revealed that they were of Asian descent, 18 (16.7%) were Middle Eastern or Indian, 16 (14.6%) were classified as Hispanic and 9 (7.4%) were categorized as other.

Materials

Participants in this study were first primed and were then asked to complete a questionnaire that included several different measures and instruments to assess variables such as attachment, gender, race and age. The questionnaire also included three court cases.

Prime. Based on previous research which suggested that certain attachment-related words and paragraphs can be used to temporarily change attachment style (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004), words and paragraphs corresponding to each attachment style were used as a prime to alter the participants' attachment styles in this study. A neutral priming condition was also developed for this study. This condition was structurally identical to the attachment priming conditions except the words and paragraphs were not attachment-related. For the attachment priming conditions, words and paragraphs were created specifically for this study but were based on a priming paradigm developed previously by Mikulincer (2001) and Bartz and Lydon (2004). Individuals in all priming conditions first read over the words and then were asked to read the paragraphs. For the secure priming condition, words such as *love, support, comfort, nurturing, responsive, and secure* were used. The secure priming paragraphs recounted the following:

"After a long, hard day at school, Jim arrived home only to realize that he had left his keys in the classroom where his last class had been held. The only other people with keys to his house were his parents. Unfortunately they were at a party at a friend's house. However, Jim decided to call them, even though they were at the party, because he knew if he asked, they would come home and let him into the house. He called his dad who said he would be home in a few minutes to drop off a key so that Jim could enter."

Those who were assigned to the dismissive prime category read words such as *avoid, leave, unattached, untrusting, dissociated, and independent*. The story that corresponded to this priming category was the following:

"After a long, hard day at school, Jim arrived home only to realize that he had left his keys in the classroom where his last class had been held. The only other people with keys to his house were his parents. Unfortunately they were at a party at a friend's house. Jim decided to resolve this matter on his own instead of calling his parents for help as they usually didn't want to be bothered when they were out. Besides, Jim was used to solving his problems without their help. Jim walked the perimeter of the house and found that one of the windows had been left unlocked. He proceeded to open the window and climb in the house. "

Those individuals involved in the preoccupied priming category received words such as *clingy, togetherness, dependent, needy, anxious* and *connected*. The following is the story that individuals in the preoccupied group were asked to read:

“After a long, hard day at school, Jim arrived home only to realize that he had left his keys in the classroom where his last class had been held. The only other people with keys to his house were his parents. Unfortunately they were at a party at a friend’s house to which Jim had not been invited. Jim had hoped they would be home when he arrived so they could spend time together as they had been apart all day however; they had not yet returned. Jim immediately called his parents and told them of his dilemma with the keys as well as telling them that he needed them to come home to spend time together. After sometime, his parents finally returned home.”

Finally, individuals who received a neutral prime read the following words: *tired, desk, microwave, silly, funny* and *young*. The story that they read recounted the following:

“After a long, hard day at school, Jim arrived home only to realize that he had left his keys in the classroom where his last class had been held. However, he remembered that there was an extra key in the mailbox. He took that key and let himself into the house.”

Demographics. As in Study 1, participants were asked to report their age, race and gender in order to determine these variables’ effects on jury decision making.

Attachment style. As in Study 1, attachment style was discerned through the use of two scales. The Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998) is used to assess the dimensional aspects of attachment. The second attachment measure is the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). The Relationship Questionnaire includes 4 short paragraphs describing the 4 different attachment styles. These scales were given both prior to the prime and after the prime so that a change in attachment as a function of the prime could be determined.

Court Cases. Participants were asked to read and make judgments on three actual court cases that were used in Study 1 and were found to elicit the effects in response to

attachment and jury decision making. This experiment included a domestic violence murder case, a custody case and a check fraud/theft case, which served as the non-attachment control case. Regarding the domestic violence murder case, participants were asked to make a judgment as to the guilt or innocence of the defendant and if guilty were asked to make a decision about the defendant's punishment. For the custody case, participants were asked to choose an appropriate custody arrangement for the children involved in this case. Finally, participants were asked to make a determination of guilt or innocence and were also asked to assign an appropriate punishment for the perpetrator of the check fraud/ theft case. For each of the cases, the possible choices were presented on a scale ranging from the least harsh to the most harsh alternative, though the actual choices were tailored to each case. For example, the decisions regarding the custody cases included the following possible options: current custody agreement remains, with the defendant retaining sole primary custody; the custody shifts to a joint custody arrangement; custody shifts to the non-defendant parent with defendant only having visitation; or the custody agreement changes that custody is shifted to the non-defendant parent with defendant having no visitation. In regard to the criminal cases, jurors had the following choices: defendant is not guilty of the crime, defendant is guilty of a lesser crime that requires minimal or no jail time, defendant is guilty of the suggested crime that requires some jail time but the option of parole, and finally the defendant is guilty of the suggested crime which will require jail time and no option of parole.

Procedure

Interested individuals were asked to attend a 35 minute lab session during which they would participate in a jury decision making task. Immediately after participants entered the laboratory, they were asked to complete the Experience in Close

Relationships Scale (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998) and the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). After completing these scales, participants were asked to report their race, age, and sex. Once the pre-prime survey portion of the experiment had concluded, participants were then randomly assigned to one of three attachment priming conditions (i.e., secure, dismissive, or preoccupied) or were assigned to the neutral priming condition. For all conditions, participants were asked to read over a series of words and a paragraph which pertained to the priming category to which they were assigned for several minutes. After the priming task had been completed, all participants were asked to make judgments on three real life court cases including the domestic violence murder, custody or check fraud/ theft cases. At the conclusion of the decision-making portion of the experiment, they were requested to complete a post-prime survey. Again, they were asked to complete the same three scales used to assess their attachment types as in the first part of the study. More specifically, they were asked to complete the Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan et al., 1998) and the two versions of the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). After they have completed the post-prime survey, they were instructed that they could exit from the lab.

Results

The overall analytic strategy for this study is as follows: in order to assess the relationship between attachment on court case rating, Pearson Product Moment Correlation were utilized. Comparisons of pre-prime and post-prime measures of anxiety and avoidance were completed through the use of paired-sample t-tests. Any analyses involving more than two groups, for example race and court case rating, was examined using an omnibus *F* test with post hoc Tukey tests to further illuminate any potential

differences. Finally, in order to examine interactive effects, a univariate analysis of variances was used with post hoc Tukey tests.

Priming and Attachment

Secure Prime. Individuals who received the secure prime displayed a significant increase in their avoidance score from pre-prime to post-prime, [$t(20) = -5.85, p = .001$]. (see Figure 1; see Table 2 in Appendix A). Further, there was no difference in pre-prime and post-prime anxiety score (see Table 3 in Appendix A). Based on predictions, there should have been a decrease in both anxiety and avoidance for the secure priming conditions. Inconsistent with predictions, examination of the pre-prime and post-prime categorical measures of attachment derived from the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) revealed no significant differences. Given the hypotheses, there should have been an increase in the secure rating from pre-prime to post-prime.

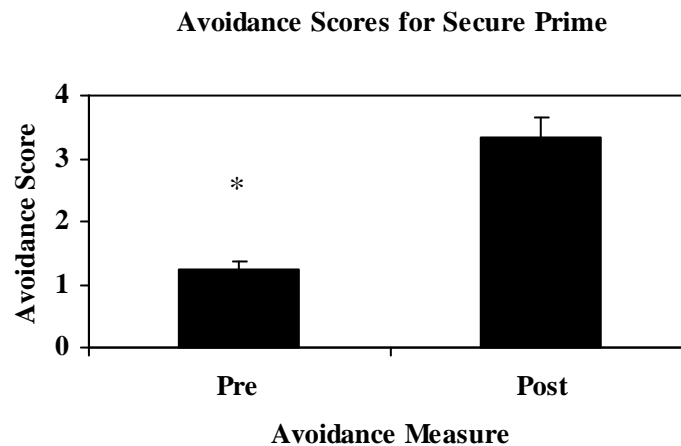


Figure 1. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime avoidance scores for secure priming condition ($n=23$).

Preoccupied Prime. A t-test revealed that individuals who received a preoccupied prime had a significant decrease in their avoidance score from pre-prime to post-prime, [$t(20) = 2.231, p = .031$] (see Figure 2; see Table 2 in Appendix A). A separate t-test

showed that individuals who participated in the preoccupied prime condition also displayed a significant increase in total anxiety from pre-prime to post-prime, [$t(20) = -4.17, p = .001$] (see Figure 3; see Table 3 in Appendix A). These results suggest that the preoccupied prime functioned in a manner that was consistent with predictions. While the dimensional aspects of attachment revealed prime-related differences, contrary to predictions, there were no significant distinctions on the pre-prime and post-prime categorical measures of attachment in terms of the preoccupied prime.

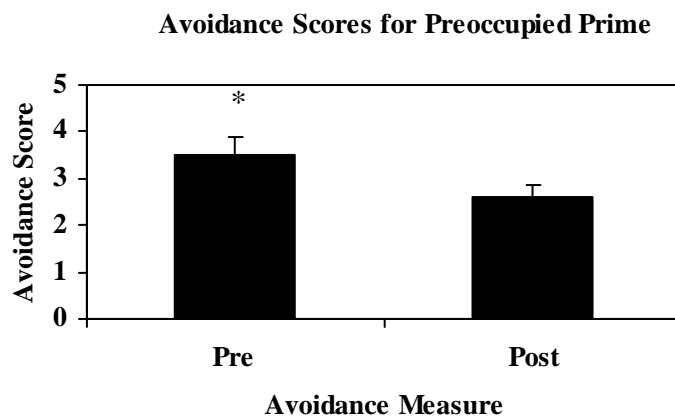


Figure 2. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime avoidance scores for preoccupied priming condition ($n = 21$).

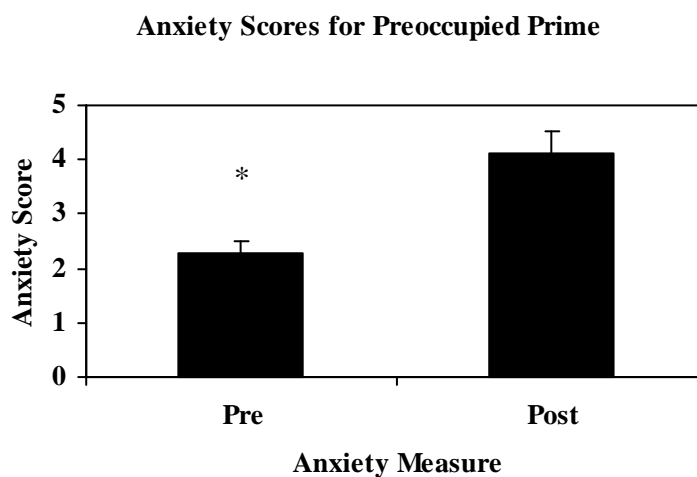


Figure 3. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime anxiety scores for preoccupied priming condition ($n = 21$).

Dismissive Prime. Consistent with hypotheses, it was revealed that individuals who received a dismissive prime displayed a significant increase in their total avoidance score, [$t(24) = -4.24, p = .001$] (see Figure 4; see Table 2 in Appendix A). However, individuals who were dismissively primed had no significant change in anxiety scores from pre-prime to post-prime (see Table 3 in Appendix A). These results are contrary to hypotheses which would have expected a decrease in anxiety scores. Finally, there were no significant differences between pre-prime and post-prime categorical measures of attachment, namely the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), which was also inconsistent with hypotheses.

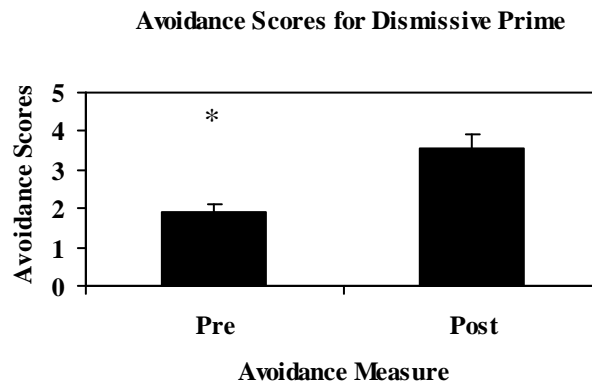


Figure 4. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime avoidance scores for dismissive priming condition ($n=21$).

Neutral Prime. In order to explore the effects of the neutral prime on attachment measures, t-tests were conducted. It was revealed that individuals who received a neutral prime had a significant increase in their post-prime avoidance score, [$t(22) = -3.97, p = .001$] (see Figure 5; see Table 2 in Appendix A). This result was contradictory to predictions which suggested that the neutral prime should have no effect on attachment measures. However, consistent with predictions, there were no differences for the neutral priming condition between pre-prime and post-prime measures of anxiety (see Table 2 in

Appendix A). Further, as expected, pre-prime and post- prime measures of categorical measures of attachment collected using the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) were not affected by the neutral prime.

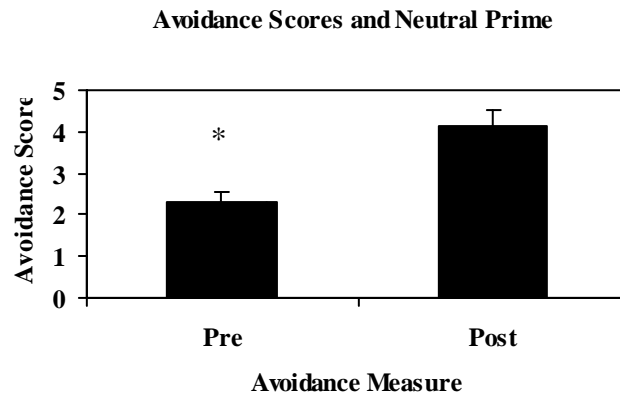


Figure 5. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime avoidance scores for neutral priming condition ($n=23$).

Attachment and Court Cases

A series of Pearson Product Moment correlations revealed that the outcomes of court cases were related to attachment measures. More specifically, it was discovered that individuals who rated themselves as more preoccupied on the pre-prime categorical measures of attachment, trended toward being less punitive in their ratings on the custody case, [$r(93) = -.19, p = .07$] (see Table 4 in Appendix A). Further, individuals who rated themselves as more preoccupied on the pre-prime categorical measures of attachment were less harsh in their punitive ratings on the domestic violence case, [$r(93) = -.20, p = .05$] (see Table 4 in Appendix A). Finally, individuals who rated themselves as more preoccupied on the post-prime measure of attachment trended toward being less punitive toward the defendant in the domestic violence murder case, [$r(92) = -.18, p = .08$] (see Table 4 in Appendix A).

Attachment, Court Cases and Priming Category

Secure Prime. Contrary to predictions, there were no significant relationships between court cases and attachment measures for either categorical or dimensional aspects of attachment for individuals who received a secure prime.

Preoccupied Prime. A series of Pearson Product Moment correlations revealed the existence of a relationship between court case rating and attachment measures for individuals who received a preoccupied prime. More specifically, it was discovered that preoccupied primed individuals who rated themselves as more preoccupied on the pre-test and post-test categorical measures of attachment respectively were less punitive on the custody case, [$r(22) = -.51, p = .02$; $r(21) = -.46, p = .03$] (see Table 4 in Appendix A). Further, individuals who were in this priming category and rated themselves as more secure on the pre-prime measure of attachment were more punitive on the theft case, which served the non-attachment control case, [$r(22) = .50, p = .02$] (see Table 3 in Appendix A). It was also discovered that those individuals who had a higher post-prime measure of secure attachment were more punitive on the theft case, [$r(21) = .50, p = .021$] (see Table 4 in Appendix A).

Dismissive Prime. A Pearson Product Moment correlation revealed that dismissively primed individuals who rated themselves as more dismissive on the post-prime categorical measure of attachment were less punitive in their ratings on the theft case, [$r(25) = -.46, p = .021$]. (see Table 4 in Appendix A). There were no other significant relationships between pre- prime and post- prime categorical and dimensional measures of attachment and court cases for individuals who received the dismissive prime.

Neutral Prime. While there was no relationship between the pre or post- prime attachments measures and either the custody case or the theft control case, there was a

relationship between pre-prime categorical measures of attachment and the domestic violence case, such that individuals who rated themselves as more preoccupied, trended toward being less punitive on the domestic violence murder case, [$r(24) = -.351, p = .09$]. (see Table 4 in Appendix A). There were no relationships between dimensional measures of attachment and court case ratings.

Priming and Court Cases

No differences existed on court case punitive ratings as a function of priming conditions. Thus, the type of priming that an individual received was unrelated to the harshness of court case ratings.

Race

There were no significant effects of race on the punitive ratings of court cases.

Gender

Gender was unrelated to court case ratings in any priming conditions.

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court cases

Exploratory analyses revealed no significant interactive effects between race and attachment or gender and attachment on jury decisions.

Discussion

This study sought to investigate the relationship between attachment and jury decision making through the use of priming. It has largely been accepted that jury decision making is affected by a variety of extra-evidentiary factors such as gender and race. In previous investigations, it was discovered that attachment also shares a connection to jury decision making. In the current study, the link between attachment and jury decision making was taken a step further to include the effects of priming attachment

and the subsequent relationship that this might have to the decisions that jurors make on court cases.

In general, the results of this study are mixed. There was support found for the hypothesis that individuals who were in the preoccupied priming condition would have a significant overall increase in their anxiety scores from pre-prime to post-prime and a significant decrease in the avoidance scores. These results suggest that priming functioned in the expected manner for individuals in this group since preoccupied individuals tend to have higher levels of anxiety and lower levels of avoidance (Brennan et al., 1998). Dismissively primed individuals also behaved somewhat expectedly in that they displayed a significant increase in their avoidance scores from pre-prime to post-prime attachment measures. While these results were expected, many of the findings of this study were contrary to what had been predicted. For example, in regard to priming, individuals primed into the secure category displayed a significant increase in their avoidance as did those participants who were neutrally primed.

In regard to attachment and the relationship to court cases, it was found that those individuals who were more preoccupied on pre-prime and post-prime measures of attachment, were less punitive on both the domestic violence and custody cases. This result is contrary to predictions, which suggested that preoccupied individuals would be more punitive on the case ratings. When examined within the context of the type of prime received, there are several more unexpected findings. For example, it was discovered that individuals who were in the preoccupied priming conditions, but who rated themselves as secure both pre-prime and post-prime, which suggests that the priming for these individuals did not function as expected, were more punitive on the theft-case, which served as the non-attachment control. Further, it was found that as

individuals who were dismissively primed and rated themselves as more dismissive on post-prime categorical measures of attachment, became less punitive on the theft case. Finally, contrary to predictions it was found that gender and race had no relationship to the court cases in this study.

Methodologically, there was a confound regarding the priming conditions that may have accounted for the general decrease in avoidance, with exception of the preoccupied priming subset, which functioned according to expectations. The avoidance paragraph from the Relationship Questionnaire was the last item read prior to the reception of the prime by the participant. It is possible that the prime was not salient for the secure, dismissive or neutral groups, which resulted in the avoidance paragraph of the Relationship Questionnaire serving as the prime. However, for those in the preoccupied priming group, it may be that the preoccupied prime is more salient than any other prime and thus could override the priming effect of the avoidance paragraph of the Relationship Questionnaire. It has been shown for example, that attachment anxiety, which is extremely high for preoccupied individuals, is associated with activation of the attachment system across both threatening primes and non-threatening primes, whereas attachment avoidance is not (Mikulincer, Gillath & Shaver, 2003). This suggests attachment anxiety is cognitively unique in that it differentially affects the activation of the attachment system. Thus, if individuals are primed to be more preoccupied (i.e., anxious), any other prime that was received in close contextual proximity, in this case the RQ avoidant paragraph, becomes less salient, therefore resulting in the expected results for those individuals primed to be preoccupied in our study. Essentially, for those who were primed into the preoccupied category, the preoccupied prime withstood the

other possible priming items. Of course, this is only speculation and further research needs to be conducted regarding this conclusion.

In regard to the unexpected outcomes on the court cases in relationship to attachment, several arguments can be made. First, as previously stated, many of the findings suggest that those who were rated as more preoccupied tended to be less punitive on their ratings of the court cases. Such a conclusion is in opposition to what was predicted. However, it can be argued that because preoccupied individuals draw their value from others and will do whatever is necessary to maintain relationships (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), they may be more willing to be lenient toward the defendant if they perceive that the defendant was simply trying to maintain the relationship with the other individual involved in the court case. This speculative explanation suggests that the participant is empathizing with the defendant's plight and is, thus, more understanding of that person because the participant might feel as though they would take the same action in this given situation. Like the previous theoretical exploration, this also needs future research in order to draw a firm conclusion.

Another inconsistent finding was that the non- attachment control case was related to attachment. This case was designed to show that when no evident attachment issue is involved, there will be no relationship between attachment and jury decision making. However, the results of this study seem to suggest that even in cases for which there is believed to be no attachment related information, attachment may still be related to the outcome of the case. This simply reiterates that many court cases are influenced by psychological, interpersonal, cognitive and perceptual factors (Boyll, 1991), whether the case has those issues inherent.

While the established connection between attachment and jury decision making is evident, it has also become clear that it is a complicated relationship that still requires further study. This is particularly apparent in the current study of priming attachment and its effects of jury decision making, given the mixed results that have been discovered. The results of this study do seem to support studies that have found that it is possible to prime attachment (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004), however understanding the changes that are due to this priming is still being uncovered. Further, the findings also provide a starting point for future investigation into the effects that attachment ultimately has on jury decision making and the examination of the reliability of these effects.

Study 3

Priming Attachment and Jury Decision Making- A Second Glance

The previous studies have suggested that attachment is yet another variable that may share a relationship with jury decision making and that by priming attachment, it may be possible to alter an individual's own attachment style and subsequently the outcomes of court cases. Due to a confound in Study 2 regarding the priming procedure and the effects that this may have caused on the outcomes of the attachment measures, the current study was created.

As previously stated, it has been well documented that jury decisions are influenced by a variety of factors (Boyll, 1991; Devine et al., 2001), including attachment. Further, it has been shown that by using attachment related words and phrases, an individual's attachment style can be temporarily altered through priming (Mikulincer et al., 2001, Bartz & Lydon, 2004). The purpose of the current study is to re-examine the effects of priming attachment on the outcomes of attachment measures and to ultimately investigate the relationship between these outcome measures and the decisions that jurors make.

The hypotheses for this study are essentially the same as in Study 2. More specifically, based on the previous research regarding priming and attachment (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004) as well as theoretical perspectives on attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Brennan et al., 1998), it is hypothesized that individuals who receive the secure prime will have an increase in their secure rating on the categorical measures of attachment and will experience a decrease in anxiety and avoidance scores on the dimensional measures of attachment. Individuals who receive the dismissive prime will experience an increase in their dismissive rating on the categorical

measures, will have a decrease in their anxiety score and an increase in their avoidance score. Individuals who receive the preoccupied prime will rate themselves as more preoccupied on the categorical measures and will experience an increase in their anxiety score but a decrease in their total avoidance score. As in the previous study in place a fearful prime, a control group, received no prime. Individuals in the no prime control condition were expected to experience no change in their pre-prime and post-prime measures of attachment.

Consistent with the four- category theoretical model (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) as well as from findings in Study 1, it was hypothesized that individuals who received a secure prime and who were thus thought to be more secure, would be appropriately punitive in their ratings due to their positive view of self and other. Dismissively primed individuals would behave as the secure individuals given their similarity in positive view of self. Preoccupied individuals, on the other hand, due to the fact that they derive personal value from their relationships with others would be more punitive in their ratings than any of the other groups. Finally, individuals in the “no prime” category were hypothesized to rate the court cases in a manner consistent with their originally assessed attachment style.

This study also explored race and gender. Consistent with previous research findings (Mitchell et al., 2005), it was expected that Caucasian individuals would be more punitive than African Americans. Also, in general, it was predicted the females would be more punitive in their ratings than males (Gabora et al, 1993).

Methods

Participants

Participants ($N = 122$) in this study were Rutgers University undergraduates currently enrolled in an introductory Psychology class. The sample consisted of 45 (36.9%) males and 76 (62.3%) females. One individual did not report his or her gender. The participants' mean age was 20.18 years ($SD = 3.24$). Of the sample, 27 (22.1%) described themselves as Caucasian, 24 (19.7%) were classified as African American, 28 (23.0%) were categorized as Asian, 10 (8.2%) were of Middle Eastern descent, 31 (25.4%) were Hispanic and 2 (1.6%) were classified as other.

Materials

Participants first completed an online prescreening survey prior to participation in the study. This survey included measures of attachment, gender, race, age, and aggression. During the laboratory portion of this experiment, participants were primed into one of three attachment categories or were in the no prime category. After priming, they were asked to complete several measures assessing attachment and were asked to read and make decisions on three real life court cases.

Prime. Given the prior issues in Study 2 regarding the priming protocol, it was decided to use the priming paradigm developed by Bartz and Lydon (2004). This priming procedure is a visualization task which asks the individual, depending upon the priming category, to imagine a person who fits the description being read to them. For those primed into the secure category, they heard the following statement:

“ Please think about a relationship you have had in which you have found that it was relatively easy to get close to the other person and you felt comfortable depending on the other person. In this relationship you didn’t often worry about being abandoned by the other person and you didn’t worry about the other person getting too close to you.”

Those individuals in the preoccupied priming condition listened to the following statement:

“Please think about a relationship you have had in which you have felt like the other person was reluctant to get as close as you would have liked. In this relationship you worried that the other person didn’t really like you or love you, and you worried that they wouldn’t want to stay with you. In this relationship, you wanted to get very close to the other person but you worried that this would scare the other person away.”

Finally, individuals in the dismissive priming condition heard the following statement:

“Please think about a relationship you have had in which you have found that you were somewhat uncomfortable being too close to the other person. In this relationship you found it was difficult to trust the other person completely and it was difficult to allow yourself to depend on the other person. In this relationship, you felt yourself getting nervous when the other person tried to get too close to you and you felt that the other person wanted to be more intimate than you felt comfortable being.”

After they listened to one of the aforementioned paragraphs, participants were asked to write a few sentences regarding their thoughts and feelings about themselves when they were with the person that they imagined. When they had finished writing their sentences, they were asked several questions, in survey format, including whether they were able to envision a person who was described in the paragraph, the level of importance of their relationship with this person, if they felt satisfied with the relationship with the envisioned person and the length of time that they had known this person. Individuals in the ‘no prime’ condition participated in a filler task which included completing a word find puzzle.

Demographics. As in Study 1 and 2, three questions were used to assess the demographics of this particular sample. Participants were asked, during the prescreening survey, to report their age, race and gender.

Attachment style. Attachment style, as in Study 1 and 2, was discerned through the use of two measures, which were utilized during both the online prescreening survey to obtain an accurate pre-prime measure of attachment and were completed after individuals had received the prime. The Experience in Close Relationships Scale

(Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998) measures dimensional aspects of attachment. The second attachment measure, the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), includes 4 short paragraphs describing the 4 different attachment styles. Participants were asked to rate how closely each represented them and were then asked to read the same four paragraphs and choose the one the best described them.

Court Cases. Participants were again asked to read the same three actual court cases that were used in both Study 1 and 2. This experiment included a domestic violence murder case, a custody case and a check fraud/theft case, which served as the non-attachment control case. As in the past studies, for the domestic violence murder case and the check fraud/ theft case, participants were asked to both make a decision regarding the guilt or innocence of the defendant, and, if guilty, were asked to make a judgment about the defendant's punishment. For the custody case, participants were asked to choose an appropriate custody arrangement for the children involved in this case. The possible choices were presented on a scale ranging from the least punitive to the most punitive alternative. For example, in regard to the custody case, participants were given the following options in making their judgment: the current arrangement remains with the "defendant" parent retaining primary and sole custody, the arrangement shifts to joint custody, the "non-defendant" parent is granted custody with the "defendant" parent having visitation and finally, the "non-defendant parent" is granted primary sole custody with the "defendant-parent" having no visitation.

Procedure

This study was divided into two parts. After consent was obtained, participants completed the Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998) and the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) during the online

prescreening survey. Several days later, participants were asked to report to the Social Psychology Laboratory to take part in the second phase. At this time, they were randomly assigned to one of three attachment prime conditions (i.e., secure, avoidant, anxious) or to the 'no prime' condition. Those individuals in the 'no prime' condition completed a filler task which included a word find puzzle. Those assigned to a priming condition participated in a visual imagery priming task. During the visual imagery priming task, participants listened to a tape recording of one of the three possible priming paragraphs (secure, ambivalent and avoidant), which were created by Bartz & Lydon (2004). These paragraphs essentially are descriptions of the three attachment styles including, secure, dismissive and preoccupied. After the participants were read the descriptions, the following instructions were read:

“Now, take a moment and try to get a visual image in your mind of this person. What does this person look like? What is it like being with this person? You may want to remember a time you were actually with this person. What would he or she say to you? What would you say in return? How do you feel when you are with this person? How would you feel if they were here with you now?”

At this point, participants were asked to write a couple of sentences regarding their thoughts and feelings about themselves when they were with this person. When they finished writing their sentences, they were asked several questions regarding the person they had imagined. More specifically they were asked in what capacity they knew the individual and how long they had known this person. After this priming task had occurred or after the participants who had not received a prime have finished with the word find puzzle task, all participants were asked to make judgments on three real life court cases. As previously mentioned, these included a custody case, a domestic violence murder case, and a check fraud/theft case, which served as the non-attachment control. After participants completed the decision-making portion of the experiment, they were

requested to complete a survey portion of the study in order to assess the post-prime measure of attachment. They were asked to complete the same scales used to assess their attachment types in the first part of the study (i.e., Experience in Close Relationship Scale and the Relationship Questionnaire Scale). The total combined time for this study was approximately 50 minutes.

Results

As in Studies 1 and 2, in order to assess the relationship between attachment on court case ratings, Pearson Product Moment Correlations were utilized. Pre-prime and post-prime measures of anxiety and avoidance comparisons were completed through the use of paired-sample t-tests. All other analyses, more specifically, race and court case rating analyses, were examined using an omnibus *F* test with post hoc Tukey test to further illuminate any potential differences. Finally, in order to examine interactive effects, a univariate analysis of variances was used with post hoc Tukey test.

Priming and Attachment

Secure Prime. Individuals who received a secure prime trended toward a significant decrease in their anxiety scores, [$t(26) = 1.68, p = .10$] (see Figure 1; see Table 5 in Appendix A). This result was expected as a decrease in anxiety should occur with individuals who have received a secure prime. They did not, however, show a decrease in their avoidance scores, which would have been expected given that, theoretically, secure individuals should display low levels of anxiety and avoidance.

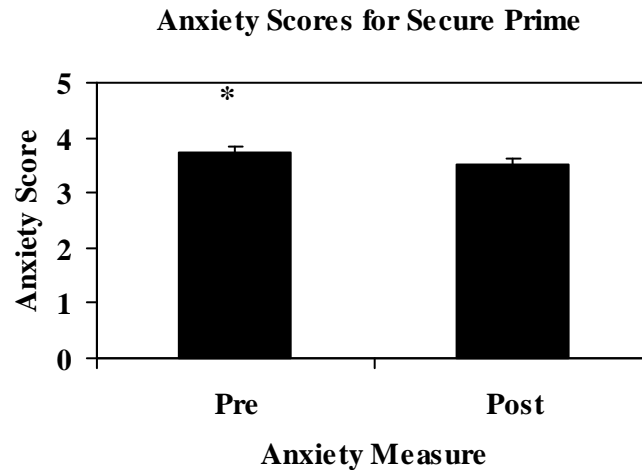


Figure 1. Mean (95 % CI) pre-prime and post- prime anxiety scores for secure priming condition ($n=29$).

Dismissive Prime. Like their securely primed counterparts, individuals who were in the dismissive priming group experienced a significant decrease in anxiety from pre-prime to post-prime, [$t(28)= 3.05, p= .005$] (see Figure 2; see Table 5 in Appendix A). There was no significant difference in their pre-prime and post-prime measures of avoidance or any other pre-prime to post-prime measure of attachment.

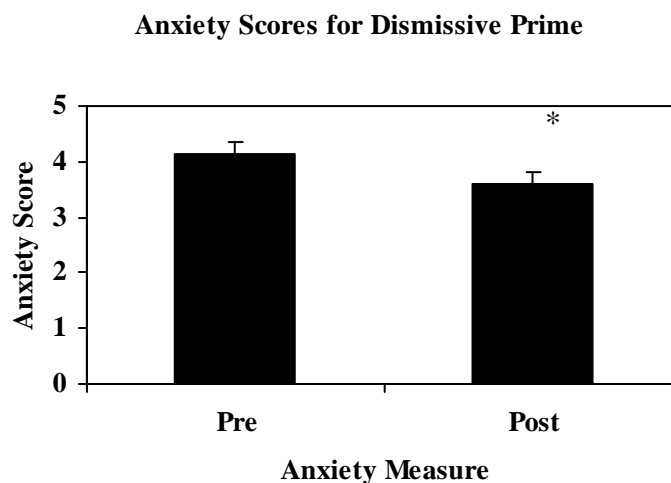


Figure 2. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime anxiety scores for dismissive prime condition ($n=28$).

Preoccupied Prime. It was revealed that individuals who were primed into the preoccupied category showed a significant decrease in the anxiety score from pre-prime to post-prime measures, [$t(29) = 2.09, p = .04$] (see Figure 3; see Table 5 in Appendix A). They did not experience a change in their avoidance score nor in any of the categorical measures of attachment.

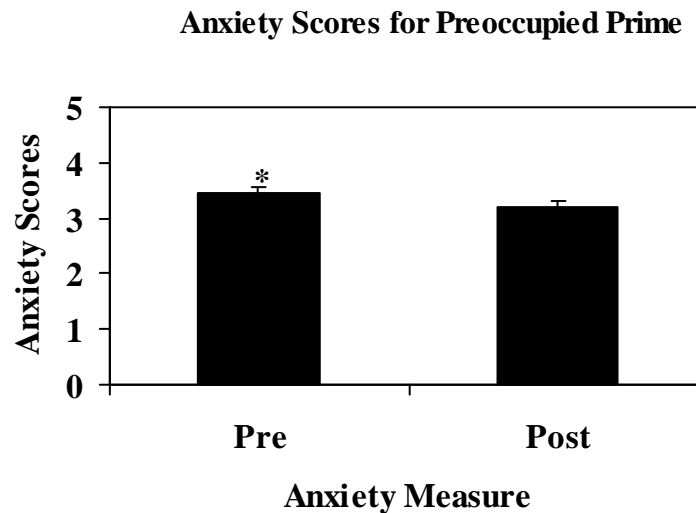


Figure 3. Mean (95% CI) pre- prime and post- prime anxiety scores for preoccupied priming condition ($n=30$).

No Prime. A series of t-tests were conducted to further investigate the differences in pre-prime and post-prime measures of attachment. As predicted, there was no change in the avoidance and anxiety scores from pre-prime to post-prime for individuals in the no prime condition (see Table 5 in Appendix A). There were also no changes on their pre-prime and post- prime categorical measures of attachment.

Cases and Attachment

Custody and domestic violence case ratings did not share a relationship with pre-prime or post-prime avoidance and anxiety scores. There were no other significant relationships discovered between these two court cases and post-prime categorical measures of attachment.

However, a series of Pearson Product Moment Correlations revealed a significant relationship between post-prime avoidance scores and theft case ratings. More specifically, individuals who were higher on the pre- prime measure of avoidance were less punitive on theft case, [$r(120) = -.183, p = .050$] (see Table 6 in Appendix A). It was also revealed that individuals who had a high total post-prime avoidance score were less punitive on the theft case, [$r(120) = -.18, p = .04$] (see Table 6 in Appendix A). Further, it was found that individuals who were higher on the pre- prime anxiety measure were less punitive on the theft case, [$r(120) = -.24, p = .01$] (see Table 6 in Appendix A). Individuals who were higher on the post-prime measure of anxiety were less punitive on the theft case, [$r(120) = -.18, p = .05$] (see Table 6 in Appendix A). A Pearson Product Moment correlation revealed that individuals who rated themselves as more fearful both in the pre and post- prime measures, were less punitive on the theft case, [$r(120) = -.172, p = .065$; $r(120) = -.195, p = .032$] (see Table 6 in Appendix A).

Priming and Court Case Ratings

Exploratory analyses were completed to examine the effect of priming on court case ratings. It was discovered that priming was unrelated to court cases.

Race

As in the first two studies, race was explored as a possible link to the decisions that jurors make. An ANOVA revealed a significant effect of race on jury decision making on the domestic violence murder case in which the defendant was African American, [$F(5,54) = 3.84, p = .012$] (see Figure 4). More specifically, it was found that Caucasian individuals were more punitive in the punishment of the African American defendant than individuals of Asian descent. There was no significant effect of race on

jury decision making on the domestic violence case in which the defendant was Caucasian, the custody case or the theft case.

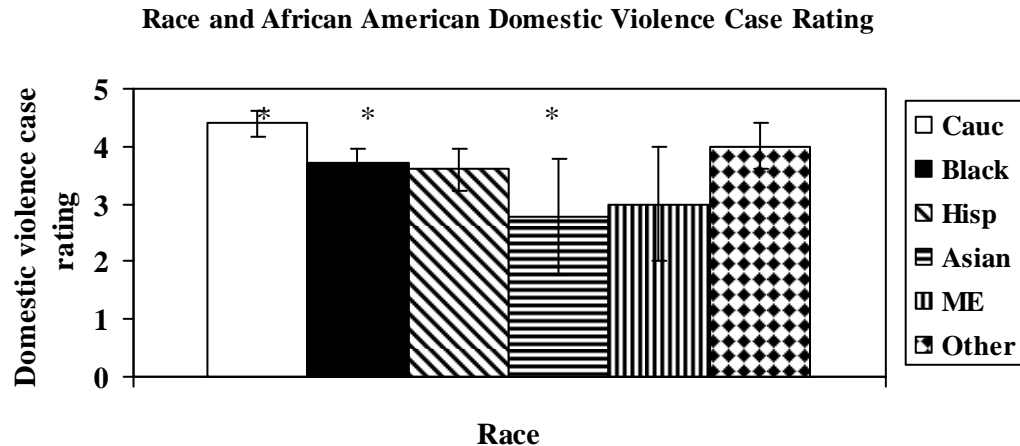


Figure 4. Race and mean (95% CI) domestic violence case ratings ($n = 59$).

Gender

No main effects of gender were found on any of the court cases.

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court Cases

Contrary to expectations, there were no interactive effects discovered between race and attachment or gender and attachment on jury decision making.

Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to investigate the priming of attachment on subsequent outcomes of court cases. Previous research has shown that, by priming attachment through use of attachment -related words and phrases, it is possible to temporarily modify individual's attachment styles (Mikulincer et al., 2001; Bartz & Lydon, 2004). In a distinct line of research, it has also been revealed that a variety of extra- evidentiary factors influence the decisions that jurors make, including perceptual, cognitive and interpersonal factors (Boyll, 1991), such as attachment. As in Study 2, the current research sought to merge these two lines of thought. However, this study

employed a change in priming technique and methods to rule out possible confounds that were present in Study 2.

Generally, the results of this study were mixed. In regards to priming attachment and attachment measures outcomes, consistent with predictions, securely primed individuals displayed an expected decrease in anxiety as did the dismissively primed individuals. Contrary to predictions, it was discovered that individuals in the preoccupied priming group experienced a decrease in anxiety. While there were no other significant differences in pre-prime measures and post-prime measures of attachment, the general decrease in anxiety across all priming groups signaled a possible mediating factor, namely emotional disclosure (Pennebaker, 1995), which has been shown to reduce anxiety (Hemenover, 2003). During the visualization task, participants were permitted to write about their thoughts and feelings regarding themselves and the person they were asked to imagine. Such expression of emotion through writing has been previously associated with a reduction in anxiety (Pennebaker, 1995). Given that the no prime condition, on the other hand, did not have this opportunity to disclose and subsequently did not show a reduction in their anxiety levels, it possible that disclosure may have been the cause of the reduction in anxiety.

The findings in regards to court cases and attachment were also somewhat mixed. Contrary to predictions, case ratings on the custody case and domestic violence cases did not have an association with attachment. Yet, it was discovered that individuals who had higher pre-prime and post-prime avoidance measures, tended overall to be less punitive on the theft case as were individuals who were higher on pre-prime and post-prime measures of anxiety. Further, individuals who rated themselves as more fearful on the pre and post-prime measures of attachment were less punitive on the theft case. A trend in

fearful participants to be less punitive than dismissive individuals on the theft case was also revealed. Taken together, these results are slightly unexpected as the theft case was to serve as the non-attachment control case. However, given the results from Study 2 and the findings in the current study, it may be that no case is truly immune from the influence of attachment. In the same token, the lack of significant findings on the custody and domestic violence cases suggest that the influence of attachment is not wholly reliable and may be affected by other variables. Additionally, the results regarding fearful individuals being less punitive are in opposition to the original predictions. While such a finding was not expected, it is possible the fearful individuals who have a negative view of both self and other (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), and thus have less self-value, may have been lenient because they do not feel capable of making a decision of such great magnitude about another person. Such an idea is purely hypothetical and deserves additional focus.

This study also sought to replicate previous findings regarding race and gender as variables that affect jury decision making. In regard to race, it was discovered that Caucasians were more punitive than their Asian counterparts on the domestic violence case. There were no other significant effects of race on case. The finding that Caucasians were more punitive than Asians is not unexpected, though it was not predicted. Typically, research has focused mainly on Caucasians and African Americans. In these studies, African Americans tend to be less punitive than Caucasians, especially if the defendant in the case is African American (Mitchell et al, 2006). Little research has examined any other race in regard to jury decision making. However, it may be that Asian Americans, who like African Americans are more collectivistic (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1992), may be less punitive toward this individual, who is technically not a member of their

immediate in-group. Such an idea is purely hypothetical but the results of this study support such a prediction.

Study 4

Attachment and Jury Decision Making in Mock Juries

While examining jury decision making and attachment on a juror by juror basis is important, especially given the non-existence of previous research in this area of study, juries are comprised of groups of individuals, who are asked to come together as a group to make decisions. Though the final decision may ultimately be verbalized by the individual, simply being a member of a group has repeatedly been shown to influence the decisions that individuals make, as early psychological studies have shown (Asch, 1958).

In the jury decision making realm, various studies have examined the role of the group throughout the decision making process as well as the influence that simply being a member of the group may have on the ultimate decision of the group. For example, it has been shown that because juries are formed of groups of individuals, a greater exchange of information occurs, which can subsequently influence the ultimate decision of the jury (Kaplan, 1977). It has also been shown that certain variables influence the susceptibility of group members to change their own judgments and conform to the groups' decision, even if they do not agree with that particular choice. For example, an individual's degree of authoritarianism is significantly related to group conformity, such that those who measure high on authoritarianism are more likely to change their decisions to be consistent with the jury (Lamberth, Krieger & Shay, 1982). Thus, simply being part of the jury because the jury is comprised of a group of individuals, makes the decisions that are made susceptible to biases.

While various factors related to group processes have been examined in relation to jury decision making, attachment has not yet been investigated as a variable affecting juries' decisions or the process that result in such decisions. However, it has been

suggested that “adult attachment theory... may be able to shed light on the processes underlying people’s identification with social groups” (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999, p. 94). The reason is that attachment essentially explains the patterns of behavior in interpersonal relationships as well as cognitions and perceptions relating to others. Thus, it can be deduced that attachment would have a relationship to and an effect on the group processes that are observed during decision making in general and for the purposes of the current research, jury decision making. Only limited research has addressed the idea that attachment shares a relationship with group processes. For example, it has been discovered that attachment style is related to the perceptions of both self and other members of a group. More specifically, individuals who are highly anxious tend to have a negative view of themselves as a group member but a positive view of the other members of the group. On the other hand, individuals high on avoidance, tend to a positive view of themselves as a group member but a negative view of others in the group. Further, highly anxious individuals have attentional deficiencies during group tasks, which prevent them from adequately performing such tasks. It has been argued that the reason for their poor performance is due to preoccupation with the need to be close to the group members. On the other hand, highly avoidant individuals often can do well on group tasks as long as they do not have to work within the context of the group but can perform the task independently. They do not see the benefits of the group and often defect from the overall group consensus (Rom & Mikulincer, 2003).

Given the aforementioned evidence, it is possible to deduce that attachment may have a relationship to the group decision making process during jury deliberations. Of particular interest in this study was examining the differences in regard to overall decisions among juries comprised of high and low anxiety individuals. The previous

investigations that comprise this dissertation have lent some support to the idea that jury type, as categorized by attachment, may have a relationship to overall decisions that juries make.

This study also sought to investigate issues of conformity in the jury decision making process. More specifically, it was of interest to examine if high anxiety individuals may be more likely to conform to the group decision than highly avoidant individuals. To date, no studies have addressed attachment in relation to conformity. However, understanding that attachment goals have a relationship with group activities and outcomes, such as maintaining closeness to the group at the expense of doing well on a task or, on the other hand, maintaining self-reliance at the expense of group cohesion, permits the realization that attachment may be related to the group processes at large, and more specifically, conformity during the jury decision making process.

Thus, the purpose of the current study is two-fold. First, based on the evidence from the first three studies, it is hypothesized that jury type as categorized by attachment will have a relationship to overall court decisions. More specifically, it is predicted that juries consisting of highly anxious individuals will differ in their overall decisions from juries consisting of individuals who are highly avoidant. Because previous findings regarding the differences between highly anxious individuals and highly avoidant individuals have been mixed, showing them as being both more punitive and less punitive in their decisions depending upon the study, there will be no directional hypotheses regarding this prediction. Instead, this will serve as an exploratory analysis. The second goal of this research is to examine attachment and changes in jury decisions through the decision making process. Based on previous research on group processes and attachment, it is predicted that highly anxious individuals will be more likely to conform

to the group during the jury decision making process. On the other hand, individuals who are dismissive and therefore highly avoidant, will be less likely to conform to the group. This may result in juries consisting of dismissive individuals being less likely to reach a decision regarding court cases.

A final goal of this study is to examine demographic variables such as race and gender in terms of their effect on jury decision making. It is predicted that with regard to race, Caucasian individuals will be more punitive than any other racial group. Gender is predicted to be related to jury decision making in that females will be more punitive in their decisions than that males will be. Further, this study also sought to discover any possible interactive effects among race and attachment as well as gender and attachment in regard to jury decision making.

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 98$) in this study were Rutgers University Newark undergraduates. These students were, at the time of the study, enrolled in an introductory Psychology course and were permitted to use participation in this study toward their research points requirement. The overall participant population consisted of 35 (35.7%) males and 53 (54.1%) females, with 11 (10.2%) participants choosing not to disclose their gender. The mean age of the participants was 20.29 years ($SD = 5.46$). Of the participant population, 18 (18.4%) were Caucasian, 20 (20.4%) were African American, 23 (23.5%) were classified as Asian, 5 (5.1%) were of Middle Eastern descent, 15 (15.3%) were categorized as Hispanic, 6 (6.1%) were classified as other and 11 (11.2%) did not report their race.

Materials

Individuals participating in this study completed an online prescreening survey prior to entering the laboratory for the jury deliberation portion of the experiment. This survey requested that students provide demographic information and complete measures of attachment. Attachment measures were later used to form the selection criteria for the jury composition. During the laboratory portion, they were also asked to complete questions in a survey format after they have read and discussed the cases. These questions reflected their decisions on the court cases regarding both innocence and guilt as well as punishment.

Demographics. Demographic information was assessed during the online prescreening portion of the study. Participants were asked, during the prescreening survey, to report their age, race and gender. They were also asked about their religion, political beliefs, and birth order. For the purpose of the current study, only race and gender were examined to identify their impact on jury decision making.

Attachment style. Attachment style was again examined through the use of two scales. The Experience in Close Relationships Scale Revised (Fraley, Waller, & Brennan 2000) measures dimensional aspects of attachment. Like the Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan et al., 1998) used in the previous three studies, the ECR-R is comprised of thirty-six one line statements on which participants were asked to rate themselves using a 7 point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 7 (very much like me). From their answers on the ECR-R, participants are categorized as having low anxiety and low avoidance, high anxiety and high avoidance, high anxiety and low avoidance or low anxiety and high avoidance. As in the previous three studies, the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991), which includes 4 short

descriptions of the differing attachment styles, was also utilized to assess categorical measures of attachment

Court Cases. Participants in this study were asked to read and make decisions on four real life court cases. The court cases used in this study included a custody case and a check fraud/theft case (non-attachment control case) from the New Jersey State Superior Court in Camden County and a parental homicide case and a spousal murder case also obtained from Court TV. After participants read each case, they were asked if the case was clear and if they understood all of the evidence presented in the case.

Case Voting Form. Participants' decisions during the deliberation process were assessed at three different times; once immediately after they read the case, once immediately after they had been given an opportunity to discuss the case as a group for approximately 5 minutes, and finally immediately after a second opportunity to discuss the case for an additional 5 minutes. In order to have some consistency and control over the decision making process, participants were given a series of questions regarding their decisions. These questions included rating how guilty the defendant was on a Likert type scale ranging from 1 (not guilty) to 7(extremely guilty). They were also asked to make a forced choice decision on guilt or innocence. Participants were next asked to report how severe they believed the punishment for the defendant should be using a Likert type scale ranging from 1 (not severe) to 7(extremely severe). They were then asked to rate how confident they were in their decisions using a Likert type scale ranging from 1(not confident at all) to 7(extremely confident). Next, on a 1 (completely blameless) to 7 (completely at fault) Likert type scale, participants were asked how much they blamed the defendant. They were also asked using a Likert type scale ranging from 1(not strong) to 7 (very strong) how impressive they believed the prosecution's case to be and were

additionally asked how impressive they would rate the defense's case. Finally, participants were asked if they could change the current charges against the defendant would the lessen them, keep them the same as currently stated, or make the charges greater. As mentioned, this voting form was given three times during deliberation for each.

Procedure

Participants were prescreened online using the Experience in Close Relationships Scale Revised (Fraley et al., 2000) and the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Demographic variables such as age, race, gender, religion, and political affiliation were also collected. Based on the ECR-R, participants were categorized into four attachment styles based on the dimensional aspects of attachment. These included high avoidance and high anxiety, low avoidance and low anxiety, high anxiety and low avoidance, low anxiety and high avoidance. After categorization, all who participated in the prescreening were invited to participate in the actual study. Participants were assigned to one mock jury session, which lasted approximately one hour. The mock juries consisted of three to seven people. There were four types of juries created to account for the four theoretical categories of attachment as well as to be able to ascertain differences attributed to differing levels of anxiety and avoidance. One type of jury consisted of highly avoidant and highly anxious individuals as well as the jury foreperson, who was a research assistant in the Social Psychology Laboratory. Another type of jury consisted of high avoidant and low anxiety individuals, and a jury foreperson. A third type of jury was comprised of high anxiety and low avoidant individuals and the foreperson. The final type of jury consisted of only low anxiety and low avoidance individuals and the jury

foreperson and served as the control group. The jury foreperson did not participate in the discussion of the cases but simply served as a group facilitator.

After the participants had been assigned to their juries, they were asked to enter the lab. At this time they were assigned to sit in a specific numbered seat in order to counterbalance the seating of individuals with differing attachment dimensions, (i.e., low avoidant, low anxiety, low avoidant in one jury session; low avoidant, low avoidant, low anxiety, in another, etc.). After seat assignment, the participants were given the informed consent. The jury foreperson read a short set of instructions and distributed the demographics sheet to obtain this information from anyone who may not have completed this portion of the online prescreening. The foreperson distributed the first case. After everyone read the case, the jury foreperson called for a written vote. A number on the piece of paper corresponded to the seating position of the individual so that it was possible for the experimenters to later match their jury responses to their prescreening responses. At the conclusion of the initial vote, the jury foreperson began a discussion of the case. After approximately 5 minutes, the jury foreperson distributed another sheet of paper which asked the participants to record their votes. At this time, the jury foreperson again called upon each juror to explain their vote and why they voted in that manner. The jury foreperson facilitated the discussion further for approximately 5 minutes and then asked for another vote. After this discussion, the jurors voted for a third and final time. Participants did not share their answers to this vote. After the final vote, all of the voting forms were collected and entered as data. This procedure was repeated for the second, third and fourth cases. At the conclusion of the session, jurors were debriefed as the purpose of the study.

Results

The overall analytic strategy for this study is as follows: All analyses involving jury type and decisions as well as juror type and changes in voting were conducted through use of an omnibus F test with post hoc Tukey tests to further illuminate any potential differences. In order to examine interactive effects of attachment and race as well as attachment and gender on court case rating, a univariate analysis of variance was used with post hoc Tukey tests.

Jury Type and Question Rating

Jury Type and Ratings of Guilt. Differences in the ratings of guilt as a function of jury type existed only for the parental homicide case. It was shown that after the initial vote on the parental homicide case, high anxiety/high avoidance juries rated the defendant as more guilty than individuals in the low anxiety/high avoidance juries did, [$F(4,84) = 2.910, p = .026$] (see Figure 1; see Table 7 in Appendix A). However, there were no other differences among any of the court cases on ratings of guilt as a function of jury type.

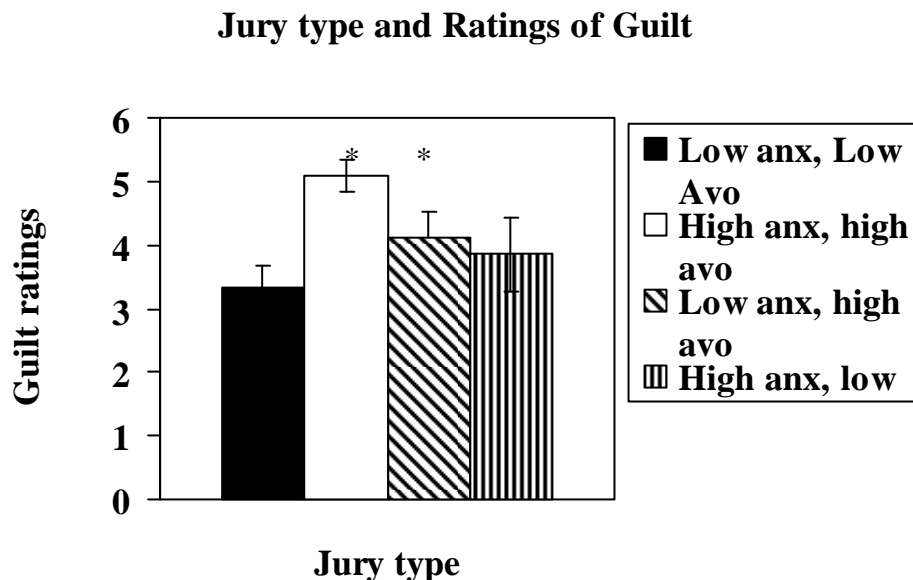


Figure 1. Effect of jury type on mean guilt ratings (95% CI) after vote 1 parental homicide case ($n = 88$).

Jury Type and Defendant Punishment. Overall, it was found that jury type impacted punishment rating. More specifically, it was found that, after vote 2, juries consisting of individuals of high avoidance but low anxiety were more harsh than low anxiety and low avoidance juries when asked to rate the punishment of the defendant in the domestic violence cases, [$F(4,84)= 4.30, p= .003$] (see Figure 2; see Table 7 in Appendix A). This pattern was repeated after vote 3 on the domestic violence case – [$F(4,84)= 3.13, p= .019$] (see Figure 3). Jury type and punishment ratings were not significantly different on the parental homicide case, the custody, or the theft cases.

Jury type and Defendant Punishment

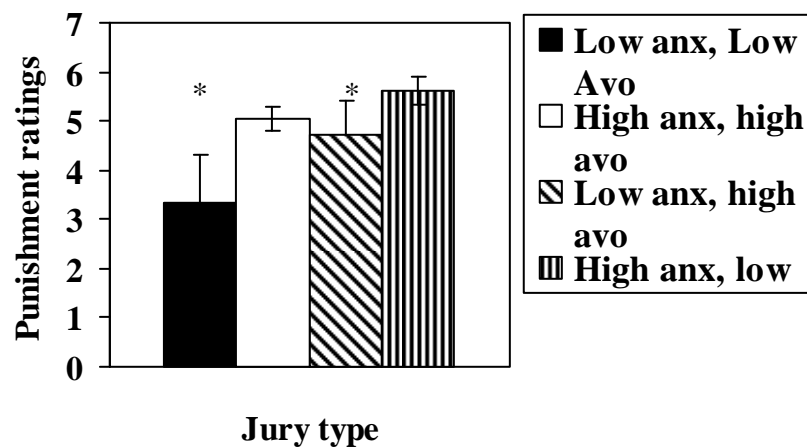


Figure 2. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) punishment ratings after vote 2 domestic violence case ($n= 88$).

Jury type and Defendant Punishment

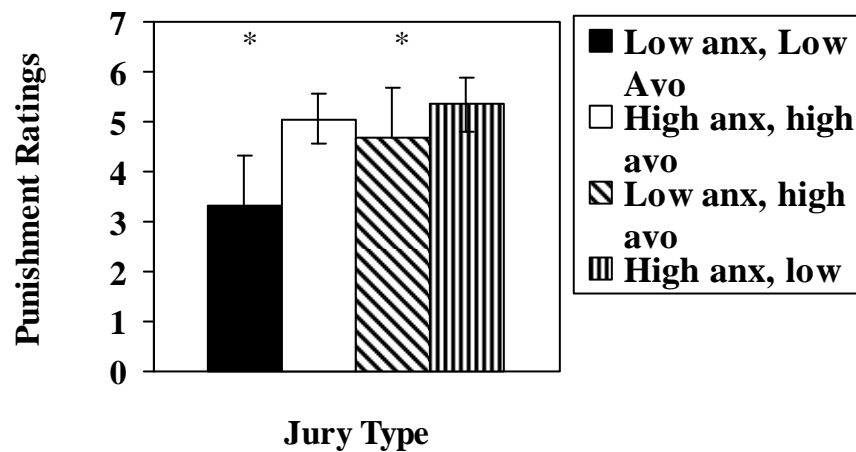


Figure 3. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) punishment ratings after vote 3 domestic violence case ($n = 88$).

Jury type and Defendant Blame. Jury types were significantly different in their rating of defendant blame but only on the domestic violence case. More specifically, it was shown that high anxiety/low avoidance juries blamed the defendant less than low anxiety/high avoidance juries [$F(4,84) = 3.06, p = .021$] (see Figure 4; see Table 7 in Appendix A) but only after vote 3.

Jury type and Defendant Blame

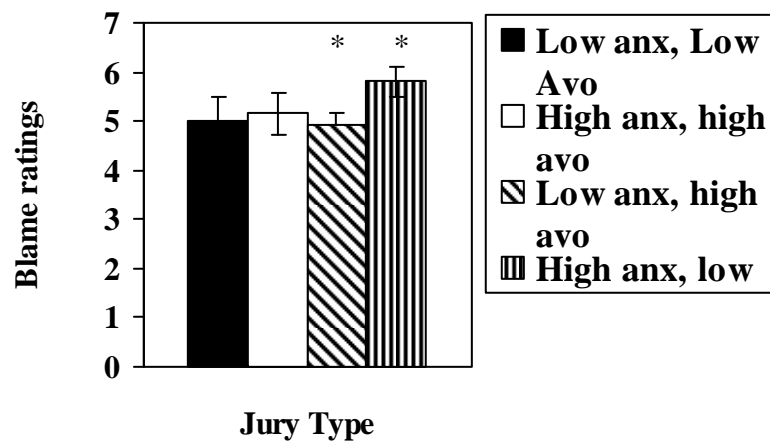


Figure 4. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) blame ratings after vote 3 domestic violence case ($n = 88$).

Jury Type and Strength of Defense's Case. Differences among jury type existed for ratings of the defense's argument on the parental homicide case such that after vote 2, low anxiety, low avoidance juries believed that the defense's case was weaker than low anxiety/high avoidance juries [$F(4,83) = 3.08, p = .02$] (see Figure 5; see Table 7 in Appendix A). The same pattern was repeated after vote 3 [$F(4, 83) = 2.420, p = .05$] (see Figure 6; see Table 8 in Appendix A).

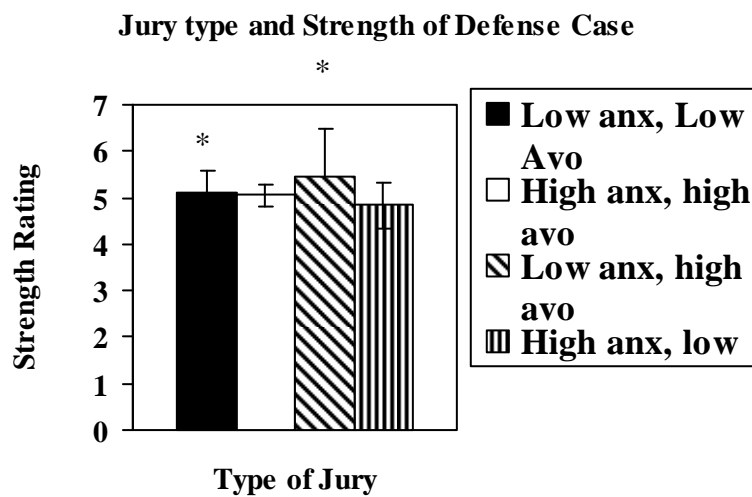


Figure 5. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) rating of strength of defense's case after Vote 2 parental homicide case ($n = 87$).

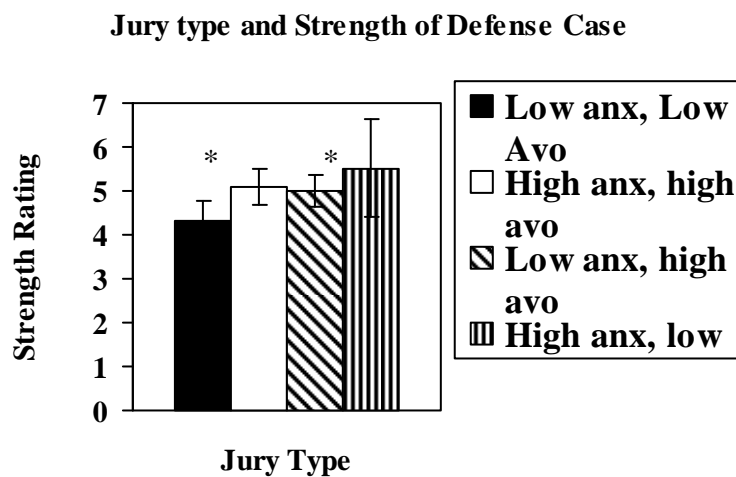


Figure 6. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) rating strength of defense's case after vote 3 parental homicide case ($n = 87$).

Jury type and Changes in Current Charges. Changes in current charges against the defendant were significantly different among the jury types. For example, it was found that high anxiety/low avoidance juries were more likely to lessen the charges against the defendant in the domestic violence case than low anxiety/high avoidance juries were. This pattern was initially discerned after vote 2, [$F(4,84) = 3.04, p = .021$] (see Figure 7; see Table 7 in Appendix A) but was also seen after vote 3 on the domestic violence case [$F(4, 84) = 3.06, p = .021$] (see Figure 8). Differences in the changing of current charges against the defendant as a function of jury type were not evident in any of the other court cases.

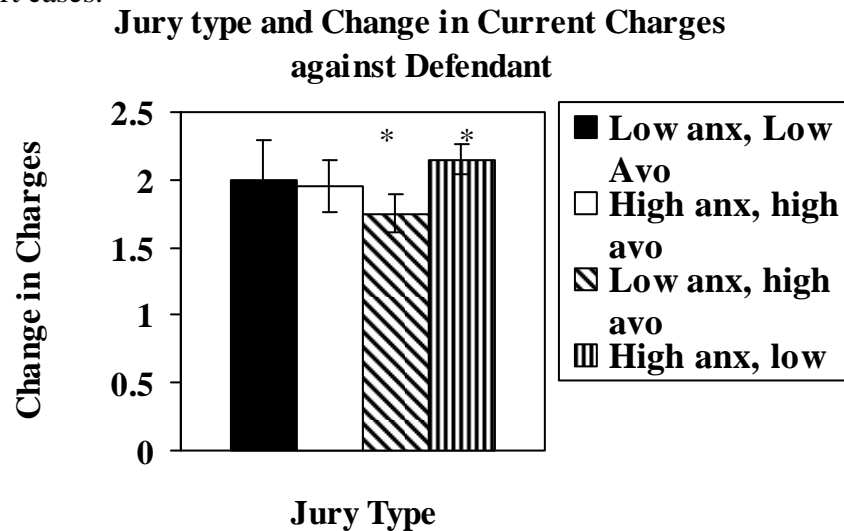


Figure 7. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) rate of change current charges after vote 2 of domestic violence case ($n = 88$).

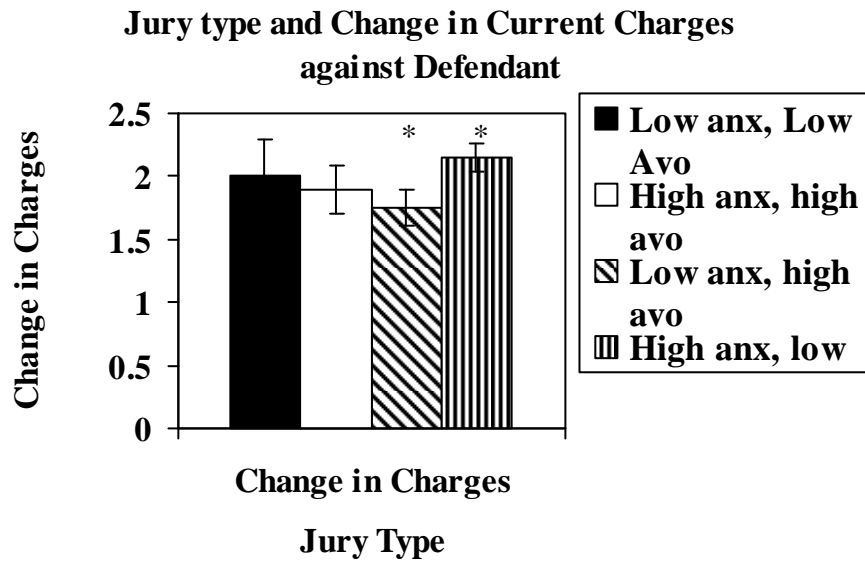


Figure 8. Effect of jury type on mean (95% CI) rate of change current charges after vote 2 of domestic violence case ($n = 88$).

Attachment and Conformity

In order to examine attachment's relationship with conforming to jury decisions, magnitude of change in voting across the decision making process was examined in relation to attachment category. The results show that differences did exist in changes in voting as a function of attachment for the domestic violence case and for the theft case. However, neither the custody nor the parental homicide cases revealed any differences.

Attachment and Conformity on Domestic Violence Case. A significant relationship between attachment and changes in voting on the domestic violence case was revealed. More specifically, it was shown that individuals who are low on anxiety and low on avoidance displayed significantly less change regarding amending the defendant's current charges than individuals who rated themselves as high on anxiety and high on avoidance from vote 1 to vote 3, [$F(3,73) = 3.29, p = .025$] (see Figure 9; see Table 8 in Appendix A).

Attachment and Vote Change for DV

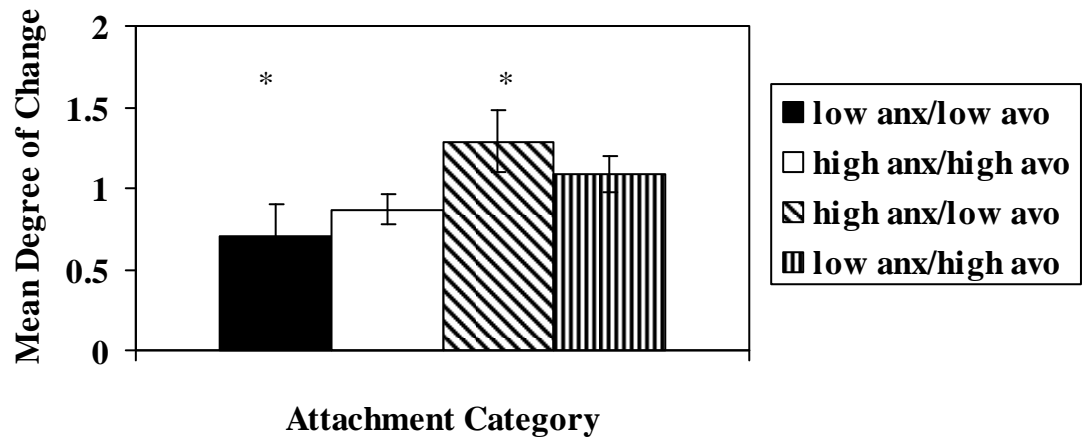


Figure 9. Attachment category and mean (95% CI) change from vote 1 to vote 3 on change in current charges for domestic violence case ($n = 76$).

Attachment and Conformity on the Theft case. Differences in magnitude of change during the voting process were also discovered for the theft case. It was found that low anxiety/low avoidance individuals trended toward displaying significantly less change than high anxiety/high avoidance individuals regarding their certainty of their decisions on the theft case from vote 1 to vote 3. [$F(3,57) = 2.34, p = .083$] (see Figure 10; see Table 8 in Appendix A). Additionally, it was discovered that individuals who were classified as highly avoidant and highly anxious trended toward showing significantly less change in how severe they believed the defendant should be punished from vote 1 to vote 3 than individuals who were highly anxious but were low on avoidance, [$F(3,57) = 2.44, p = .070$] (see Figure 11; see Table 8 in Appendix A). Finally, individuals who were low on anxiety and low on avoidance tended to show a smaller magnitude of change regarding amending the defendant's current charges than individuals who were high on anxiety and low on avoidance, [$F(3,56) = 3.28, p = .027$] (see Figure 12; see Table 8 in Appendix A).

Attachment Category and Vote Change for Theft

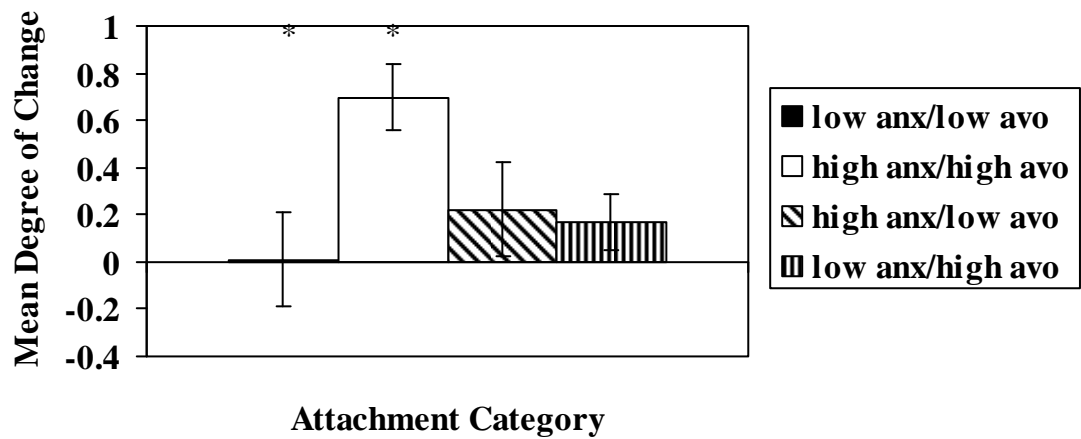


Figure 10. Attachment category and mean (95% CI) change from vote 1 to vote 3 on degree of certainty of decision for theft case ($n = 60$).

Attachment Category and Vote Change for Theft

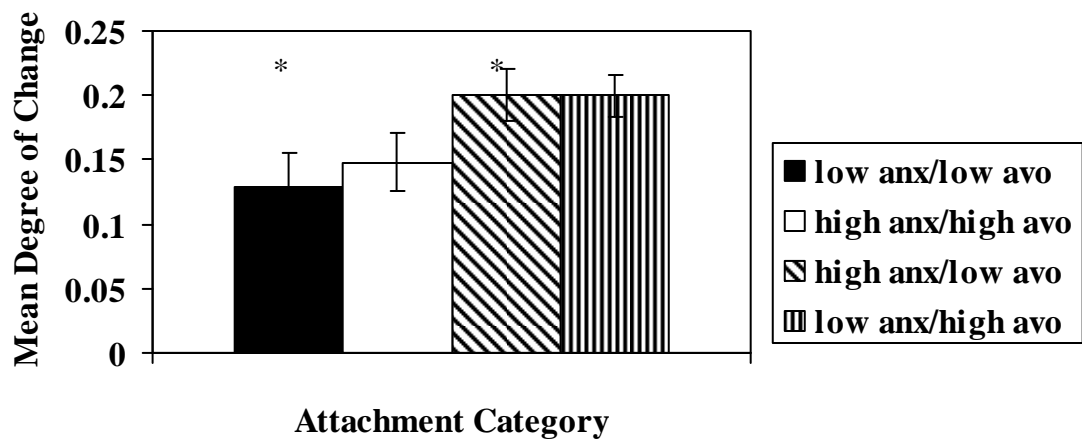


Figure 11. Attachment category and mean (95% CI) change from vote 1 to vote 3 on severity of defendant's punishment for theft case ($n = 60$).

Attachment Category and Vote Change for Theft

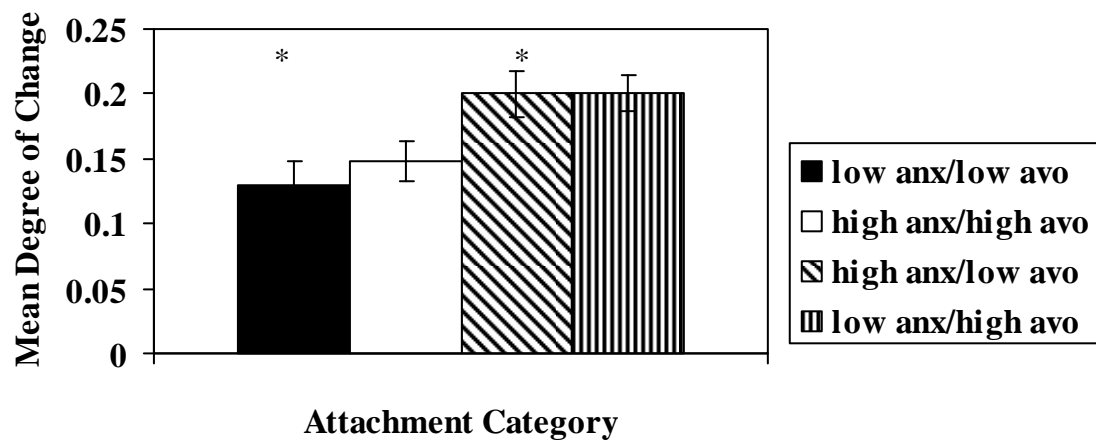


Figure 12. Attachment Category and Mean (95% CI) change from vote 1 to vote 3 regarding amending defendant's current charges for theft case ($n = 59$).

Jury Type and Conformity

As an exploratory analysis, jury type as related to changes in votes across the decision making process was examined to further assess the relationship between attachment and conformity during the jury decision making process. Results show that differences did exist regarding change in votes as a function of jury type but only for the parental homicide case. There were no other significant differences in regard to jury type and vote changes for any of the other cases.

Jury Type and Vote Change for Parental Assault. As predicted, it was discovered that high anxiety/low avoidance juries trended toward displaying significantly more change in ratings of blame regarding the defendant from vote 1 to vote 2 than low anxiety/low avoidance juries, [$F(4,73) = 2.273, p = .07$] (see Figure 13; see Table 8 in Appendix A).

Jury Type and Vote Change for Parental Assault

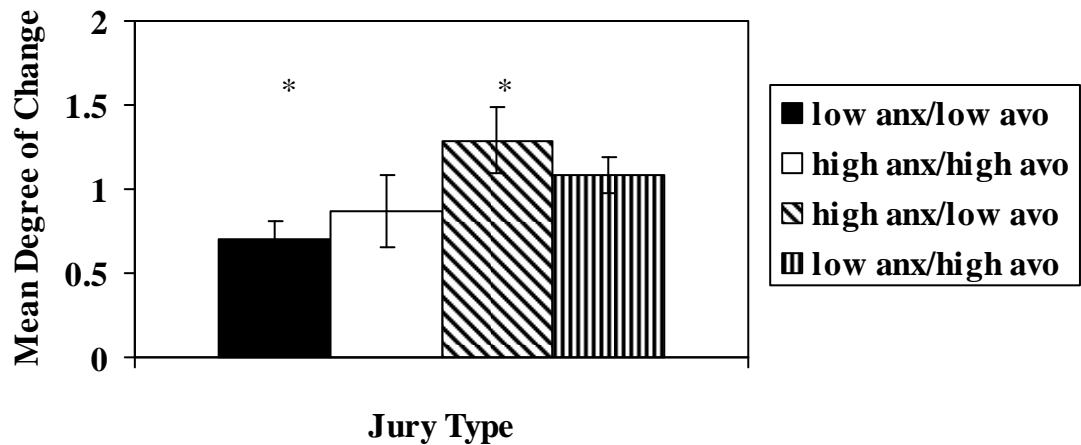


Figure 13. Jury type and mean (95% CI) change from vote 1 to vote 2 on defendant blame in parental assault case ($n = 77$).

Court Cases and Race

As in previous studies, it is predicted that race would have a relationship with jury decision making. Contrary to hypotheses, no differences in jury decisions were found among individuals of different racial groups.

Court Cases and Gender

A gender effect was observed on the domestic violence case such that females tended to be much more punitive in their ratings of guilt than their males were, [$t(80) = -2.119, p = .037$] (see Figure 14.). Gender effects were not found on the parental homicide, custody, or theft cases.

Gender and DV Case Rating

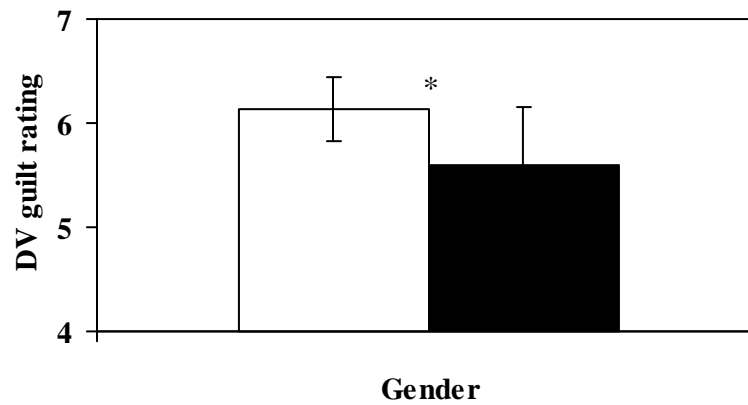


Figure 14. Effect of gender on mean (95% CI) domestic violence guilt ratings ($n = 80$).

Interactions between Race, Gender, Attachment and Court Cases

An interactive effect of attachment and gender was found in regard to guilt ratings on the first voting opportunity after reading the custody case, such that secure males were less punitive than secure females, [$F(1,78) = 2.835, p = .044$] (see Figure 15).

Additionally, a trend toward the opposite pattern was also seen after vote 2 on the custody case. More specifically, secure female participants were less punitive than their male counterparts. Additionally, this interaction also showed that preoccupied males are more punitive than preoccupied females. [$F(1,78) = 2.266, p = .087$] (see Figure 16).

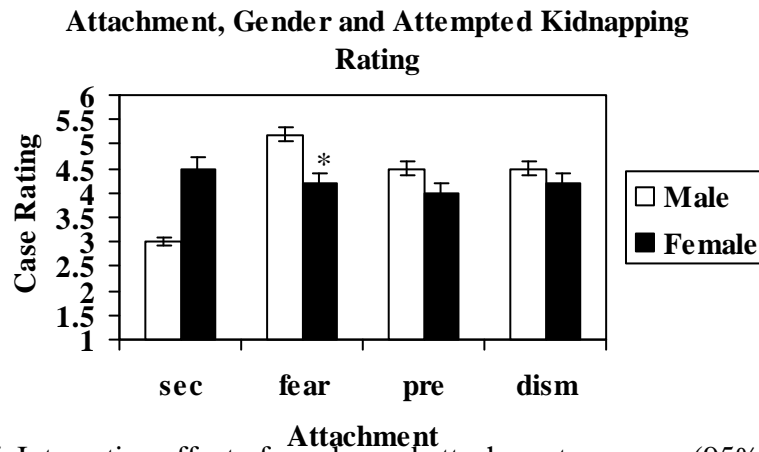


Figure 15. Interactive effect of gender and attachment on mean (95% CI) attempted kidnapping guilt ratings after vote 1 ($n = 79$).

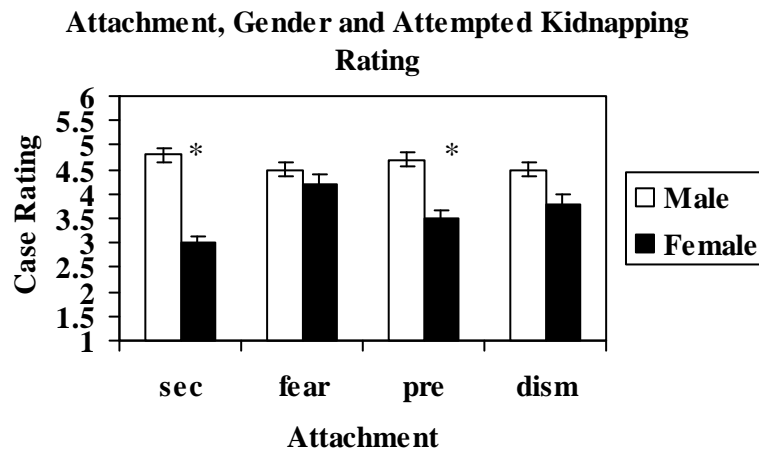


Figure 16. Interactive effect of gender and attachment on mean (95% CI) attempted kidnapping guilt ratings after vote 2 ($n = 79$).

Discussion

Prior to this study, the research presented has focused on examining jury decisions by studying individual jurors. However, juries are comprised of many individuals, and though those individuals ultimately verbalize their own decisions, the collective group will, as has been shown by previous research, influence the individual decisions (Asch, 1958; Lamberth et al., 1982). While a variety of studies have examined group processes and the variables that affect individuals within the group context, none has examined the effect of attachment style on the group process of decision making

regarding court cases. The purpose of this study was to investigate this exact issue to ascertain if attachment styles affect individuals' verdicts, which in turn, ultimately influence the group verdict regarding jury decisions.

The results of this study suggest that attachment does have a relationship to the decisions jurors make in a mock jury atmosphere. More specifically, it was shown that juries comprised of individuals that are low on anxiety and low on avoidance tend to be much less likely to change their vote during the group decision making process. On the other hand, juries consisting of individuals who are highly anxious and/or highly avoidant appear to be much more willing to change their vote. Such a discovery is not surprising given that previous research has suggested that individuals high on anxiety and high on avoidance have certain attachment goals that affect their performance in a group. For individuals high on anxiety, their goal is to be accepted by the group because their self-value is derived from their relationships with individuals in the group. On the other hand, individuals who are high on avoidance tend to want to maintain their independence from the group (Rom & Mikulincer, 2003). The results of this study support the existence of such an idea.

Though attachment goals appears to be affecting the jury decision making process, an alternative yet interconnected explanation for this pattern of results may be group polarization. Previous research has shown that group polarization tends to occur, especially among juries that are comprised of individuals with similar personality characteristics, for example authoritarianism (Bray & Noble, 1978). More specifically, it has been found that juries consisting of people high on authoritarianism tend to display group polarization, becoming more punitive against a defendant. On the other hand, individuals who are low on authoritarianism, also display group polarization but become

more lenient (Bray & Noble, 1978). In terms of attachment, especially in this study, many of the differences found between jury types were discovered between high anxiety, high avoidance juries and low anxiety, low avoidance juries. It may be that those individuals in the similar juries are affected by group polarization, thus enhancing any effect. This is not to say that in mixed juries such an effect is not evident. However, it may be more muted. The idea of similarity of juries based on attachment and the effect this has on group polarization during the jury decision making process needs to be further examined.

In addition to examining the role attachment plays in swaying individual juror's decisions during the jury deliberation process, this study also sought to examine the relationship between attachment and ultimate verdicts on court cases by loading juries with individuals of particular attachment styles to investigate if any differences exist based solely on the type of jury. It was shown that juries with a high concentration of individuals who are highly anxious tend to be overall more punitive with regard to guilt as well as with victim punishment than juries comprised of individuals who were low on anxiety and low on avoidance. However, in terms of defendant blame and amending the defendant's current charges, juries that were comprised of individuals who were high on anxiety tended to be less harsh. In other words, contrary to hypotheses, high anxiety juries placed less blame on the defendant and were more likely to reduce the defendant's current charges. These mixed results seem to suggest that it may be the attachment goal overall that is motivating highly anxious individuals and thus, it is may be difficult to establish any true pattern of behavior because all behavior is goal-oriented.

As in the Studies 1, 2 and 3, this study also sought to examine certain demographic variables in regard to jury decision making, specifically race and gender. Previous research has shown some inconsistent findings regarding both of these

demographic variables' relationship to jury decision making. In the current study, no evidence of a relationship between race and jury decisions was established, though previous research seems to suggest that overall, Caucasian individuals tend to be more punitive (Devine et al., 2001). In regard to gender and jury decisions, it was discovered that women tended to rate the defendant in the domestic violence case as more guilty than men did. This result is consistent with previous research that has suggested that women will be more likely to be punitive in their decisions (Beckham et al., 2007).

Overall, the results of this study seem to suggest that attachment does significantly impact the decisions that juries ultimately make. Additionally, it appears that attachment is also related to the process through which these decisions are made as it appears to be the motivating force behind the individuals' actions that are making the decision. At this juncture, these results suggest a starting point for future research regarding attachment's effects on the group decision making process. Of course, the overarching conclusion is that the United States court system as it stands, may be in need of more research and review.

General Discussion

Beginning with the Chicago Jury Project (Broeder, 1958), it was discovered that jury decision making was influenced by a multitude of variables including race, age, gender and political affiliation (Devine et al., 2001). Prior to the current studies, however, the variable of attachment had never been examined as a possible factor influencing jury decisions. Yet, attachment has been shown to clearly impact cognitions, perceptions and affect especially in relation to social stimuli (Fraley et al, 2000). Because jury decision making is an inherently social phenomena, being that making attributions of guilt or innocence involves judging social beings in social situations (Boyll, 1991), it appeared feasible that attachment, may have an impact on the jury decision making process.

In Study 1, we sought to explore the existence of a relationship between attachment style and jury decision making as there was no previous evidence suggesting that such a relationship may have existed. The findings of this study suggested that jury decisions, in fact, appear to share a relationship with attachment and more specifically, both the categorical and the dimensional aspects of attachment. For example, it was found that individuals higher on total anxiety tended to be more punitive on court cases as did individuals classified as preoccupied, who theoretically have high levels of anxiety (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Such findings were consistent with the hypotheses that individuals who have high levels of anxiety regarding abandonment, may be more punitive toward a defendant in a case that has broken an attachment.

A secondary goal of this study was to further test other variables that have, in the past, been shown to be related to jury decision making. For the purposes of this study, the variables of race and gender were of particular interest. The results suggest that race and gender seem to be related to jury decisions, however, these effects are not necessarily

reliable. For example, previous research has suggested that Caucasian individuals will be more punitive toward defendants than African American individuals will be (Devine et al., 2001). The results of this particular study showed that Caucasians tended to be more punitive in their judgments than individuals of Middle Eastern descent. However, no differences were found between Caucasian and African American participants' judgments.

In regard to gender, a relationship was established to jury decision making but the results were mixed. In one version of this survey, as predicted, females were found to be less punitive than their male counterparts when deciding a custody case. Yet on a subsequent case, consistent with previous evidence, males were found to be less punitive than females. It has been suggested that a factor in this inconsistency may be that when females were less punitive toward a defendant, the defendant was a woman. Previous research has suggested that when jurors are able to identify with a defendant because they share some characteristic, like race, judgments of the defendant are more lenient (Burke, 1990; Gonzalez-Perez, 2001).

Taken together, the results of Study 1 seem to suggest that attachment does have some relationship to jury decision making. Additionally, it is evident that race and gender also affect the decisions that jurors make. However, the relationship between each of these singular variables and jury decision making appears to be complicated and in need of further exploration. In fact, the results of this study seem to suggest that it may be important to study each of these variables in the absence of all others to properly assess their relationship to jury decision making.

Given the results of Study 1, further investigation into the relationship between attachment and jury decision making was mandated. In Study 2, examination of

temporarily modifying attachment style and the subsequent effects on jury decision making was the focus. Though it is suggested that attachment remains stable across life (Paterson & Moran, 1988), recent research has suggested that individuals may be able to be temporarily primed into a different attachment style (Bartz & Lydon, 2004). The purpose of Study 2 was to examine if such priming is possible and if the priming does function in the expected way, what outcomes this has for jury decision making, which, in Study 1, was shown to be related to attachment.

It was discovered in this study that priming led to a decrease in avoidance for all priming conditions. However, the reason for such a finding may have been due to a confounding variable in the study, namely, that the avoidant portion of the attachment measure served as the prime as opposed to the words and paragraphs that were originally developed to be the prime. Yet even with the priming issue, attachment was still discovered to be related to court cases, though several of the results were contrary to predictions. More specifically, individuals who were high on anxiety, were less punitive on these cases, which is both unexpected given the predictions as well as given the evidence from Study 1. Further, results regarding a relationship between attachment and jury decision making in this study were related to the non-attachment control case. Such a finding is clearly unexpected, however, it is not unexplainable. It may be simply that there are no decisions regarding any cases that are immune from the effects of attachment.

Study 3 sought to remedy the problem of the confounding variable that was hypothesized in Study 2 to have affected priming through use of Bartz & Lydon's (2004) established priming paragraphs. The results of Study 3, unexpectedly, revealed a significant decrease in anxiety across all priming conditions, except for the no-prime

condition. Such a decrease in anxiety would be expected for individuals primed into the secure and dismissive attachment styles; however, individuals being primed into the preoccupied attachment style, should have experienced a significant increase in anxiety. The fact that a decrease in anxiety was seen across all priming groups led to the conclusion that another variable may be affecting the priming procedure. In this case, the decrease in anxiety was attributed to an opportunity for the participants to disclose information relating to the priming category, which has been shown to reduce anxiety (Pennebaker, 1995; Hemenover, 2003).

Though there was a decrease in anxiety across all groups, attachment was still found to be related to the outcome on court cases. More specifically, the results of Study 3 show that high levels of avoidance were associated with less punitive ratings but only for the theft case. Such findings were unexpected as the theft case was the non-attachment control case, and thus, there theoretically should have been no relationship between outcomes on this case and jury decisions. However, given that the theft case was shown to have a relationship to attachment in Study 2, this simply reinforces that idea that perhaps the relationship between attachment and jury decisions are not case-type dependent.

Study 4 was created to examine another aspect of jury decisions. The first three studies sought to examine jury decision making and attachment on an individual juror by juror basis. However, in a realistic courtroom situation, this is not the process by which jurors make decisions. Instead, jury decisions, while ultimately verbalized by one individual, are actually constructed by the group. Study 4 sought to examine the role of attachment in group processes during the jury deliberation process, as it has been shown that attachment has a relationship to group processes as well as success in group tasks

(Rom & Mikulincer, 2003). This study examined groups of jurors of differing attachment styles, which were ascertained based upon the attachment dimensions of anxiety and avoidance, to investigate the process of decision making and the ultimate outcome of this process. It has been suggested that individuals high on anxiety are motivated to complete a task in order to maintain proximity to the group while individuals high on avoidance will be motivated to be independent of the group (Rom & Mikulincer, 2003). Given this evidence, the hypothesis was that high anxiety juries will be more likely to change their votes throughout the decision making process in order to maintain their proximity to the group while highly avoidant juries will not change their votes. Further, it was hypothesized that attachment will be differentially related to overall jury decisions, however, because of the inconsistency in results throughout the first three studies, no directional predictions were made.

The results of this study confirmed the hypotheses that highly anxious juries would be more likely to change their votes overall than juries consisting of individuals who are highly avoidant. This supported that claim that groups consisting of highly anxious individuals are motivated to maintain proximity to the group in their completion of group tasks (Rom & Mikulincer, 2003). In the jury decision making realm, this seems to signify that highly anxious groups will be more willing to change their votes on certain issues regarding court cases.

Consistent with hypotheses, it was discovered that loading juries with individuals of differing attachment styles does produce an effect on the subsequent outcomes related to a variety of questions regarding court cases. More specifically, it was found that highly anxious juries tended to be more punitive when rating guilt of the defendant as well as when rating how severely the defendant should be punished. However, high anxiety

juries placed less blame on the defendant and were more likely to reduce the defendant's current charges. These mixed results seem to suggest that it may be the attachment goal overall that is motivating highly anxious individuals, namely the goal to maintain similarity to other group members, and not the manner in which highly anxious individuals examine these cases, that is dictating the jury process. Thus, it is may be difficult to establish any true pattern of behavior simply because highly anxious individuals tend to be malleable in a given situation.

Overall, the aforementioned research suggests that attachment has a very complicated relationship with jury decision making. Though the four conducted studies described above only investigate a few issues that might be related to attachment and jury decisions, they provide a strong starting point for a variety of future research that will further examine this relationship. The aforementioned studies also confirm that the jury decision making process involves a variety of factors that cannot be overlooked because doing so perpetuates the use of a flawed system that may signify the difference between life and death.

Inconsistent Findings

Throughout this research, several inconsistent findings have emerged. Because these studies were driven by theory and not by prior research, such inconsistencies are not necessarily unexpected. However, it is important to both highlight and attempt to explain them.

One of the major inconsistencies in these studies was unreliable patterns of behavior among the differing attachment groups with respect to jury decision making. It is possible to see a pattern of behavior only among individuals that are highly anxious, in that they appear to be more punitive in their judgments. However, at times, even these

highly anxious individuals showed the opposite pattern, being less punitive in some circumstances. Through reference to the theory upon which the predictions were based, there may be some explanation for why such an inconsistent pattern of results emerges. According to the four category model of attachment, (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), it is suggested that both fearful individuals and preoccupied individuals have high levels of anxiety. They differ in their levels of avoidance with preoccupied individuals seeking little or no avoidance of close relationships, while fearful individuals maintain high levels of avoidance of close relationships (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). It may be that the patterns are inconsistent among highly anxious individuals because in reality they are the behaviors of groups of individuals with two different attachment styles, each of which have separate and distinct motivations. For example, preoccupied individuals, who derive all sense of self-value from their relationships with others, may be much more likely to be punitive in the court cases in which an attachment is being broken. On the other hand, fearful individuals, who are not motivated in the same way as preoccupieds, may be less punitive on the same cases. This may be because, while they do display a negative view of self, they also have a negative view of other, which may differentially affect their processing during jury decision making. Thus, it is likely that to resolve this issue, one will need to investigate the intersection between the dimensional and categorical aspects of attachment and how these jointly affect jury decision making.

An additional issue that was exposed during this research is the relatively inconsistent findings regarding gender and jury decision making. A relationship between gender and juror decision was discovered in Study 1 and in Study 4. In Study 1, females were found to be more lenient but only regarding a case in which the defendant was a female as well, thus suggesting an effect of defendant similarity (Burke et al., 1990;

Gonzalez-Perez, 2001). However, when the defendant was male, the expected outcome, namely that females would be more punitive (Beckham et al., 2007), was exposed. This pattern was also reiterated in Study 4, in which females rated the defendant in the domestic violence case as more guilty than males did. However, studies 2 and 3 failed to show any relationships between jury decision making and gender. While it is impossible to understand the reason for the inconsistency given the current knowledge, it can be speculated that perhaps, as seen in Study 1, the gender-jury decision making interaction is context dependent and even in the perfect situation, may only be a weak interaction.

Additionally, race did not have a consistent effect across all studies. Regarding race, the proposed effect, namely that Caucasian individuals are more likely to be punitive than African American individuals (Devine et al., 2001), was evident. However, this effect was not consistent across all studies included in this dissertation, with no race effects being found in several studies and unexpected race effects being discovered in others. For example, it became evident in several studies that not only do Caucasians differ from African Americans (Study 1) in their decisions, but they were also more punitive than Middle Eastern individuals (Study 1) and Asian Americans (Study 3). One reason for these unexpected findings may have been that previous studies have simply not yet examined the relationship between other races such as Middle Eastern or Asian. However, since Rutgers University's population composition allows for a great variety of individuals, this research has allowed an opportunity to explore the impact of a multitude of ethnicities on jury decision making.

A fourth inconsistency of this study was that significant effects regarding attachment and jury decision making were found on all cases, including the non-

attachment control case. Though it is purely speculation, it suggests that no case may be immune from the influence of attachment. This is especially true given that all the cases included in these studies, and in reality all court cases at large, involve interactions between social beings. As a juror, an individual is asked to provide judgment regarding the motivations, emotions and behaviors of others (Boyll, 1991). Because attachment theory, through the internal working model, influences cognitions and perceptions regarding social stimuli (Fraley et al., 2000), it becomes evident that the decisions on any case, since all court cases are social in nature, are not immune to the effects of attachment.

A final inconsistency that became evident during this research concerned the priming studies. Previous research has suggested that individuals' attachment styles be temporarily modified through the use of priming (Bartz & Lydon, 2004). Calling upon two different methods of priming, it was discovered that priming attachment styles appears to be very difficult. In fact, in Study 2's first attempt, it was discovered that the attachment measure itself, may have served as a prime, thus increasing the avoidance scores for all groups of participants. On the other hand, after changing the prime in Study 3, it appears that an opportunity to emotionally disclose one's own thoughts and feelings may have served to reduce participants' anxiety (Pennebaker, 1995) across all priming categories. The problems experienced during the priming studies suggest that amending one's attachment style, or at least minimally changing their avoidance and anxiety levels, does not function in the manner in which originally thought, which subsequently may have been the cause for the null findings regarding priming and jury decision making. Future studies are needed to better understand the process of priming attachment and subsequently the relationship that it may have to jury decision making.

Limitations

There are several important limitations of this research that need to be addressed, the first of which is the sample population. Rutgers University is a diverse community which allows for sampling of a variety of ethnic groups. Additionally, because Rutgers is a non-traditional university, it provides the opportunity to sample from a variety of age groups. That being said, it is still extremely important to state that these participants were undergraduate students of approximately similar age, who are currently enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course. While there are advantages to using these subjects, it can hardly be said that they are similar to actual jurors. Actual jurors are initially chosen at random, at least to participate in the *voir dire* process, even though ultimately a very specific set of jurors may become part of the jury. Thus, the use of college students as mock jurors may make the generalizability of these studies problematic. However, such a limitation may not be warranted since recent research has shown that any statistically important differences between mock student jurors and actual jurors are non-existent (Bornstein, 1999).

Another limitation of this study was use of self-report measures to assess attachment. As with any self-report measure, both the Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan et al., 1998) and the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) are vulnerable to social desirability effects. This is especially the case in these attachment measures because many of the statements clearly sound like the “right” answer to choose. However, a further cause for concern with regard to measuring attachment through the use of self-report, is that attachment is a dynamic process that resides primarily outside of consciousness. It is thought by some researchers that, for this reason, self-report measures of attachment may be assessing a different construct of

attachment and therefore, prefer the use of the Adult Attachment Interview in categorizing participants into differing attachment categories (Bartholomew & Moretti, 2002). For the purposes of the research in this dissertation, using the Adult Attachment Interview is impractical because of its time-consuming nature. Therefore, use of the self-report measure allows for feasibility in this research as well as various other investigations. Though the concern with respect to using self-report measures is legitimate, recent research has suggested that, at least in the realm of adult attachment, self-report measures are correlated strongly with classifications of attachment based on the interview data (Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998), which lends confidence to the use of these measures in assessment of the dynamic processes of attachment.

A final limitation of this research concerned Study 4 specifically. In study 4, participants were assigned to mock jury sessions consisting of what was originally proposed to be six individuals and one juror foreperson. Due to lack of participation and scheduling conflicts, it was often difficult to have juries consisting of six participants. Thus, jury sizes varied from three to seven individuals. It is possible that the varying jury sizes may have affected jury outcomes. A recent review of literature shows that smaller juries tend to take less time during deliberation, award larger damages but are also more variable in their outcomes (Devine et al., 2001). The jury size variability in this study, thus, could have prevented many of the effects that were originally predicted. However, the fact that many of the hypothesized results were found lends support to the robustness of the relationship between attachment and jury decisions in a mock jury atmosphere. Yet, a further issue is that the jury size variability prevents proper generalizability to actual juries simply because participation in an actual jury is not optional and this

transcends any issues of time constraint or scheduling conflicts. Clearly, the issue of jury size variability needs to be further addressed in the future.

Future Studies

The results of the studies set forth in this dissertation are a starting point for future research on the topic of attachment and jury decision making, especially relating these two variables to other factors that have been shown to have a relationship with jury decisions. For example, It has long been known that “jurors reach verdicts, at least in part, based on emotions and feelings.” (Boyll,1991, p. 165). Studies of jury decision making have uncovered that emotions can inform decisions at the earliest levels of the decision making process and that the initial decisions which are made based on these emotions are extremely difficult to change (Boyll, 1991). Because emotions have been shown to influence jury decision making in such a salient manner, jury researchers have focused their attention on uncovering variables that may affect the emotions of jurors.

One such variable that has been hypothesized to significantly affect the emotions of the jurors and thus, ultimately the decisions that they will make is photographic evidence (Bright & Goodman-Delahunty, 2006). The use of photographic evidence during jury trials has, in large part, been extremely controversial as it has been shown to prejudice juries against defendants. For example, in one of the earliest studies of photographic evidence in a mock civil trial, it was discovered that juries who were assigned to the gruesome evidence condition awarded greater damages than participants who did not receive photographic evidence (Oliver & Griffith, 1976). The conclusions of psychological studies such as these have led the legal system to deem that the use of photographic evidence, prior to its use in a trial, has to be weighed to assure that its probative value is greater than its prejudicial value (FRE; 2004).

Though research has shown that photographic evidence can bias jurors, it has not been until recently that psychological theories have been applied in order to explain the mechanism through which this type of evidence can affect jury outcomes. Research that has attempted to explain how photographic evidence impacts juror verdicts suggests that the biases occur due to the influence that photographic evidence has on emotional states. Photographic evidence essentially heightens emotional arousal, especially the arousal of negatively valenced emotions, which in turn, appears to affect the processing of other case-related evidence that has been presented. More specifically, jurors in photographic evidence conditions, who are emotionally aroused appear to “exaggerate inculpatory evidence and de-emphasize exculpatory evidence”, thus resulting in greater conviction rates overall (Bright & Goodman-Delahunty, 2006).

Because emotion is closely tied to attachment, it is possible that attachment style may also impact the relationship between photographic evidence and jury decisions. Attachment theory suggests that each of the different attachment categories has a different strategy for regulating emotion. For instance, secure individuals, because they have had a sensitive and responsive caregiver, have learned to use their emotions appropriately in a given situation. On the other hand, insecure attachment categories are equipped with maladaptive emotional strategies. For example, preoccupied individuals, who have had an inconsistent caregiver, tend to over-exaggerate or inappropriately display their emotional reaction or inappropriately use. Dismissive individuals, conversely, inhibit their emotional reactions, due to continual rejection from their caregiver. Finally, fearful individuals have tended to display a mixture of both of these emotional strategies (Magai, 1999). Given this evidence, it is possible to hypothesize that

the relationship between photographic evidence and jury decision making may be influenced by attachment style.

An additional possibility for future research might include research on the impact that attachment has on the relationship between empathy and jury decision making. The aforementioned evidence suggests that jury decisions are not only influenced by factual evidence presented in cases, but are impacted by a host of psychological, cognitive, perceptual, and demographic variables which include race, gender, mood and attachment. One of these such psychological variables that has shown a relationship to the decisions of jurors is empathy. Empathy is a different type of variable because it has both cognitive and affective properties. Empathy is cognitive in that it is the “cognitive act of adopting another’s perspective” while it is affective because it is “an affective reaction to the emotions of another” (Davis, 1994, p.11). Thus, empathy affects both how others, such as defendants, are perceived as well as how an individual juror reacts emotionally to another’s plight.

In studies examining empathy and its influence on jury decisions, it has generally been shown that when empathy is induced, such as if a participant is asked to imagine that they are the defendant in a case, empathy for the defendant increases and participants are less likely to find the defendant guilty (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000). Also, it has been found that when individuals’ report more empathy, they are more likely to accept an alternative explanation for the reason that a crime has been committed (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000).

As an affective and cognitive construct, empathy is closely linked to attachment. For instance, it has been shown that dimensional aspects of attachment, such as closeness and trust are linked with greater empathic concern, whereas anxiety, another dimensional

aspect of attachment is closely linked to a greater focus on personal distress as opposed to empathic concern (Joireman et al., 2001). Further, anxiety and avoidance in relationships are negatively related to empathy (Britton & Fuendeling, 2005). Thus, it is argued that because empathy demands that an individual be highly affectively synchronized with another individual (Weinfield et al, 1999), it is only possible for individuals classified as secure to truly be empathetic. This is to say, that though all children develop the ability to relate to other individuals, it is the children that have had sensitive and responsive interactions with their caregiver, who, have the tools to respond in an appropriate manner to other individuals in their time of need (Weinfield et al., 1999).

Because empathy has been examined separately in regard to both attachment and to jury decision making but the three variables have been neglected to be examined in conjunction, the purpose of this proposed study is to connect these two lines of research.

Thus, it is evident that the studies presented in this dissertation are simply a starting point for a variety of future research on attachment and jury decision making. It is possible that through further investigations into this complicated topic, the court system may be able to be made more perfect.

Conclusions

While the results of the studies included in this dissertation seem to suggest that a multitude of variables, including attachment, race and gender, have an impact on jury decision making, it has also been shown that these variables share a complicated and thus far, unstable relationship to jury decisions. It can be concluded that being highly anxiously attached has a significant impact on how jurors decided court cases both on an individual basis as well as when part of a group of jurors. Because highly anxious individuals have been shown to be both more and less punitive in their decisions

regarding a defendant depending upon the question and case type, it appears that the overall conclusion is that these individuals are most susceptible to influence from statements included in court cases as well as influence from the opinions of other jurors.

The aforementioned studies also sought to find some consistency among other variables that have been shown to impact jury decision making, namely gender and race. The results of these studies do not appear to shed any further light on this inconsistent relationship. Overall, there is evidence that in some situations gender and race are influencing jury decisions but this influence at best can be unstable. It is possible that these variables, like all factors that have been shown to impact jury decisions, may be interrelated. This is perhaps where future research on this topic needs to focus.

In conclusion, it can be deduced from this research that jury decisions are extremely complicated processes that various factors can influence. However, it is crucial to continue studying the jury process and the human beings that are involved in order to resolve the issues that may ultimately mean the difference between life and death for certain individuals.

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Appendix A

Tables 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 and 8 (Studies 1 through 4)

Table 1

Relationships between attachment and jury decision making (Study 1)

Relationship Variables	Version of Survey	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>
Total anxiety and punitive rating on DV case	1	-.25	.058	60
Total anxiety and punitive rating on DV case	4	.32	.014	61
Total anxiety and punitive rating on custody case	4	.22	.091	61
Rating on preoccupied paragraph and punitive rating on DV case	4	.27	.037	61

** No other significant relationships discovered between attachment and court case ratings

Table 2

Differences in Pre-Prime and Post Prime Avoidance Measure as function of Prime (Study 2)

Prime	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>	Description
Secure	-5.85	.001	20	decrease in avoidance
Dismissive	-4.24	.001	24	decrease in avoidance
Preoccupied	2.231	.031	20	decrease in avoidance
Neutral	-3.97	.001	22	decrease in avoidance

Table 3

Differences in Pre-Prime and Post Prime Anxiety Measure as function of Prime (Study 2)

Prime	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>	Description
Secure	--	ns	--	no difference
Dismissive	--	ns	--	no difference
Preoccupied	-4.17	,001	20	increase in anxiety
Neutral	--	ns	--	no difference

Table 4
Priming, Attachment and Court Case Rating (Study 2)

Prime	Relationship variables	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>
All categories	preoccupied rating and custody case rating	-.19	.07	93
All categories	preoccupied rating and domestic violence rating	-.20	.05	93
Preoccupied	pre-prime preoccupied rating and custody case rating	-.51	.02	22
Preoccupied	post prime preoccupied rating and custody case rating	-.46	.03	21
Preoccupied	pre- prime secure rating and theft case rating	-.50	.02	22
Preoccupied	post-prime secure rating and theft case rating	-.50	.02	21
Dismissive	post-prime dismissive rating and theft case rating	-.46	.02	25
Neutral	pre-prime preoccupied rating and domestic violence case rating	-.35	.09	24

Table 5

Differences in Pre-Prime and Post Prime Anxiety Measure as function of Prime (Study 3)

Prime	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>	Description
Secure	1.68	.10	26	decrease in anxiety
Dismissive	3.05	.005	28	decrease in anxiety
Preoccupied	2.09	.04	29	decrease in anxiety
No prime	--	ns	--	no difference in anxiety

Table 6

Relationships between attachment and jury decision making (Study 3)

Relationship Variables	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>
Pre-prime avoidance and theft case rating	-.183	.05	120
Post-prime avoidance and theft case rating	-.18	.04	120
Pre-prime anxiety and theft case rating	-.24	.01	120
Post-prime anxiety and theft case rating	-.18	.05	120
Pre-prime fearful rating and theft case rating	-.172	.06	120
Post-prime fearful rating and theft case rating	-.195	.032	120

Table 7

Differences in Jury Type and Case Variables (Study 4)

Description of Relationship	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>
High anxiety/high avoidance individuals have higher guilt ratings than low anxiety/low avoidance (Parental assault case)	2.91	.026	88
low anxiety/high avoidance individuals are more harsh than low anxiety/low avoidance on defendant punishment (DV case)	4.30	.003	88
high anxiety/low avoidance individuals blamed defendant more than low anxiety/ high avoidance (DV case)	3.06	.021	88
low anxiety/low avoidance individuals rated the defense's case as weaker than low anxiety/high avoidance (DV case)	3.08	.020	87
high anxiety/ low avoidance individuals more likely to lessen charges than low anxiety/ high avoidance juries (Parental assault case)	3.04	.021	87

Table 8

Differences in Attachment and Change in Voting (Study 4)

Description of Relationship	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>
Low anxiety/low avoidance individuals change less than high/high on amending defendant's current charges (DV case)	3.29	.025	76
Low anxiety/low avoidance individuals show less change in certainty than high anxiety/high avoidance (Theft case)	2.34	.083	60
High anxiety/high avoidance individuals less change in severity of punishment than high anxiety/low avoidance (Theft case)	2.44	.07	60
Low anxiety/low avoidance individuals less Change in amending defend charges than high anxiety/ low avoidance (Parental assault case)	3.28	.027	60

Appendix B
Court Cases Utilized in Study 1, 2,3 and 4

Custody Case (Study 1)

M. Kamel Abouzahr and Cristina Matera were married in a civil ceremony on April 11, 1986. They participated in a Muslim and Catholic ceremony a year later. Dr. Abouzahr, a citizen of Lebanon, came to the United States to attend medical school. Dr. Matera-Abouzahr was born in the US. After their marriage, they became dual citizens of the US and Lebanon. On March 18, 1992, they had a daughter named Alessandra, who also has dual citizenship. During their marriage they traveled to Lebanon only twice. Dr. Abouzahr and Dr. Matera-Abouzahr decided that Alessandra should be raised in both religions and then be later permitted to choose which one she would like to continue.

In May of 1998, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr told Dr. Abouzahr that she wanted a divorce. Dr. Abouzahr agreed but stated that he would be moving back the Lebanon after their divorce. During her marriage to him she learned a lot about Lebanese culture and she remembered that in Lebanon the husband is favored by law in divorces. This meant that he was the person who would receive the money and custody of the children who are a product of the marriage. However, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr agreed to a custody arrangement in which she shared custody of Alessandra. According to the arrangement, Alessandra lived primarily in New Jersey with Dr. Matera-Abouzahr, though she was permitted to spend 1 month in the summer in Lebanon visiting her father and relatives. Though the lawyers did warn her that a shared custody would be problematic especially in a country that had such strong laws, she entered into the agreement stating that she trusted Dr. Abouzahr. Two days after the agreement, she drove Alessandra to the airport to say goodbye to her father which upset the child very much.

After she was divorced, she had no contact with her husband. She believed that communication was important for them but Dr. Abouzahr disagreed, saying that she was

an intermediary between he and his daughter and he no longer wanted to speak with her. He also refused to give her the address or telephone number in Lebanon but only gave it to Alessandra. When Alessandra was getting ready to make her baptism, he forbade it begging his 8 year old daughter not to do it. Dr. Matera-Abouzahr ultimately canceled. Throughout this period of time, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr contends that Dr. Abouzahr accused her of scheming to take Alessandra away from him and that he would never allow that to happen. He also constantly fought with her about religion, which they had previously agreed about.

At this time, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr, becoming alarmed by her ex-husband's actions, began researching Lebanese culture in great detail. She learned that in Lebanon, most custody issues fell under the Islamic laws, which stated that by age nine, the father is granted sole custody of a child. She learned that it would be very difficult to get her back if he tried to keep her there. Dr. Matera-Abouzahr also did not know whether her divorce was legal in Lebanon and if she were to go there to get her daughter back, she might be held as a disobedient wife. Also, because she was now in a new relationship with a man of a different religion, she learned that by Islamic law, she would be considered unfit. Further, she discovered that Dr. Abouzahr's cousin, who was a renowned lawyer in Lebanon, had just completed a case in which a father kidnapped his children from the United States and brought them to Lebanon. With his help, this father won custody of the children. This information made Dr. Matera-Abouzahr become very wary about the time that Alessandra would spend with her father in Lebanon.

As a result, she filed a complaint to limit visitation between Alessandra and her father. The complaint was granted and Dr. Abouzahr was permitted only to visit with

Alessandra in the United States. During their one month together, Dr. Abouzahr took Alessandra to San Diego for vacation. He returned her on time and without incident.

Custody Case (Study 1)

Tatsuya Matsumoto and Satoko Matsumoto married in Japan on March 18, 1984. Their son, Hyugo, was born in New York City on July 6, 1985. The family resided in New Jersey until 1997. They lived in a house owned by Tatsuya's mother, Kazuko, who lived in Japan at the time. By March 1997 the marriage was deteriorating. The family, however, traveled together to Japan to attend a funeral. They returned to the United States several weeks later on different flights. Mrs. Matsumoto contends that during their trip to Japan, Mr. Matsumoto and his mother Kazuko, forcibly detained her in order to make her stay in Japan. After she fled, Kazuko barred any communication between her and her son. Satoko returned to New Jersey by herself. Mr. Matsumoto claims that her return to the United States without Hyugo was of her own volition.

Mr. Matsumoto returned to the United States as well but left Hyugo with Kazuko, his grandmother, in Japan. During his time in the US, he liquidated all the assets he had and had all their personal belongings shipped to Japan. On April 25, 1997, Mrs. Matsumoto filed for custody. She was awarded sole temporary custody and possession of the house in New Jersey. Mr. Matsumoto was ordered to account for all the person belongings he had sold and was told to return Hyugo in 24 hours. Neither Mr. Matsumoto nor his mother, Kazuko, complied with the order. Hyugo remained in Japan while his mother was in the States.

In June and again in September, Satoko filed two more complaints. On December 4, 1997, criminal indictments were issued against Kazuko and Mr. Matsumoto. After several more months of court battles, in July of 1998, Mr. Matsumoto and Kazuko returned Hyugo to the United States. He had now spent over a year under the supervision

of just his father and grandmother. While he was living in Japan he had no contact with his mother primarily because her gifts and letters were always refused by him.

When Hyugo returned, he and his mother had irreconcilable differences. He was often verbally and physically abusive to her and his demands to return to Japan were relentless. Mrs. Matsumoto ultimately sent him back to Japan to live with his father because she says that she felt she had no choice. She filed an order, however, to enable her to maintain custody of Hyugo while he went to school in Japan, which required him to live with her when he was off from school. This time, when Hyugo went to Japan, Mrs. Matsumoto maintained constant contact with him. Her letters were not returned but letters were often sent back saying, "I hate you, don't send me any more mail, I have severed all ties with you."

In 1999, a hearing for final custody occurred. During the hearing, Mrs. Matsumoto contended that Mr. Matsumoto and his mother, Kazuko, had brainwashed Hyugo while they were with him, which is why he wants to remain there.

Custody Case (Study 1)

Mr. and Mrs. Smith were married on January 29, 1992. They had two children, John who is 11 and Joe who is 8. Mr. Smith worked outside the home but Mrs. Smith was a homemaker and devoted most of her time to caring for the children. The Smiths were divorced after 8 years of marriage. Mr. and Mrs. Smith shared custody but primary, residential custody remained with Mrs. Smith for the past two years. Mr. Smith had custody of the children on Tuesday evenings and every other weekend and Thursdays of the off weekend.

Mr. Smith remarried and lives in Lindenwold, NJ with his wife Christine. They live in a 4 bedroom house in a quiet residential neighborhood. Mrs. Smith lives with her fiancé and her new daughter, Krissy, about 15 minutes from Mr. Smith. She has lived in her home for about 3 years but prior to that she moved with her children 7 times in 1 year. Her home has 3 bedrooms. The boys share one bedroom, Krissy has her own room and Mrs. Smith and her fiancé share another.

During the custody hearing, Mr. Smith argues that he believes his children are in an unstable environment and that they are doing poorly in school. He wants the children to live with him. He even filed complaints against his wife stating that when the children were brought to him for visitation, they were dirty, their clothes were dirty, and their teeth weren't brushed. The Department of Youth and Family Services investigated and found that the home was clean as were the boys. However, on a second visit following a second complaint, the social worker found the house in disarray. Mrs. Smith was reprimanded for this violation but subsequently complied with all recommendations. Mr. Smith also claims that Joe, the younger child, never complains of having a stomach ache

when he is at his house but when he returns to Mrs. Smith he is plagued by constant stomach problems.

Upon further investigation by psychologists in the matter, it was found that John is doing quite poorly in school and often takes out his frustration on other children. Joe does complain of chronic stomach aches but this appears to be caused by the stress of the children's situation. When the children are with Mrs. Smith, they are forced to obey her rules and when they fail to do so, they are firmly punished by spending hours in their room. They are also yelled at often by Mrs. Smith's fiancée, which upsets both the boys and creates a tense situation. The boys stated that they feel that their half sister gets more attention than they do and that they are resented by Mrs. Smith's fiancée. The boys felt that their dad, on the other hand, paid a lot of attention to them and was very involved in their lives. Mrs. Smith argues that the only reason that the boys feel this way is because Mr. Smith has more money in order to do such things with them.

When financial records were reviewed, it was found that Mr. Smith did own his own home and made a comfortable living. Mrs. Smith, on the other hand, had apparently not paid real estate taxes and that her home is at risk for foreclosure. She claimed to know nothing of this.

Custody Case (Study 1,2,3)

After over a decade of marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Smith began have to problems not unlike many other couples who have been married for a good amount of time. In 2001, Mr. and Mrs. Smith sought counseling to help repair their marriage so that they could remain a family for their girls Jamie and Krissy. Mr. Smith was the Athletic Director of the local high school and Mrs. Smith was a homemaker. Mr. Smith complained that the main problem with Mrs. Smith was that she often was cold toward him and had simply seemed to have lost interest in him. During counseling sessions, Mrs. Smith revealed that she had been seeing an attorney for a year in order to dissolve their marriage. Although their relationship was a mess, Mr. and Mrs. Smith continued to live together until August of 2002. During this time, Mr. Smith stated that he had a great relationship with Jamie and Krissy and often spent time going to church with them, going to the movies and reading to them every night. However, he claimed that he slowly was being pushed out of the picture which was caused by Mrs. Smith constantly dominating the girls' time.

Sometime in 2002, he was served with divorce papers. From that point onward, he was not permitted to have family time at all. He asked to visit with his daughters but his wife did not permit him to have any contact with his daughters. He would no longer go to activities for the children because when he did the children would tell him to get away from them. When he would try to talk to them, they would tell him that they hated him. In one instance, Mr. Smith went to see Jamie at a school play in which she had the lead. He sat in the last row in the auditorium as not to upset the girls by his presence because past experience had showed that his presence was, for some reason, upsetting to them. At the end of the show, the girls saw a glimpse of their dad, and terrified, they ran away from him. Another time, Mr. Smith went to gymnastics practice to see the girls. Because

of the school play incident, he knew the girls would fear him so he tried to stay out of sight. But accidentally the girls saw him and subsequently ran into the other room screaming.

During therapy sessions with the girls, it became apparent that something was very wrong. There was no obvious reason why the children should have feared their father. It was impossible to understand why their father did instill so much fear in them. While being interviewed during the trial, Mrs. Smith seemed to disregard that fact that her children were so fearful of their father. She simply stated that they were not comfortable with him. She had made claims that he abused Krissy and Jamie but all claims were unfounded. She stated that therapy was useless to the girls as there was nothing wrong with them. She testified that most times she did not even take them to therapy, though to an observer therapy was much needed. It became quite evident that Mrs. Smith had done everything in her power to program these girls to hate their father, though the hate is unfounded by anything he had ever done. In response to a suggestion that the girls should seek therapy with a foundation called the Rachel Foundation which provides extensive therapy to “deprogram” children, Mrs. Smith was vehemently opposed. She said that the children would be fine and were doing well with the regular therapy they attended which was the exact opposite of what the therapists had testified. Further, Mrs. Smith expressed concern that the children would be taken away from her for a period of time during this treatment, which strongly agitated her.

Custody Case (Study 4)

M. Kamel Abouzahr and Cristina Matera were married in a civil ceremony on April 11, 1986. They participated in a Muslim and Catholic ceremony a year later. Dr. Abouzahr, a citizen of Lebanon, came to the United States to attend medical school. Dr. Matera-Abouzahr was born in the US. After their marriage, they became dual citizens of the US and Lebanon. On March 18, 1992, they had a daughter named Alessandra, who also has dual citizenship. During their marriage they traveled to Lebanon only twice. Dr. Abouzahr and Dr. Matera-Abouzahr decided that Alessandra should be raised in both religions and then be later permitted to choose which one she would like to continue.

In May of 1998, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr told Dr. Abouzahr that she wanted a divorce. Dr. Abouzahr agreed but stated that he would be moving back the Lebanon after their divorce. During her marriage to him she learned a lot about Lebanese culture and she remembered that in Lebanon the husband is favored by law in divorces. This meant that he was the person who would receive the money and custody of the children who are a product of the marriage. However, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr agreed to a custody arrangement in which she shared custody of Alessandra. According to the arrangement, Alessandra lived primarily in New Jersey with Dr. Matera-Abouzahr, though she was permitted to spend 1 month in the summer in Lebanon visiting her father and relatives. Though the lawyers did warn her that a shared custody would be problematic especially in a country that had such strong laws, she entered into the agreement stating that she trusted Dr. Abouzahr. Two days after the agreement, she drove Alessandra to the airport to say goodbye to her father which upset the child very much.

After she was divorced, she had no contact with her husband. She believed that communication was important for them but Dr. Abouzahr disagreed, saying that she was

an intermediary between he and his daughter and he no longer wanted to speak with her. He also refused to give her the address or telephone number in Lebanon but only gave it to Alessandra. When Alessandra was getting ready to make her baptism, he forbade it begging his 8 year old daughter not to do it. Dr. Matera-Abouzahr ultimately canceled. Throughout this period of time, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr contends that Dr. Abouzahr accused her of scheming to take Alessandra away from him and that he would never allow that to happen. He also constantly fought with her about religion, which they had previously agreed about.

At this time, Dr. Matera-Abouzahr, becoming alarmed by her ex-husband's actions, began researching Lebanese culture in great detail. She learned that in Lebanon, most custody issues fell under the Islamic laws, which stated that by age nine, the father is granted sole custody of a child. She learned that it would be very difficult to get her back if he tried to keep her there. Dr. Matera-Abouzahr also did not know whether her divorce was legal in Lebanon and if she were to go there to get her daughter back, she might be held as a disobedient wife. Also, because she was now in a new relationship with a man of a different religion, she learned that by Islamic law, she would be considered unfit. Further, she discovered that Dr. Abouzahr's cousin, who was a renowned lawyer in Lebanon, had just completed a case in which a father kidnapped his children from the United States and brought them to Lebanon. With his help, this father won custody of the children. This information made Dr. Matera-Abouzahr become very wary about the time that Alessandra would spend with her father in Lebanon.

Despite this knowledge, she did not file a complaint about Dr. Abouzahr and continued the custody arrangement as originally planned. While she loved and provided for her daughter, she also enjoyed the free time she had when Alessandra was with her

father. Further, she had no reason to believe that Dr. Abouzahr would actually kidnap Alessandra. In fact, the prior year during their one month together, Dr. Abouzahr took Alessandra to San Diego for vacation. He returned her on time and without incident.

However, in the summer of the following year, Dr. Abouzahr took Alessandra to Lebanon. He did not return with her for 3 months. She was returned right before school started. At this time, prosecutors pressed kidnapping charges against Dr. Abouzahr. He argued that he had asked Dr. Matera-Abouzahr if she would permit him to keep Alessandra in Lebanon for the entire summer and that Dr. Matera-Abouzahr agreed. It was all simply a miscommunication. Yet court documents showed that Dr. Abouzahr had purchased one way tickets for both him and Alessandra to return to Lebanon after Thanksgiving. When asked, Dr. Abouzahr said that he had not yet set the return date because Dr. Matera-Abouzahr had not told him when Alessandra would be returning to school.

Domestic Violence Case (Study 1)

On October 30, 1986, the body of Pamela Mathis was discovered by her sister on the living room floor of her apartment. She was lying with her face down with a coat hanger around her neck. An autopsy exposed that she had been strangled by a wire coat hanger which required extreme force. It also revealed that she had sustained blunt force trauma to her head and back. Finally, the autopsy showed that no more than 1 hour before her death she had eaten French fries which still remained in her digestive tract.

Charles Darrian, Ms. Mathis's boyfriend, was arrested for the victim's murder. While incarcerated, he told an inmate, Winfred Hebert, that he had killed Ms. Mathis by choking her with his hands. He claimed that it was not intentional. Mr. Darrian's sister testified that she saw Mr. Darrian with the defendant that night and he told her that the victim, Ms. Mathis, and he had argued and that he thought he had accidentally killed her. He asked his sister to tell the police that he had remained at his home all night, though his sister did see him leave. However, his mother and brother maintained that after arriving home from work between 9:15 and 9:30, the defendant went directly upstairs to bed.

During the trial, it was revealed that the defendant, Mr. Darrian and the victim, Ms. Mathis, began a relationship in September 1985. Ms. Mathis was a senior at Trenton High School. After she graduated, the relationship quickly went sour. Mr. Darrian contracted a sexually transmitted disease and he believed that it was Ms. Mathis's fault because she had cheated on him. There were several incidents of domestic violence during this time including an incident when the defendant hit her when she tried to leave to visit her grandmother and another incident when she was with two male friends and he rammed into the group's car demanding to know if one of the men she was accompanied by was her new boyfriend. Ms. Mathis also allegedly committed an act of domestic

violence when the defendant, Mr. Darrian, arrived at her apartment wearing a chain given to him by another woman. During this fight, Ms. Mathis hit Mr. Darrian several times and he did retaliate. She was forced to go to the hospital. Two days later, the defendant was again at her apartment when he told her that he would kill her if she was with anyone else. Needless to say, the relationship was quite turbulent.

Five days before the murder, on October 25, 1986, Ms. Mathis informed Mr. Darrian that she still wanted to date him but also wanted to see other men. He said that would not work and left. Between that date and October 29, 1986, the day of the murder, she did have sex with another man. On the day of the murder she was spotted walking by the defendant's house and asked his brother, who was on the porch, where Mr. Darrian was. When he claimed he was not home, she told his brother that she would get in contact with him later, and continued on her way home, picking up Burger King for dinner. Witnesses in her apartment building that night claimed that they heard loud sounds but they were sounds of "passion" and not pain. Later on however, some time after 9:00, two child witnesses claimed that they did hear sounds of a scuffle in the apartment but thought nothing of it as it was a normal occurrence.

Police found traces that Ms. Mathis had been sexually active the night of the murder and they believe her partner to have been Mr. Darrian. They also found remnants of fast food wrappers in Mr. Darrian's car, which was the last meal that Ms. Smith supposedly had eaten. Though much evidence was piled against the defendant, a forensic pathologist testified for him claiming that though it did appear that Mr. Darrian and Ms. Mathis did participate in sexual activity which could have been consensual, all of the evidence against him was circumstantial. Also, it appears that Ms. Mathis did not eat immediately before her death but could have eaten as long as 2 hours before her death in

which case Mr. Darrian was still at work. In other words, there was no evidence to support that Mr. Darrian and Ms. Mathis were together earlier in the evening. No DNA was linked to the defendant. Please choose a verdict and appropriate punishment.

Domestic Violence Murder Case (Study 1,2,and 3)

Richard and Jennifer Smith were teenage sweethearts who married just three months after graduating from Shelton High School in Connecticut. Richard and Jennifer were the envy of their classmates. Both were very attractive and ambitious. They shared a passion for medicine; while the former studied to be a doctor, the latter enrolled in nursing school.

In 1985, the couple moved up to Boston so that Richard could finish his studies at Harvard. After graduating, he went on to establish a successful dermatology practice, to teach at Harvard medical School and to form two small but profitable medical companies.

The many years of education had paid off. Jennifer and Richard were very successful. The lavish lifestyle, which they had dreamed of living, became a reality. The couple spent as much time as possible vacationing and enjoying the outdoors. Richard and Jennifer were actively involved within the community in which they resided.

Jennifer never let on to her close friends that her relationship had problems. Or that her husband was dangerous and unstable. “You’d think, ‘There they are again, the perfect family’”, a next door neighbor and good friend of Jennifer Smith told People Magazine. Just as in their high school days, those who knew them envied the couple.

The couple’s friends never heard about nights like April 26, 1991, when Smith returned home to find his wife with another man. The doctor became enraged when his wife asked him for a divorce. The next morning, according to Jennifer Smith, he stabbed her in the forehead with a fork. Jennifer fled the house, dragging their teenage daughter Shannon with her. After his wife reported the incident to police, Richard Smith was taken to an asylum, where he was diagnosed as suffering from “major depression, with features of anxiety and schizoid or other personality disorder.

But two days later, Smith's wife recanted her statements to police, allowing her husband to return home. According to divorce documents filed by Jennifer Smith just before her death and statements from Shannon Smith, now 27, disturbing behavior was the rule rather than the exception for the head of the household. Richard's behavior was sometimes considered to be bizarre and confusing to his family.

Jennifer Smith spent the night of July 14, 2000, on a chartered boat in Boston Harbor, hanging out with friends. Her husband had filed for divorce months beforehand and she had readily agreed. Because of his erratic behavior she had taken out a restraining order against him. That's why it was strange when he came to her door just before midnight shortly after she had returned home. "What are you doing here?" she asked, according to police reports. Her husband answered by firing a single shot through her chest with a hunting rifle, while their two small children slept in an adjoining room and Jennifer's brother, his girlfriend and a babysitter looked on.

Prosecution's Case: Richard Smith is a successful doctor and pillar within the community. He was angry with his wife because she had cheated on him and asked him for a divorce. A divorce would have cost the doctor a good portion of his wealth. Richard's public persona would be ruined if his wife had divorced him. The doctor had a history of abusing his wife. He stabbed her in the forehead with a fork during one of his angry rages. He obtained a gun with full intent to murder his wife. He rang the doorbell intending to shoot his wife in cold blood, which he did.

Defense's Case: Richard had a very difficult childhood. The abuse Richard received by his father caused Richard to develop multiple psychological disorders. Richard suffers from an identity disorder, major depression, borderline personality disorder and intermittent explosive disorder. He had been admitted to an asylum in 1991

and diagnosed with having major depression, with features of anxiety and schizoid or other personality disorder. These psychological issues were never properly treated. On the night of the incident, Richard had consumed a large amount of alcohol and painkillers. Under such psychological distress and intoxication, Richard did not have a grasp for right versus wrong.

Domestic Violence Case (Study 4)

Richard and Jennifer Smith were teenage sweethearts who married just three months after graduating from Shelton High School in Connecticut. Richard and Jennifer were the envy of their classmates. Both were very attractive and ambitious. They shared a passion for medicine; while the former studied to be a doctor, the latter enrolled in nursing school.

In 1985, the couple moved up to Boston so that Richard could finish his studies at Harvard. After graduating, he went on to establish a successful dermatology practice, to teach at Harvard medical School and to form two small but profitable medical companies.

The many years of education had paid off. Jennifer and Richard were very successful. The lavish lifestyle, which they had dreamed of living, became a reality. The couple spent as much time as possible vacationing and enjoying the outdoors. Richard and Jennifer were actively involved within the community in which they resided.

Jennifer never let on to her close friends that her relationship had problems. Or that her husband was dangerous and unstable. “You’d think, ‘There they are again, the perfect family’”, a next door neighbor and good friend of Jennifer Smith told People Magazine. Just as in their high school days, those who knew them envied the couple.

The couple’s friends never heard about nights like April 26, 1991, when Smith returned home to find his wife with another man. The doctor became enraged when his wife asked him for a divorce. The next morning, according to Jennifer Smith, he stabbed her in the forehead with a fork. Jennifer fled the house, dragging their teenage daughter Shannon with her. After his wife reported the incident to police, Richard Smith was taken to an asylum, where he was diagnosed as suffering from “major depression, with features of anxiety and schizoid or other personality disorder.

But two days later, Smith's wife recanted her statements to police, allowing her husband to return home. According to divorce documents filed by Jennifer Smith and statements from Shannon Smith, now 27, disturbing behavior was the rule rather than the exception for the head of the household. Richard's behavior was sometimes considered to be bizarre and confusing to his family.

Jennifer Smith spent the night of July 14, 2000, on a chartered boat in Boston Harbor, hanging out with friends. Her husband had filed for divorce months beforehand and she had readily agreed. Because of his erratic behavior she had taken out a restraining order against him. That's why it was strange when he came to her door just before midnight shortly after she had returned home. "What are you doing here?" she asked, according to police reports. Her husband answered by stabbing her while their two small children slept in an adjoining room and Jennifer's brother, his girlfriend and a babysitter looked on. After she recovered, she told police that her husband was the one who stabbed. He was subsequently charged with aggravated manslaughter.

Prosecution's Case: Richard Smith is a successful doctor and pillar within the community. He was angry with his wife because she had cheated on him and asked him for a divorce. A divorce would have cost the doctor a good portion of his wealth. Richard's public persona would be ruined if his wife had divorced him. The doctor had a history of abusing his wife. He stabbed her in the forehead with a fork during one of his angry rages.

Defense's Case: Richard had a very difficult childhood. The abuse Richard received by his father caused Richard to develop multiple psychological disorders. Richard suffers from an identity disorder, major depression, borderline personality disorder and intermittent explosive disorder. He had been admitted to an asylum in 1991 and

diagnosed with having major depression, with features of anxiety and schizoid or other personality disorder. These psychological issues were never properly treated. On the night of the incident, Richard had consumed a large amount of alcohol and painkillers. Under such psychological distress and intoxication, Richard did not have a grasp for right versus wrong.

Theft Case (Non-attachment control case) (Study 1)

On September 1, 2001, the body of John Dudowicz was found in the cellar of his house in Secaucus, New Jersey. The defendant Tatiana Chirokovskic, who was Mr. Dudowicz's housekeeper, was apparently in the house when the body was found. The police discovered a pair of bloodstained rubber gloves hidden near the body during their initial search.

On the same day that Mr. Dudowicz's body was discovered, the defendant was interviewed by investigators assigned to the case. She told them that she was employed by Mr. Dudowicz because he had cerebral palsy and needed assistance around the house. She cooked, cleaned, dressed him and did errands that he was not able to do himself. She also provided transportation for him. She had access to his credit cards in order to pay for food and any other costs that he might have due to his sickness. She stated that she had last seen Mr. Dudowicz on August 20, 2001.

During the investigation, the police team assigned to the case learned that the cause of Mr. Dudowicz's death was blunt force trauma to his head and that there was no evidence of forced entry into his house. They also learned that only he, his sister, and his housekeeper, Ms. Chirkovskic, had access to his home. Mr. Dudowicz's sister, the executrix of his estate, discovered that two checks had been written on the victim's account out of sequence and were in Ms. Chirkovskic's name. A handwriting expert discovered that the signature on the checks had been forged. Police also found that there had been charges on Mr. Dudowicz's credit card that had been made when the victim had been at work. Also, during the investigation, Ms. Chirkovskic had been seen driving the victim's car. In defense, however, she claimed that the car was a gift and was registered in her name in Connecticut. In order to register the car, she had to use a document which

was supposedly signed by the victim but upon investigation of this document, it was found that it was dated six weeks after his death and was forged.

On October 19, 2001, the blood analyses were completed on the gloves that were found hidden near the body in the basement. The testing showed that the blood on the outside of the gloves was Mr. Dudowicz's. DNA material on the inside of the glove could not rule out the defendant as a suspect, but it was also not conclusive evidence that she had committed the murder. However, due to the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr. Dudowicz, namely the check forgeries, Ms. Chirkovskcic was arrested. Ms. Chirkovskcic maintained her innocence. She changed her story and claimed that she was in the house on August 30, 2001 and had found the body but had not reported it because she feared that she would be blamed for the murder.

Theft Case (Non-attachment control) (Study 1,2,3 4)

During the years of 1985-1990, William McLaughlin owned American Truck and Equipment Appraisers, an insurance appraisal company. Mr. McLaughlin and his son in law, Joseph Hunter, appraised damaged automobiles and heavy equipment such as tractor trailers for insurance companies and were paid per each appraisal that they completed. One of employees of an insurance company that Mr. McLaughlin and Mr. Hunter often worked with was a man named William Herbster.

Mr. Herbster stated, in his testimony which was exchanged for a plea bargain, that Mr. McLaughlin spoke with him in 1985 about a scheme to defraud that insurance company that Mr. Herbster was employed by. Mr. Herbster claimed that Mr. McLaughlin explained that he would encourage individuals to purchase car insurance with the insurance company that Mr. Herbster worked for then submit fake claims on the behalf of these individuals who had purchased that insurance and then notify Mr. Herbster of the claims. Mr. Herbster would then monitor these claims, sign off on them, take the checks before they were mailed to the “claimants” and give the checks to Mr. McLaughlin. Mr. Herbster also claimed that Mr. McLaughlin said he would file fake police reports, appraisals and photos to insure that the claims would be believable.

Two other employees of Mr. McLaughlin at American Truck and Equipment Appraisers supported the claims made by Mr. Herbster. Both Mr. McLaughlin’s son-in – law, Mr. Hunter, and a secretary for American Truck and Equipment Appraisers stated that Mr. McLaughlin had blank police reports which he used to map out the accidents.

Mr. McLaughlin, when asked by police, fully admitted to the scheme and estimated that he had stolen approximately \$607,550 but only personally had received about \$348,000 which he had already spent. He testified that in order to maintain his

business he had to take insurance company executives out to dinner and drinks, which cost him about \$80,000 per year. During the trial, he also claimed that he greatly disliked insurance

Parental Assault Case (Study 4)

On December 4, 2006, police were called to the residence of Emmanuel Jones in The Village, Oklahoma, a suburban community outside of Oklahoma City. Friends of the Jones family had reported that suspicious activity, including the selling of household items by Emmanuel's son, Andrew. When the friends investigated, they found the badly beaten body of Emmanuel Jones laying on the couch in the garage semi-conscious. Shortly after the discovery, Andrew Jones, Emmanuel's son, was arrested and charged with 1st degree aggravated assault.

Andrew confessed that he did assault his father but claimed that it was in self-defense, stating that he was defending himself in what was another beating in a long list of violent behavior that his father often displayed toward him. Medical reports indicate that Andrew did have several scratches and bruises and a welt on his body that could be consistent with a struggle. Andrew further stated that he left his father in the garage because he was nervous about what to do after the attack. He feared no one would believe it was in self-defense.

Witnesses for the defense stated that Emmanuel Jones had been a horrible father. He was often seen berating his son on the sidelines of his soccer games. Michael Deacon Andrew's college soccer coach at reported a specific incident when Emmanuel was called to his office to discuss Andrew's dismissal from the soccer team for violating team rules. Deacon recounts the story saying "his dad came up to get him, and it was pretty heated. He was yelling at him pretty good, and Andrew just sat their like a dog that had been kicked. Andrew teared up at one point and I knew it was a bad situation between the two." Andrew's high school soccer coach corroborates the tensions between Andrew and his father saying "I knew his relationship with his son was difficult and I sensed that

when he was there [at the games], Andrew was nervous.” Experts for the defense also testified that Andrew had previously been diagnosed with clinical depression with suicidal tendencies and aggression disorder. Up until about 1 month before his father’s death, Andrew was on medication to control his depression and was in weekly therapy for his aggression disorder. However, one of Andrew’s doctors testified that about a month before Mr. Jones death, Mr. Jones called the doctor and cancelled Andrew’s appointments, stating that Andrew just needed to “deal with things like a man and stop complaining to some quack doctor.” When the doctor urged Mr. Jones to reconsider the idea of suspending Andrew’s treatment, Mr. Jones was “not at all receptive to the suggestion”. According to Andrew’s doctor, who testified for the defense, at the time of the murder, Andrew had been without therapy for about 1 month and according to his prescription records had been without medication for over 2 weeks. She further stated that clinical studies of the medication that Andrew was taking showed that with an abrupt discontinuation of this medication, decreased in blood flow to the frontal cortex of the brain (i.e. the reasoning area) causes many individuals to lose the ability to think rationally, to often display a significant increase in suicidal ideations and to experience a sharp incline in aggressive behavior. The defense offered that this could be the reason for the way in which assaulted his father and the actions he took after the struggle.

While it is clear that Andrew and Emmanuel had a strained relationship, prosecutors argued that the particularly gruesome way that Andrew attacked his father (with an bat), the manner in which he left his father (in the garage), the fact that he was selling family goods and using his father’s credit cards for several days after his death, suggest that this assault was clearly premeditated, that Andrew was thinking reasonably and logically and that Andrew felt no remorse for the attack. As for the defense’s

argument that the lack of medication led to Andrew's violent behavior, the prosecution said that according to the clinical trials of the medication, the side effects of abrupt discontinuation of the medication only occur in 35% of participants. They claimed that this information in conjunction with the activities that Andrew participated in after his father's murder suggest that he did not suffer such side effects.

Appendix C

Demographic Survey

Directions: The following pages that you are about to read contain summaries of actual trials. At the end of each case you are asked to act as a juror and make a judgment in regard to the case. You may be asked to assign guilt or innocence in the case as well as assign an appropriate sentence or you may be asked to designate a proper custody arrangement for a child. Read through each of these cases very carefully and complete the task asked of you. Please fill out the questions below prior to beginning the survey. Thank you.

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

Appendix D

Experience in Close Relationship Scale

(Brennan, Clark, and Shaver, 1998)

Directions: Please rate each item on a scale from 1(not at all like me) to 7 (completely representative of me).

- ☐ I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down.
- ☐ I worry about being abandoned.
- ☐ I am very comfortable being close to romantic partners.
- ☐ I worry a lot about my relationships.
- ☐ Just when my partner starts to get close to me I find myself pulling away.
- ☐ I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them.
- ☐ I get uncomfortable when a romantic partner wants to be very close.
- ☐ I worry a fair amount about losing my partner.
- ☐ I don't feel comfortable opening up to romantic partners.
- ☐ I often wish that my partner's feelings for me were as strong as my feelings for him/her.
- ☐ I want to get close to my partner, but I keep pulling back.
- ☐ I often want to merge completely with romantic partners, and this sometimes scares them away.
- ☐ I am nervous when partners get too close to me.
- ☐ I worry about being alone.
- ☐ I feel comfortable sharing my private thoughts and feelings with my partner.
- ☐ My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away.
- ☐ I try to avoid getting too close to my partner.
- ☐ I need a lot of reassurance that I am loved by my partner.
- ☐ I find it relatively easy to get close to my partner.
- ☐ Sometimes I feel that I force my partners to show more feeling, more commitment.
- ☐ I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on romantic partners.
- ☐ I do not often worry about being abandoned.
- ☐ I prefer not to be too close to romantic partners.
- ☐ If I can't get my partner to show interest in me, I get upset or angry.
- ☐ I tell my partner just about everything.
- ☐ I find that my partner (s) don't want to get as close as I would like.
- ☐ I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my partner.
- ☐ When I'm not involved in a relationship, I feel somewhat anxious and insecure.
- ☐ I feel comfortable depending on romantic partners.
- ☐ I get frustrated when my partner is not around as much as I would like.
- ☐ I don't mind asking romantic partners for comfort, advice, or help.
- ☐ I get frustrated if romantic partners are not available when I need them.
- ☐ It helps to turn to my romantic partner in times of need.
- ☐ When romantic partners disapprove of me, I feel really bad about myself.
- ☐ I turn to my partner for many things, including reassurance.
- ☐ I resent it when my partner spends time away from me.

Appendix E

Experience in Close Relationships Scale-Revised

Fraley, Waller, and Brennan (2000)

Directions: Please rate each item on a scale from 1(not at all like me) to 7 (completely representative of me).

1. I'm afraid that I will lose my partner's love.
2. I often worry that my partner will not want to stay with me.
3. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me.
4. I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them.
5. I often wish that my partner's feelings for me were as strong as my feelings for him or her.
6. I worry a lot about my relationships.
7. When my partner is out of sight, I worry that he or she might become interested in someone else.
8. When I show my feelings for romantic partners, I'm afraid they will not feel the same about me.
9. I rarely worry about my partner leaving me.
10. My romantic partner makes me doubt myself.
11. I do not often worry about being abandoned.
12. I find that my partner(s) don't want to get as close as I would like.
13. Sometimes romantic partners change their feelings about me for no apparent reason.
14. My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away.
15. I'm afraid that once a romantic partner gets to know me, he or she won't like who I really am.
16. It makes me mad that I don't get the affection and support I need from my partner.
17. I worry that I won't measure up to other people.
18. My partner only seems to notice me when I'm angry.
19. I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down.
20. I feel comfortable sharing my private thoughts and feelings with my partner.
21. I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on romantic partners.
22. I am very comfortable being close to romantic partners.
23. I don't feel comfortable opening up to romantic partners.
24. I prefer not to be too close to romantic partners.
25. I get uncomfortable when a romantic partner wants to be very close.
26. I find it relatively easy to get close to my partner.
27. It's not difficult for me to get close to my partner.
28. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my partner.
29. It helps to turn to my romantic partner in times of need.
30. I tell my partner just about everything.
31. I talk things over with my partner.
32. I am nervous when partners get too close to me.
33. I feel comfortable depending on romantic partners.
34. I find it easy to depend on romantic partners.
35. It's easy for me to be affectionate with my partner.
36. My partner really understands me and my needs.

Appendix F

Relationship Questionnaire

Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991)

The following are four general relationships styles that people often report. Read each one and rate to what extent it is representative of your general relationship style. Please use the following in scale to rate each paragraph.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all like me			Somewhat like me			Very much like me

___ It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

___ I am not comfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships but I find it difficult to trust others completely or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to get too close to others.

___ I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.

___ I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

Appendix G

Relationship Questionnaire

Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991)

Now we would like you to read the same four descriptions again. This time, please circle the letter corresponding to the ONE paragraph that BEST fits the way in which you would describe your relationship style.

- (a) It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.
- (b) I am not comfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships but I find it difficult to trust others completely or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to get too close to others.
- (c) I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.
- (d) I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

Appendix H

Voting Form (Study 4)

Voting Form

1.) Based upon the facts of this case, on a scale from 1 (not guilty) to 7 (guilty), please rate your perceptions of the defendant.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not guilty			somewhat guilty			guilty

2.) Given your current knowledge of the facts of the case, please circle one of the options below:

- 1.) The defendant is guilty of the crime
- 2.) The defendant is not guilty of the crime

3.) On a scale from 1 (completely uncertain) to 7 (completely certain), how certain are you of YOUR decision regarding the defendant?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
completely uncertain			somewhat certain			completely certain

4.) On a scale from 1 (not strong at all) to 7 (very strong), how strong do you think the prosecution's case was? (Note: the prosecution consists of those individuals arguing against the defendant.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not strong at all			moderately strong			very strong

5.) Please rate how severe you believe the punishment should be for the defendant.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not severe			moderately severe			extremely severe

6.) On a scale for 1 (completely blameless) to 7 (completely at fault), how much do you blame the defendant?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
completely blameless			somewhat at fault		completely at fault	

7.) On a scale from 1(not strong at all) to 7 (very strong), how strong do you think the defense's case was? (Note: the defense is arguing for the defendant who supposedly committed the crime.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not strong at all		moderately strong		very strong		

8.) Given the evidence you have examined, if you could change the CURRENT charges against the defendant, please indicate how you would change them?

- 1.) less severe than at the current moment
- 2.) keep them as the same
- 3.) more severe than at the current moment

VITA

Allyson Meloni

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