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Attachment Style, Trust, and Exchange Orientation: A Mediational Model

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ATTACHMENT STYLE, TRUST, AND EXCHANGE ORIENTATION:
A MEDIATIONAL MODEL

By

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B.A. University of Maine, 1998

A THESIS
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Trust has been related to both attachment theory and exchange orientation. However, the research has not yet addressed whether or not attachment styles are related to exchange orientation, and if they are related, in what way.

Attachment theory is divided into two concepts: view of self and view of others. This research was designed to test whether trust was a mediating variable between view of others and exchange orientation. The measurements were distributed to college students at The University of Maine including the Adult Style Questionnaire, The Trust Scale, and The Revised Exchange Orientation Scale. In all, 94 students returned the survey fully completed, for a return rate of 15.6%. Females constituted 76% of the participants.

View of others was found to be significantly correlated with trust, and trust was strongly correlated with exchange orientation, but no relationship between view of others and exchange orientation was found. According to these results, trust cannot be a mediating variable, since there appears to be no relationship between the two concepts without trust. The possible causes for this are discussed.
Acknowledgements

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Chapter I

Literature Review

Introduction

Attachment has become a prominent theory in the field of human development. Although this theory was only applied to adults little more than a decade ago (Hazan & Shaver, 1987), there are now literally hundreds of articles examining the implications of adult attachment on daily functioning and relationships. Much of the attachment literature uses the word “trust” as a component of attachment, but only three articles have actually combined measures of trust with measures of attachment. High levels of trust have been consistently associated with a secure attachment style in each of these studies (Collins & Read, 1990; Mikulincer, 1998; Simpson, 1990).

The concept of trust has also been related to a person’s exchange orientation (Zak, unpublished paper, 1992; Zak, Gold, Ryckman, & Lenney, 1998). People who demonstrate high levels of trust are more likely to have a communal orientation when dealing with other people, whereas those who show lower levels of interpersonal trust tend to have a higher exchange orientation (Zak, Gold, Ryckman, & Lenney, 1998).

Exchange orientation has been hypothesized to relate to attachment style (Deihl, Elnick, Bourbeau, & Labouvie, 1998). People with a secure attachment style show a more communal orientation in dealing with others, while those showing an insecure attachment style tend to display more of an exchange orientation.

These previous studies lead to the hypothesis that the three variables of attachment, trust, and exchange orientation may all be related in some way. The questions that must then be answered are: Are these variables related to one another? Is
there a correlation between attachment style, trust, and exchange orientation? If they are related, in what way? Is trust a mediating factor between attachment and exchange orientation? Are all of these variables interdependent? A brief review of the relevant literature of attachment style, trust, and exchange orientation is necessary before the hypotheses of this thesis can be proposed.

**Attachment as a System of Behaviors**

Attachment theory grew out of Bowlby’s interest in ethology and psychoanalysis (Bowlby, 1980). Bowlby was primarily interested in the mother-child bond, and used the term attachment to refer to this bond. The only theory available to Bowlby at the start of his formulations to explain the mother-child bond was that the mother and child became attached due to the fact that the mother feeds the baby (Bowlby, 1988). Dissatisfied with this explanation, Bowlby began to search for other theories to explain the bond. At the same time that Bowlby was searching for a new theory, he learned of the work of Konrad Lorenz, an ethologist, who was studying the phenomena of “imprinting” or immediate bonding in animal species, specifically goslings. The fact that imprinting occurs with a variety of species when the mother is not available led Bowlby to hypothesize a genetic and evolutionary significance to the event. After learning of Lorenz’s work, Bowlby wondered if the same phenomena could be said to apply to human babies and their mothers. Thus, attachment theory was born.

Bowlby formulated his attachment theory from an evolutionary perspective. According to this perspective, “attachment behavior is believed to have evolved through a process of natural selection because it yielded a survival advantage, in this case through
increasing the chances of an infant being protected by those to whom he or she keeps in proximity” (Ainsworth, 1989, p. 709). At first, during infancy, attachment behaviors are simply emitted, with no conscious effort involved. However, as soon as the middle of the first year, the infant gains some locomotion and purposeful reaching and grasping and can begin directing some of the proximity-focused behaviors. At this point the infant is considered to be capable of attachment.

According to Shaver & Hazan (1993), “infants have a ‘set-goal’ for caregiver proximity or availability; when reality falls short of this goal, the attachment system (including emotions and associated behaviors) is activated” (p. 31). This attachment system “includes a set of behaviors (crying, smiling, clinging, locomoting, looking, and so on) that function together to achieve a set-goal, in this case a certain degree of proximity to the caregiver” (Shaver, Hazan & Bradshaw, 1988). Attachment behaviors, therefore, consist of the infant’s strategies for keeping the caregiver or a few significant others within close proximity, based upon an evolutionary adaptation for survival. If this set-goal is not met, the infant shows signs of distress in the form of attachment behaviors designed to re-establish contact with the caregiver. “If attachment behaviors restore contact with the caregiver…the attachment system becomes quiescent, making way for the activation of other behavioral systems such as exploration and affiliation? (Shaver & Hazan, 1993, p. 31).

The ideal parent-child interaction is called “exploration from a secure base” (Bowlby, 1988, p. 3). This pattern occurs when the child is confident that the caregiver is available. Since the goal of the attachment system is “felt security” (Stroufe & Waters, 1977), this goal must be met before the child’s other systems can be activated. These
systems include the exploratory and affiliatory systems. In other words, if an infant feels secure then they are more likely to explore their surroundings and interact with other people. However, because the attachment system is considered to be the primary system (due to the evolutionary impact), if this system is activated, the other systems are not accessible (Hazan & Shaver, 1990). The goal for the infant is to feel secure in order to activate these other systems necessary for learning.

The infant eventually builds expectations of the caregiver and whether or not their caregiver regularly provides the necessary sense of “felt security” based upon whether or not attachment behaviors restore contact with the caregiver (Ainsworth, 1989, p. 710). These expectations are based on the infant’s perception of the caregiver as reliable and responsive, or unavailable and unresponsive. Such patterns of behavior provide the foundation of “internal working models” that are formed in infancy and throughout childhood.

Three Attachment Types

Ainsworth decided to test Bowlby’s hypothesis that infant-caregiver interaction should produce predictable patterns of attachment behaviors exhibited by the child to restore caregiver proximity. Patterns of interaction and the expectations built around them influence the child’s interactions with his or her caregiver. If the caregiver is viewed as available and responsive, the child’s attachment system should be easily quieted, whereas a child who has negative expectations regarding their caregiver may have a more difficult time calming down after the attachment system has been activated.
Ainsworth used a longitudinal approach to determine the different patterns. First, she and several colleagues observed mothers and their children in their homes for approximately seventy hours. When the children reached one year of age, they were taken into the laboratory and the “strange situation” was used (Karen, 1993). This method consisted of eight stages to help determine attachment behaviors exhibited by the infants. The mother and infant are brought into a strange room, often a laboratory, which is filled with a variety of toys to encourage exploration by the child. After approximately three minutes, a stranger enters the room. Shortly after, the mother leaves the room, and the child is left alone with the stranger. After another three-minute episode of watched interaction, the mother re-enters the room, and the stranger leaves. Once the child has calmed sufficiently (the period is timed), the mother again leaves the room, this time leaving the child alone. After a short period of time, the mother re-enters, and the reaction of the child is recorded.

Ainsworth was especially interested in several key reactions of the child. The first major episode is when the mother and child first enter the room. Ainsworth was particularly interested in the exploratory behaviors of the child upon entering a new and unfamiliar situation, and to examine if the children clung to their mothers or explored the room using their primary caregiver as a secure base. The other key episodes examine the child’s reaction to separation from and reunion with the mother. Ainsworth was interested in the way that the child protested the leaving of the mother, and the response when the mother re-enters.

Ainsworth identified three distinct patterns of attachment behaviors. The first group cried when separated from the mother, but were relatively easy to console upon the
mother’s return. This group was labeled as displaying a secure attachment style. The other two groups were insecure types. The first tended to cling to their mother, and appeared to be afraid to explore the room, as though they did not trust that their caregiver would be present if they left. They were very difficult to console even after the return of the mother. This group was labeled anxious/ambivalent. The second type of insecure attachment was labeled avoidant; these babies gave the impression of being independent, and even avoiding the mother upon her return to the room. However, Stroufe and Waters (1977) found that these babies still showed accelerated body functions, indicating distress, but used a different coping mechanism (such as distracting themselves with toys present in the room) to avoid showing their distress.

Because Ainsworth had spent seventy-two hours observing each child and caregiver in the home together before bringing them into the laboratory for the strange situation, it was possible for her to directly connect parenting styles with the attachment behaviors exhibited by the children.

“Ainsworth’s central premise was that the responsive mother provides a secure base. The infant needs to know that his primary caregiver is steady, dependable, and there for him. Mothers of securely attached children were found to be more responsive to the feeding signals and the crying of their infants, and to readily return their infants’ smiles. Mothers of anxiously [insecurely] attached children were inconsistent, unresponsive, or rejecting” (Karen, 1993, p. 273-74).

It appears that children learn patterns of interaction based on these caregiver responses, and react accordingly. If the caregiver is non-responsive, the attachment system will cause distress due to the lack of a secure base. The infant copes with this by either clinging to the mother, not wanting her to leave, known as anxious attachment style, or ignoring all attempts to re-establish proximity to the caregiver, known as the
avoidant style. This attachment style relates to the internal working models formed based on infant-caregiver interaction. An infant who has the expectation that the caregiver is reliable and responsive will have a positive view of that caregiver and a secure base from which to explore. However, an infant who forms expectations that the caregiver will not be present and responsive will show delays in other areas of development; more specifically, the exploratory and affiliatory systems will not be accessible if the infant is worried about the caregiver’s proximity.

Internal Working Models

One of Bowlby’s principal propositions of attachment theory is that “in order for the [attachment] systems to operate efficiently, each partner builds in his or her mind working models of self and of others and of the patterns of interaction that have developed between them” (Bowlby, 1988, p. 2). In other words, based upon the expectancies formed through child-parent interaction, a child creates views of him- or her-self and of others. These expectancies involve the child’s ideas about “(a) whether or not the attachment figure is judged to be the sort of person who in general responds to calls for support and protection; [and] (b) whether or not the self is judged to be the sort of person towards whom anyone, and the attachment figure in particular, is likely to respond in a helpful way” (Bowlby, 1973, p. 204). This occurs sometime toward the end of the first year of life (Ainsworth, 1989). These internal representations of the self and others influence the way that a child interprets and reacts to situations. Even when the attachment system is not activated, a person’s internal working models still have a significant impact on his or her thoughts.
One’s cognitive schemas or internal working models influence personality and guide social behavior (Simpson, Rholes, & Phillips, 1996). If a person expects others to be warm and supportive, then they will behave in an outgoing and trusting manner. However, if the same person expects to be hurt or rejected based upon past experiences, then they will behave in a guarded and untrusting manner. “In processing social information, people seem to produce behaviors that evoke specific reactions from other people, and this social feedback is interpreted in ways that confirm the person’s internal working models of self and other” (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991, p. 241). This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as “selective affiliation,” because people both seek out people who confirm their own beliefs, as well as interpreting information to fit these preconceived ideas of self and others. This has been shown to be a maintenance principle in both positive and negative interactions (Bartholomew, 1990).

These internal working models affect not only actual interactions, but also one’s interpretation of others’ actions. If a gesture or comment is viewed as ambiguous in nature, then the person will interpret the action as positive or negative based upon their views of self and others. As Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) state: “Internal models are expected to direct attention, organize, and filter new information, and determine the accessibility of past experiences. Thereby, ambiguous stimuli (which may form the bulk of all social stimuli) tend to be assimilated to existing models” (p. 241.)
From Childhood to Adulthood

A basic principle of attachment theory is that attachment relationships continue to be important throughout life, from childhood to old age (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Bowlby, 1977; Shaver & Hazan, 1993). One’s internal working models, once formed in early childhood, create fairly stable views of self and others that are maintained through adulthood. People are not born with these internal working models. Instead, they develop their expectations regarding whether or not the self and others are judged worthy of love based upon patterns of interactions between the child and the caregiver.

Bowlby (1977) hypothesized that these internal working models formed in childhood underlie “the later capacity to make affectional bonds,” including a wide range of dysfunctions in adulthood such as “marital problems and trouble with children as well as…neurotic symptoms and personality disorders” (p. 206).

Hazan and Shaver (1987) created a measurement to determine if styles of attachment in childhood were related to attachment styles with a romantic partner in adulthood. When attachment is applied to adult romantic relationships, it is used to mean “an enduring affective bond between particular individuals” (Bartholomew, 1990, p. 149). Several researchers have used this measure to test internal working models of the self and others in adulthood, as well as the links between child attachment patterns and adult personal interactions (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990; Collins, 1996; Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Mikulincer, 1995).
Stability of Attachment Styles

Shaver and Hazan state that "more than one longitudinal study has found approximately 80 percent stability over several years in economically stable samples" (1993, p. 52-53). Kirkpatrick and Davis (1994) state that in an unpublished paper, Hazan and Hutt found that 75% of adults maintain their attachment orientation during adulthood. The other 25% that did report a change in attachment style almost universally went from insecure to secure (p. 503). This relative stability in attachment style points to the idea that one's internal working models tend to persist through adulthood in the absence of any traumatic or cataclysmic life changes. The stability of attachment styles can be explained in several different ways. Kobak and Sceery (1996) found that adults with different attachment styles held different interpersonal expectations with regard to interactions. Kobak and Sceery felt that these differences could be linked to the interpersonal expectations learned in childhood, a finding consistent with attachment theory. Collins and Read (1990) found that attachment styles in college students were linked to views of the self and people in the social world. These researchers found "evidence that differences in [adult] attachment are indeed linked to different patterns of beliefs about self and others, in ways consistent with attachment theory" (1990, p. 654).

Adult Attachment Styles

Shaver and Hazan's measure of adult attachment, the AAQ, or adult attachment questionnaire, was designed to measure three attachment styles, based on Ainsworth's categories. While these three patterns (secure, avoidant and ambivalent) are the most widely used in the field of adult attachment, there is some debate as to whether there are
three or four styles of attachment in adults (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Shaver & Hazan, 1993). Ainsworth originally developed her three patterns of attachment based on the strange situation. However, she later added a fourth category which she labeled disorganized (Karen, 1993; Shaver & Hazan, 1993). This pattern was typically found in children who had been severely abused or traumatized as children (Karen, 1993; Shaver & Hazan, 1993). Main also developed a measurement called the adult attachment interview which examined parental bonds both currently and previously to determine attachment type. The interview was originally designed and used to distinguish between three types of attachment. However, Main also later added a fourth category, which she did not label, but which corresponded with Ainsworth’s disorganized type (Karen, 1993; Main & Solomon, 1990; Shaver & Hazan, 1993).

The adult attachment literature has been leaning toward a four-category model since the early 1990’s. In 1990, Bartholomew first proposed her four-category model based upon a person’s views of self and others. In 1991, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) did their first study comparing the three and four category models. This study used Main’s AAI (Adult Attachment Interview), Hazan and Shaver’s AAQ, and Bartholomew and Horowitz’s Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) and compared the results to family and friend reports. The results supported the use of a four-category model. Shave and Hazan also concede that the four-category approach may be more applicable than the three types.

However, the RQ and the AAQ rely on a forced choice between three paragraphs self-describing the way that one person feels toward a romantic partner the majority of the time. The current literature justifies the use of another approach to determining
attachment styles. This approach requires the formation of a method that analyzes not just four different types, but actually measures where each person falls on two dimensions: views of self, and views of others. These two dimensions range from positive to negative or high to low (see Table 1). Currently, only Feeney and Noller (1994) have designed and tested such a scale.

### Table 1. Attachment Styles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View of Others</th>
<th>View of Self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive (high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preoccupied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative (low)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismissive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fearful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ), developed by Feeney and Noller (1994), defines four different attachment styles based upon views of self and other, formed in childhood based on the reliability and consistency of caregivers (see Table 1).

After using the ASQ measure on over four hundred college students, the results appear to accurately delineate the four established categories of attachment. Secure people have positive views of both self and others, due to receiving fairly responsive and reliable caregiving as children, models that have been shown to continue into adulthood. Preoccupied people have a positive view of others, but a negative view of self. These people are often striving for self-acceptance by gaining the approval of others. Fearful-
avoidant people have negative views of self and others. They feel unloved and
unlovable, and expect to be rejected by others, so they often avoid others in order to
escape the rejection that they fear will follow. Dismissive-avoidant people, on the other
hand, have a positive view of self combined with a negative view of others. These people
reject and avoid other people in order to maintain their high sense of self (Bartholomew
& Horowitz, 1991; Feeney & Noller, 1994).

Trust

Trust is defined in several different ways, depending on the use of the concept and
its application to the research. Rotter (1980), who designed one of the first trust
measures, defines trust as “a generalized expectancy held by an individual that the word,
promise, or statement of another individual can be relied on” (p. 1). However, this
definition concentrates “rather exclusively on beliefs about people’s honesty in their
communications” (Holmes & Rempel, 1989). Researchers who have used this method in
their experiments have had limited success in applying the results to trust in close
relationships (Johnson-George & Swap, 1982; Larzelere & Huston, 1980).

Much of the more recent literature has focused on the concept of interpersonal
trust, especially as it applies to close or romantic relationships. Dyadic or interpersonal
trust can be distinguished from generalized trust in that dyadic trust refers to beliefs about
the honesty and benevolence of a specific person, usually a partner, whereas generalized
trust involves beliefs about the character of people in general (Larzelere & Huston, 1980;
Rotter, 1967).
Rempel, Holmes, and Zanna (1985) concluded that based on the previous definitions of interpersonal trust, trust involves three integral components: a) the appraisal of partners as reliable and predictable, b) the belief that one’s partner is concerned with one’s needs, and can be counted on in times of distress, and c) feelings of strength and confidence in the relationship itself. This definition implies that trust may be strongly related to a secure attachment style, in that both are formed from previous interpersonal experiences and the expectations a person develops from the outcomes of those experiences. If a person has had mostly positive experiences with primary caregivers in the past, then that person will expect that their partner will be caring and can be counted on in times of need. However, if one’s internal working models consist of negative expectations about other people based on negative outcomes from previous situations, then the person will have a very low disposition to trust other people.

Rempel & Holmes (1989) have since done several studies of interpersonal trust, and acknowledge that some people may have different dispositions to trust, based on their past experiences in close relationships. They define trust as consisting of “confident expectations of positive outcomes from an intimate partner” (p. 188).

Attachment and Trust

Internal working models of attachment incorporate a view of the self and generalized expectations about others based on past relationships and interactions. According to this model, people who experienced responsive interactions earlier in life have a more positive view of others. People with a more positive view of others should have a higher level of trust in close relationships, especially those relationships in which
the partner is considered to be an attachment figure. However, people who experienced inconsistent or rejecting parenting as children have a more negative view of others, and are less likely to trust that other people can or will meet their needs. People who have a positive view of others consistently report greater trust in other people, both generally (i.e., strangers and business associates) and specifically (i.e., family and close partners) (Collins & Read, 1990).

Many researchers have stated that interpersonal trust is related to attachment style (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Hazan & Shaver, 1990; Feeney, Noller, & Hanrahan, 1994; Keelan, Dion, & Dion, 1994; Kirkpatrick & Davis, 1994; Ognibene & Collins, 1998; Shaver, Hazan, & Bradshaw, 1988; Simpson, 1990). Other researchers have correlated attachment styles with variables commonly related to trust. These include: self-disclosure (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Mikulincer & Nachson, 1991); closeness (Collins & Read, 1990; Collins, 1996); and dependence or reliance on others (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990; Collins, 1996; Feeney, Noller, & Hanrahan, 1994).

However, very few researchers have examined the relationship between trust and attachment specifically. A few studies have utilized both attachment and trust measures together. Collins and Read (1990) used two types of trust scales, measuring both generalized (Rotter, 1967) and specific trust (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985). However, the correlations were used for the purpose of examining partner pairing and preferences, rather than the amount of trust as related to attachment style. Simpson (1990) used the Rempel, Holmes, and Zanna scale (1985) to examine levels of trust within romantic relationships. He found that avoidant people were characterized by
displaying lower levels of trust in such relationships. Mikulincer (1998) did a study focusing on interpersonal trust (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985) and attachment (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). The study found that secure people had higher levels of trust toward close partners than did insecure types.

In their 1989 article, Rempel and Holmes propose that a person’s disposition to trust may be related to attachment style. Hazan and Shaver (1987) found that people with secure attachment styles described themselves as having more interpersonal trust and less fear of closeness. Mikulincer (1998) found that people with a secure attachment style had more trust related memories, more trusting experiences over a three-week episode, and were more able to cope with situations that involved a violation of trust. In addition, it was found that people with different attachment styles had differing goals with respect to interpersonal relationships. While secure people primarily desired intimacy attainment, those with an anxious-ambivalent attachment desired security attainment, and people with an avoidant attachment specified control attainment as their primary goal. It may be that people with insecure attachments do not trust that other people can or will fulfill their other needs. Since trust could be seen as a primary goal, if the secondary goals have not yet been met, then the goal of trust cannot be met until after the other goals, such as security, have been satisfied. Another point of interest is that control and the desire for it is seen as negatively related to the achievement of trust, especially in reciprocal and dyadic interpersonal relationships (Butler, 1986). This leads to the idea that avoidant people, who are high in desire for control, may have a more difficult time experiencing trust in close relationships. Secure people, on the other hand, should have a
much higher level of trust given the positive expectancies they display toward relationships, partners, and people in general.

Exchange Orientation

There are two primary definitions of exchange orientation in the relevant literature. The first definition is used to define types of relationships between people based upon societal norms. Exchange orientations are most common in business relationships with strangers and acquaintances. In these relationships, people give benefits with the expectation of receiving comparable benefits shortly thereafter. People in these relationships tend to keep a tally of sorts, mentally recording any favors or debts, and attempting to even the balance as soon as possible. Communal relationships, on the other hand, consist of longer term relationships, such as those between friends or family members, and reflect less of the exchange factor. People in these relationships do not expect immediate compensation for giving or receiving items. It is assumed that since these relationships last for a longer period of time, the benefit received will be returned at some point in time, regardless of when.

However, as several researchers have stated, there is another application of exchange orientation (Mills & Clark, 1994; Murstein, Cerreto, & Macdonald, 1977; Murstein & Azar, 1986). This use of exchange focuses more on individual differences in exchange orientation, in which exchange orientation is viewed as an attitude, rather than as a personality trait. Some people have a higher exchange orientation, meaning that they keep more track of who does what for whom within a relationship. Other people tend to have a lower exchange orientation within close relationships, and do not keep track of
benefits and debts for the purpose of repayment. Murstein, Cerreto, and Macdonald (1977) developed the exchange orientation and communal orientation scales to examine individual differences in orientations within close relationships. These individual differences in exchange orientation have been documented in marriages (Murstein, Cerreto, & Macdonald, 1977), friendships (Murstein et al.), roommates (Murstein & Azar, 1986), and heterosexual cohabitation (Milardo & Murstein, 1979). These studies found that a high exchange orientation can be detrimental to satisfaction in marriages and roommates, but can actually be beneficial in friendships, especially in the early stages.

One finding that was especially interesting was that a high exchange orientation is often linked to anxiety or paranoia in a person. A person who is high on paranoia is likely to view other people as untrustworthy, and is afraid of being taken advantage of (Murstein, Cerreto, & Macdonald, 1977). It has also been found that people with avoidant and ambivalent attachment styles tend to score higher on measures of paranoia and anxiety (respectively) on tests of personality traits (Shaver & Brennan, 1992).

Hypotheses

After reviewing the literature, it seems reasonable to predict that the internal working models formed in childhood and continued in adulthood would significantly affect levels of trust and exchange orientation in adults. Essentially, the proposed study presents a model in which trust acts as a mediating variable linking view of others with exchange orientation. The components of this model are described below in the form of
specific hypotheses. These hypotheses are designed to meet the requirements of a mediating model as defined by Baron and Kenney (1986).

**Hypothesis 1: View of others will be positively correlated with trust.**

In this way, individuals with a positive view of others (i.e., secure and dismissing avoidant types of attachment) should exhibit higher levels of trust. Individuals with a negative view of others (i.e., preoccupied and fearful avoidant attachment styles) should exhibit lower levels of trust.

This hypothesis is consistent with the literature reviewed above which has found that people with a secure attachment style (positive view of others) display higher levels of trust within their intimate relationships than people with an insecure attachment style (Collins & Read, 1990; Simpson, 1990). It has also been found that insecure attachment types, especially people with an avoidant style (negative view of others), show lower levels of trust in intimate relationships than those with a secure attachment style (Mikulincer, 1998).

Although the cross-sectional design of this study does not permit a direct test of the causal sequence, examining view of others as a foundation of trust is consistent with attachment theory. This is because attachment theorists believe that one’s attachment is formed primarily with the first two to five years of life, depending on the style of interaction with a primary caregiver. These initial interactions then form one’s internal working models, or expectations and beliefs, regarding one’s self and other people in general (Simpson, 1990). These internal working models are then carried forward into all future relationships, guiding expectations, perception, and behavior (Collins & Read,
Depending on the style of interaction with the primary caregiver, one's models will determine whether or not other people are viewed as generally trustworthy and good, or unresponsive and untrustworthy. People with a secure attachment style have been shown to hold more positive beliefs about the social world and people in general, while people with an insecure attachment style hold largely negative views about human nature (Collins & Read, 1990).

Hypothesis 2: View of others will be negatively correlated with exchange orientation.

Individuals with a positive view of others should exhibit a lower level of exchange orientation, and individuals with a negative view of others should exhibit a higher level of exchange orientation.

Although this relationship has not been specifically examined in the previous literature, establishing the correlation is essential to verifying the mediating role of trust between view of others and exchange orientation. People with a more positive view of others should be less likely to keep track of favors or objects given and received (having a more communal orientation), while people with a negative view of others will be more likely to run a daily tally of sorts.

However, on a related note, it has been found that both insecure attachments (negative view of others) and a high exchange orientation are correlated with elevated levels of anxiety and paranoia (Murstein, Cerreto, & Macdonald, 1977; Shaver & Brennan, 1992).
Hypothesis 3: The degree of trust will be negatively correlated with the degree of exchange orientation.

Individuals with a high level of trust should exhibit a low level of exchange orientation, whereas people with a low level of trust should exhibit a high exchange orientation.

This hypothesis is consistent with the previous research of Zak et al. (1998), who found that people with a higher exchange orientation displayed lower levels of trust in their partners, while people with a lower exchange orientation showed higher levels of trust. This finding is consistent with the idea that people who have higher levels of trust will be more likely to expect equal treatment in a relationship, and display less of an exchange orientation.

Hypothesis 4: The direct effects of view of others on exchange orientation are mediated by the level of trust.

This hypothesis simply indicates that trust acts as a mediator linking view of others with exchange orientation. View of others influences exchange orientation indirectly through its effects on trust, which in turn affects exchange orientation. If correct, then the correlation with view of others with exchange orientation should be less once the degree of trust is controlled. This argument is consistent with Baron and Kenney, who state that:

"A variable functions as a mediator when it meets the following conditions: (a) variations in the levels of the independent variable (view of others) significantly account for variations in the presumed mediator (trust), (b) variations in the mediator (trust) significantly account for variations in the dependent variable (exchange orientation), and (c) when Paths a and b are controlled, a previously significant relation between the
independent and dependent variables (view of others and exchange orientation) is no longer significant with the strongest demonstration of mediation occurring when Path c is zero" (Baron & Kenney, 1986, p.1176).

This basic model is depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Mediational Model.
Chapter II

Methods

Procedure

The researcher contacted as many professors as possible and, with their permission, the researcher went to each class personally. The researcher briefly informed the class that the surveys were to learn about attitudes in close relationships for the purpose of doing a graduate thesis. Students were told that their participation was completely voluntary and anonymous, and the students had to be eighteen or older in order to participate. Packets were then distributed to the students containing introduction, instruments, and scan-tron sheet (see Appendices A-E). This information was enclosed in a self-addressed return envelope so that subjects could return the surveys and answer sheet through the campus mailing system.

Sample

Participants consisted of a non-random sample of undergraduate students at The University of Maine. A random sample was not deemed to be necessary since the goal of this thesis is hypothesis testing. With the permission of professors, packets including a cover sheet, surveys, and a scan-tron bubble sheet were handed out to students in self-addressed envelopes to be returned through campus mail. All participation was voluntary, and students under the age of eighteen were asked not to participate. Students remained anonymous, since no personal information was requested.
In total, 94 students responded. This represented 15.6% of the 600 survey packets distributed. Of these, 72 were females (76.6%), and 21 males (22.3%). One person was deleted from this analysis due to unreadable responses. Their ages were as follows: 28 (29.8%) were 18-19, 28 (29.8%) were 20-21, 15 (16.0%) were 22-23, 4 (4.3%) were 23-24, and 19 (20.2%) reported being 26 years or older. The majority (46.8%) answered questions regarding a present romantic relationship. Past romantic relationship was the second most common (26.6%), and the remaining 23.3% responded with reference to a familial relationship, friendship, or other.

**Measurements**

The instruments used in this study included three measures: one to assess view of others, one to assess level of trust in close relationships, and a two-part instrument to measure exchange orientation. Answers were filled out on a scan-tron bubble sheet provided with the surveys.

At the beginning of the questionnaire, four biographical questions were asked for the purpose of sample description. These are: 1) What is your age? 2) What is your sex? 3) Are you currently in a romantic relationship? And, if so, 4) How long have you been in the relationship (in months)? A complete copy of the questionnaire, including the measures described below, is included in Appendix A.

**Attachment.** The adult attachment measure consists of two parts. They are preceded by an introduction which is a slightly modified version of the introduction created for the Adult Attachment Questionnaire (Shaver & Hazan, 1993). The
introductory statements were designed to activate the attachment system to aid memory recall of attachment related events (Shaver & Hazan, 1993). Respondents were asked to think about their most important close relationships with regard to trust, jealousy, and amount of time spent thinking about the relationship. The original statements focused exclusively on romantic relationships; in order to assess a wider variety of relationships, including romantic ones, the word “close” was substituted for “romantic”, and “your partner” was replaced with “the relationship.” The question “How attracted were you to the person” has been omitted due to its focus on romantic relationships. Seven thought-provoking statements remained in the descriptive introductory paragraph (see Appendix A).

Following the introduction, the first measure of attachment is the Relationship Questionnaire (RQ), developed by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991). The Relationship Questionnaire serves to define the attachment styles of individuals in the study. It is included for descriptive and comparison purposes only and is not essential to testing the hypothesis.

The second attachment measure used was developed by Feeney and Noller (1994), and is called the Adult Style Questionnaire (ASQ). This measure is essential for testing the hypothesis. It was designed to determine where a person falls on two dimensions: view of self, and view of others. Participants are asked to rate forty questions using a 6-point Likert format (see Appendix B).

For the purpose of this study, only those items relevant to measuring view of others are described. The factors labeled Preoccupation with Relationships (Preoccupation) and Need for Approval (N for A) pertain primarily to attitudes of self,
which were not analyzed for the purposes of this study. The scales labeled Discomfort with Closeness (Discomfort) and Relationships as Secondary (R as S) primarily assess attitudes of others. Another scale, Confidence, relates to both view of others and view of self, and was included in the analyses that follow (Feeney & Noller, 1994). These three sub-scales are used to determine view of others as they are assessed by attachment styles.

The 25 questions used to assess view of others have been reprinted in Table 2, including which question relates to which sub-scale (see also Appendix B).

Table 2. ASQ: Three Scales of View of Others.

Confidence.
- Overall, I am a worthwhile person.
- I am easier to get to know than most people.
- I feel confident that other people will be there for me when I need them.
- I find it relatively easy to get close to other people.
- I feel confident about relating to others.
- I often worry that I do not really fit in with other people [R].
- If something is bothering me, others are generally aware and concerned.
- I am confident that other people will like and respect me.

Discomfort.
- I prefer to depend on myself rather than other people.
- I prefer to keep to myself.
- *I find it hard to trust other people.
- I find it difficult to depend on others.
- *I find it easy to trust others. [R]
- I feel comfortable depending on other people. [R]
- I worry about people getting too close.
- I have mixed feelings about being close to others.
- While I want to get close to others, I feel uneasy about it.
- Other people have their own problems, so I don’t bother them with mine.

Relationships as Secondary (R as S).
- To ask for help is to admit that you’re a failure.
- People’s worth should be judged by what they achieve.
- Achieving things is more important than building relationships.
- Doing your best is more important than getting on with others.
- If you’ve got a job to do, you should do it no matter who gets hurt.
- My relationships with others are generally superficial.
- I am too busy with other activities to put much time into relationships.

Note: Items marked [R] need to be reverse scored.
*Trust items not used in analysis.
The two scales called Discomfort with Closeness and Relationships as Secondary combine to get an overall score for view of others. The range of scores on these two sub-scales combined is from a low of 17 to a high of 102. A low score indicates a positive view of others, while a high score represents a negative view of others. Questions 24 and 28 in the discomfort scale were not used in any analyses due to their inclusion of the word “trust.” Since an additional measure for trust was included in this survey, it was decided that these additional questions would unfairly inflate the correlation of view of others and trust. Since these questions were answered on a six-point scale starting with number one, any answers of zero or higher than seven were treated as missing values. The Discomfort with Closeness scale had an overall alpha of .80 after the two unused items were deleted from the analyses. The Relationships as Secondary scale had a reported alpha of .58 for the purpose of this study, the lowest alpha of any scale used.

The last sub-scale, Confidence, is the one which addresses both view of self and view of others. The range of scores on these questions is from a possible low of 8 to a high score of 48. A high score on this scale represents a positive view of self and others, while a low score indicates a more negative view of self and others. The same procedure was used to handle unreadable data as for the other two scales of the ASQ. The overall alpha for questions in this scale was .78.

Trust. The Trust Scale was developed by Rempel, Holmes, and Zanna (1985). This measure consists of seventeen questions rated on a 7-point Likert format, starting with number one. The introduction, which assumes that participants are currently in a relationship, has been changed for the purposes of this study. It is now the same
introduction as used in the exchange and communal orientation scales to incorporate both past and present relationships (see Appendix B). For the present study, four of the questions were reverse scored (4, 5, 6, and 13). The seventeen questions yield a low possible score of 17 (low trust), or a high score of 119 (high trust). Any answers that were not from one to seven were translated into missing values. These seventeen questions yielded an overall alpha of .91, the highest coefficient alpha of the scales used in this study.

**Exchange Orientation.** Two exchange measures were used for the purposes of this study. The first is the Revised Exchange Orientation Scale developed by Murstein, et al. (1987), which measures preferences toward exchange in romantic relationships. The second measure is the Revised Communal Orientation Scale by Clark, et al. (1987), which measures preferences toward helping a partner without expecting repayment (Appendix E). These measures have been changed from a 9-point disagree to agree Likert format to a 7-point format for this study. The Exchange Orientation Scale consists of 11 questions, yielding a possible low score of 11 (low exchange orientation), to a possible high score of 77 (high exchange orientation). The alpha for this measure was .79 in this study. The Communal Orientation Scale includes 8 questions. The range of scores then possible is from a low of 8 (low communal orientation) to a high score of 56 (high communal orientation). The overall reliability alpha of this scale was .41 (n=55). Unfortunately, in the final survey packet distributed, the numbers 106 and 107 were repeated, causing some confusion to the participants. Several participants did not finish
the Communal Orientation Scale due to the incorrect numbering. Given the low response rate and alpha of this scale, it was not used for further analysis.

For each of the scales, any incorrect responses were changed to missing values. Means were then computed for each case to enable comparative analysis even for those cases missing one answer. For example, if one person answered 11 questions on an 11-item scale, and the person’s overall total was 77, then the case would be given a mean of seven. If another person answered only ten questions on the same scale, but had an overall total of 70, this total was then divided by the number of questions answered, to give that person a mean of seven as well. These individual scale means were used in all further analyses.
Chapter III

Results

Table 3 includes the descriptive statistics for the relationship scales used in this survey. These include the means, standard deviations, ranges, and number of people who filled out the survey for each scale.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of Relationship Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCALE</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range (min – max)</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discomfort</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>1.1 – 5.2</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R as S</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>1.00 – 3.43</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confid</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>2.88 – 6.00</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>2.76 – 7.00</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.00 – 6.75</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discomfort = Discomfort with Closeness Scale
R as S = Relationships as Secondary Scale
Confid = Confidence Scale
Trust = The Trust Scale (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985)
EO = Revised Exchange Orientation Scale (Murstein et al., 1987)
Table 4 shows the correlations between the relationship scales used. There are several interesting correlations to note. First, all three of the scales used to assess view of others were significantly related to trust. These significant correlations confirm hypothesis one. As predicted, high trust scores are associated with having high scores on Confidence, and lower scores on Discomfort and Relationships as Secondary, the three scales used to measure view of others.

Table 4. Interscale Correlations (Pearson r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discom</th>
<th>R as S</th>
<th>Confidence</th>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>EO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discomfort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 94</td>
<td>.34***</td>
<td>-.60***</td>
<td>-.38***</td>
<td>.083</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships as Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 94</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.37***</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 94</td>
<td></td>
<td>.35***</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.45***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
***p<.001
One-Tailed tests
Discomfort = Discomfort with Closeness
R as S = Relationships as Secondary
Confid = Confidence
Trust = The Trust Scale (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985)
EO = Revised Exchange Orientation Scale (Murstein et al., 1987)
Of interest here is the relationship between the three scales of view of other. While the confidence and discomfort subscales were strongly inversely related, the relationships as secondary scale was not significant when correlated with either of the other two scales. Feeney and Noller (1994) reported a coefficient alpha of $r = .67$. Since the coefficient alpha was so low in this study ($r = .58$), it may be that this particular scale is not very reliable.

As predicted in hypothesis three, the Trust Scale was also significantly correlated with exchange orientation, in that trust is associated with a low exchange orientation. It appears that exchange orientation is related to levels of trust within romantic relationships. However, the exchange orientation scale did not correlate significantly with any of the three scales for view of others as predicted by hypothesis two. Trust appears to be a shared variable, related to both view of others and exchange orientation, but it is not a mediating variable, since there was no relationship found between view of others and exchange orientation. All of the measures of others were uncorrelated with exchange orientation.

Additional analyses were performed using gender as a variable to determine if there were significant gender differences with regard to the relationship scales. These results are shown in Tables 5 and 6. There were no significant differences found between male and female means on the relationship scales. However, as Table 6 shows, there were a few significant differences found between correlations between the scales after sorting by gender. One important difference was that the Discomfort and Relationships as Secondary scales correlated significantly for women, but not for men.
Table 5. Means for Relationship Scales by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R as S</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>-.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confid</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discom</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R as S = Relationships as Secondary
Confid = Confidence
Discom = Discomfort with relationships
Trust = The Trust Scale (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985)
EO = Revised Exchange Orientation Scale (Murstein et al., 1987)
Table 6. Correlations of Relationship Scales by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discom</th>
<th>R as S</th>
<th>Confid</th>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>EO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discom</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.36**</td>
<td>-.58**</td>
<td>-.39**</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R as S</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.39**</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confid</td>
<td>-.69**</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.41**</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>-.45**</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.45**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.47*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

Above the diagonal represents females (n = varies from 68 – 72)
Below the diagonal represents males (n = 21)
*p<.05
**p<.01
R as S = Relationships as Secondary
Confid = Confidence
Discom = Discomfort with relationships
Trust = The Trust Scale (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985)
EO = Revised Exchange Orientation Scale (Murstein et al., 1987)
The other correlations that were found to be significant were very similar for both men and women. Discomfort with Confidence ($r = -.69, r = -.58$, respectively, $p < .01$), Discomfort and Trust ($r = -.45, r = -.39$, $p < .01$), and Trust with Exchange Orientation ($r = -.47$, $p < .05$, $r = -.45$, $p < .01$). These similarities support the finding that there are not significant gender differences with regard to view of others (Baldwin et al., 1996; Zak, 1998), trust (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985), and exchange orientation (Murstein et al., 1979; Sprecher, 1998).

An additional t-test was performed to examine the effects of currently being in a relationship upon scores of Trust, Discomfort, Relationships as Secondary, and Confidence (see Table 7). No significant effects were found. While this issue has not been previously addressed in the research, it is interesting to note that there do not appear to be differences between those people currently in a relationship and those who are not.
Table 7. **Effects of Current Relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discom</th>
<th>R as S</th>
<th>Confid</th>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>EO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discom</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.60**</td>
<td>-.36*</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R as S</td>
<td>.40**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confid</td>
<td>-.61</td>
<td>-.31*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.38*</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>-.33*</td>
<td>-.45**</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.47**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- Above the diagonal represents those currently in relationship
- Below the diagonal represents those not currently in relationship
- *p<.05
- **p<.01
- Discomfort = Discomfort with Closeness
- R as S = Relationships as Secondary
- Confid = Confidence
- Trust = Trust Scale (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985)
- EO = Revised Exchange Orientation Scale (Murstein et al., 1987)
Chapter IV
Discussion

Summary of Findings

Hypothesis one was strongly supported by the results. People with a positive view of others have much higher levels of trust, whereas those with a negative view of others have much lower levels of trust, a finding which held true for both men and women. This finding is consistent with the relevant literature relating trust and attachment styles (Collins & Read, 1990; Mikulincer, 1998). Both trust and secure attachment styles incorporating a positive view of others have been associated with healthy interpersonal and romantic relationships (Collins, 1996). Another possibility is that trust is actually included when assessing attachment styles. As previously mentioned, this study had to reject two questions from the ASQ measure due to their inclusion of the word “trust” (Feeney & Noller, 1994). The Relationship Questionnaire also includes the word “trust” in several of its descriptions of attachment styles (Diehl et al., 1998). It could be that the measures used to assess attachment styles are really measuring trust, since they do not separate the concept of trust from the attachment questions.

Hypothesis two was not supported by the results. There appears to be no direct relationship between view of others and exchange orientation. The first possible explanation for the lack of correlation is that two different types of relationships were being measured: generalized vs. romantic relationships. Another possibility is that the views of self and others do not accurately represent the four attachment models. Only
Feeney and Noller (1984) have used this measure previously; no other reported results were found. More research may have to be done to determine the validity of this particular measure. The third explanation is that trust directly affects both view of others and exchange orientation significantly, and is solely responsible for any relationships among the three variables. A fourth consideration is the choice of the exchange orientation measure. While exchange orientation and communal orientation appear to be reciprocal concepts in the literature (Sprecher, 1998), Van Yperen & Buunk (1994) found almost no correlation between the two measures. It is possible that communality is a very distinct concept from exchange orientation, and may have produced different results had it been used. It is also possible to have both a communal relationship as well as an exchange relationship with the same person (Mills & Clark, 1994).

Hypothesis three was strongly supported by the results. Trust and exchange orientation were significantly and negatively correlated in this study. This may be because scoring high on trust and low on exchange orientation are both considered to be part of healthy romantic relationships (Collins, 1996; Zak, 1998). This correlation may have also been made stronger by the fact that both scales were measuring dimensions of dyadic relationships, unlike the view of other scale, which measures individual qualities and propensities.

Hypothesis four, that trust is a mediating variable between view of others and exchange orientation, was not supported by these results. Trust cannot serve as a mediating variable if there is no relationship between view of others and exchange orientation. One explanation for this finding is that the three scales used to measure view of others actually measure some aspect of trust other than the dyadic trust of romantic
relationships. Feeney and Noller (1994) state that they designed their scale to be usable with adolescents who have had little or no experience with romantic relationships. It is important to note here that while the three scales used to assess view of others focus on a generalized interpersonal trust, in that the other person may be a friend or family member, the Trust and Exchange Orientation Scales focus more exclusively on dyadic trust in romantic relationships. Holmes and Rempel (1989) discuss the differences between generalized and dyadic romantic trust, and these differences may account for some of the findings. It may be that there are actually several different aspects of trust, and measuring two of these aspects rather than focusing on one type may have skewed the results.

Very few differences were found for gender. This is consistent with the previous research (Baldwin et al., 1996; Murstein et al., 1977; Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985; Zak et al., 1998). The only significant difference found was the relationship between Discomfort and Relationships as Secondary. According to these results, women who are comfortable with closeness are more likely to view their relationships as primary and, conversely, women who are uncomfortable with closeness are less likely to make their relationships primary. These descriptions are very similar to the descriptions in the attachment literature: people with a secure attachment style are more likely to be comfortable with closeness and therefore focus on their relationships, while avoidant (both dismissing and fearful) type people are more likely to feel uncomfortable in close relationships and therefore place the importance of the relationship as secondary. It is especially interesting, given this interpretation, that the same pattern did not hold true for men. The correlation between discomfort with closeness and relationships as secondary
was not significant for men. It is possible that the men who participated in the survey did not fit the stereotypical patterns of attachment, or that men do not allow their level of comfort or discomfort to affect the priority they give to the relationship.

**Limitations**

There were several limitations to this study. The first was that it was limited to college students, primarily undergraduates. The second problem is that this survey was limited by time and money to a cross-sectional and non-random sampling approach. It is possible that stronger results may be gathered by using a longitudinal study in the future. The third problem was that only 22 males responded to the survey, which may increase the difficulty in finding a significant association where one actually exists.

Another common cause for concern was the low response rate – only 15.6% of the surveys distributed were returned. There may have been some reason that the few people who returned their surveys did so, while the rest did not. Those people who returned the surveys may have been more trusting, more secure, or merely in a relationship. It is impossible to determine the differences between those people who did return the surveys and those who did not, but this may have unintentionally biased the results.

With regard to the trust and exchange orientation measures, only those people currently in a relationship were asked to respond, possibly biasing results to those students with a more trusting attitude, since they were currently in a romantic relationship. This may have resulted in those who responded scoring higher than usual on the trust scale and the exchange orientation scale. This bias might have occurred due
to the fact that people were trusting enough to be in a relationship, or that the relationship made them more trusting. It was not possible to determine which during the course of this study.

Another limitation to be accounted for occurred due to the use of scales that measured different types of relationships. Future research should strongly consider using measures that assess the same level of relationship regardless of what type of relationship that is (i.e., friendship, familial, romantic, etc.).

Implications

Previous to this study, the relationship between exchange orientation and view of others, as discussed in the attachment literature, had never been addressed. According to the results of this study, many previously noted relationships between attachment styles and other variables may be due to trust, rather than attachment style. Future research may wish to consider examining trust separately from attachment styles in order to verify that the findings are directly related to attachment style, and are not merely a result of trust being included in the analysis with attachment.

Another direction for future research is to consider whether trust affects attachment style, or attachment style and view of others affect trust. Simpson (1990) implies a causal relationship in his analysis of trust and attachment, but does not attempt to determine the direction of the relationship. This may be an interesting topic for further research.

As evidenced in this study, view of others may not represent a comprehensive portrayal of attachment styles. Additional research may wish to consider studying the
relationship between attachment styles themselves and exchange orientation, as well as other variables of interest.

Conclusions

In the past twenty years, attachment theory has become a quickly growing field of academic endeavor. Rarely have the concepts remained stagnant for long, instead changing on a yearly basis. This represents just one more piece of the puzzle to be fit into the bigger framework of attachment theory.

Trust has become so intertwined with the definition of attachment styles that it is difficult to determine if many of the findings are actually due to attachment style or to trust. It may be beneficial to examine the concept of trust separately from attachment, but this would mean a modification of the existing measures used to assess attachment styles. The newest approach has been to separate view of others from view of self. While this may be of great benefit in the future to help distinguish what underlying mechanisms are at work, it appears to be far from perfect. As of yet, there is no one measure that specifically examines views of self and others in a format that can be transformed to represent the four attachment styles described by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991).

The strong correlations of view of others and exchange orientation to trust are promising in their importance. While trust was not found to be a mediator, this research still represents a taking of another step toward understanding attachment theory, as well as its relationships to other variables, including trust and exchange orientation. Attachment theory and its correlates (including views of self and others) promise to
provide a helpful theoretical framework for the examination of a wide variety of concepts in the near future.
References


Appendix A
Introduction

A study of relationships is being conducted as a thesis project. These relationships include: romantic relationships (past and present), familial relationships, close friendships, and relationships with other people important to you. Please take a moment to answer these questions. It is very important that you answer each question honestly. Responses to this survey are strictly anonymous. Please fill in the bubbles on the scantron sheet and the survey itself. Take your time and make sure your answers to the questions match the corresponding numbers on the scantron sheet. Please fill in the bubbles completely, choosing only one answer. When you have completed the questionnaire, place it in the pre-addressed envelope and return it through campus mail. Thank you for participating.

1. What is your age?
   a. 18-19
   b. 20-21
   c. 22-23
   d. 24-25
   e. 26+

2. What is your sex?
   a. Female
   b. Male

Take a moment to think about all of the most important close relationships you’ve been involved in. This could be a romantic relationship or a close relationship such as with a friend or family member. For each relationship think about: How happy or unhappy you were, and how your moods fluctuated. How much you trusted or distrusted each other. Whether you felt you were too close emotionally or not close enough. The amount of jealousy you felt. How much time you spent thinking about the relationship. How the relationship might have been better. How it ended. (Thinking about these good and bad memories of various relationships will help you answer the following questions accurately.)

3. What type of close relationship will you have in mind when answering the following questions?
   a. past romantic relationship
   b. present romantic relationship
   c. familial relationship
   d. friendship
   e. other
Appendix B
Adult Attachment Questionnaire

For the next 40 questions, show how much you agree with each of the following items by rating them on this scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Totally Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Totally Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Overall, I am a worthwhile person. 1 2 3 4 5 6
5. I am easier to get to know than most people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
6. I feel confident that other people will be there for me when I need them. 1 2 3 4 5 6
7. I prefer to depend on myself rather than other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
8. I prefer to keep to myself. 1 2 3 4 5 6
9. To ask for help is to admit that you’re a failure. 1 2 3 4 5 6
10. People’s worth should be judged by what they achieve. 1 2 3 4 5 6
11. Achieving things is more important than building relationships. 1 2 3 4 5 6
12. Doing your best is more important than getting on with others. 1 2 3 4 5 6
13. If you’ve got a job to do, you should do it no matter who gets hurt. 1 2 3 4 5 6
15. It’s important that others like me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
16. It’s important to me to avoid doing things that others won’t like. 1 2 3 4 5 6
17. I find it hard to make a decision unless I know what other people think. 1 2 3 4 5 6
18. My relationships with others are generally superficial. 1 2 3 4 5 6
19. Sometimes I think I am no good at all. 1 2 3 4 5 6
20. I find it hard to trust other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
1=Totally Disagree 2=Strongly Disagree 3=Slightly Disagree 4= Slightly Agree 5=Strongly Agree 6= Totally Agree

21. I find it difficult to depend on others. 1 2 3 4 5 6
22. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. 1 2 3 4 5 6
23. I find it relatively easy to get close to other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
24. I find it easy to trust others. 1 2 3 4 5 6
25. I feel comfortable depending on other people 1 2 3 4 5 6
26. I worry that others won't care about me as much as I care about them. 1 2 3 4 5 6
27. I worry about people getting too close. 1 2 3 4 5 6
28. I worry that I won't measure up to other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
29. I have mixed feelings about being close to others. 1 2 3 4 5 6
30. While I want to get close to others, I feel uneasy about it. 1 2 3 4 5 6
31. I wonder why people would want to be involved with me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
32. It's very important to me to have a close relationship. 1 2 3 4 5 6
33. I worry a lot about my relationships. 1 2 3 4 5 6
34. I wonder how I would cope without someone to love me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
35. I feel confident about relating to others. 1 2 3 4 5 6
36. I often feel left out or alone. 1 2 3 4 5 6
37. I often worry that I do not really fit in with other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
38. Other people have their own problems, so I don’t bother them with mine. 1 2 3 4 5 6
39. When I talk over my problems with others, I generally feel ashamed or foolish. 1 2 3 4 5 6
40. I am too busy with other activities to put much time into relationships. 1 2 3 4 5 6
1 = Totally Disagree  2 = Strongly Disagree  3 = Slightly Disagree  4 = Slightly Agree  5 = Strongly Agree  6 = Totally Agree

41. If something is bothering me, others are generally aware and concerned.  
42. I am confident that other people will like and respect me.  
43. I get frustrated when others are not available when I need them.  
44. Other people often disappoint me.
Appendix C
The Trust Scale

Please answer the following questions based on your romantic relationship(s), past or present. If you have never had a romantic relationship, please stop here and return the survey via campus mail. Thank you for your time and effort.

For those of you with romantic relationship experience (past or present), please continue to answer the rest of the questions with these relationships in mind.

75. Are you currently in a romantic relationship?
   a. Yes
   b. No

76. If you answered yes to question #75, how long has the relationship lasted – in months?
   a. 1-6
   b. 7-12
   c. 13-18
   d. 19-24
   e. 25+

Please read each of the following statements and indicate which number most adequately represents your opinion. Please fill out this scale on the survey and the scan-tron sheet provided according to your romantic relationship, if you are in one, or according to how you felt in your last romantic relationship, BEFORE it started to end.

1-------------2-------------3-------------4-------------5-------------6-------------7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Agree

77. My partner has proven to be trustworthy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

78. Whenever we have to make an important decision in a situation we have never encountered before, I know that my partner will be concerned about my welfare. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

79. Even if I don’t expect my partner to share things with me, s/he always does. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

80. I am never certain that my partner won’t do something that I dislike or that will embarrass me. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
1=Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Slightly Disagree 4=Neutral 5=Slightly Agree 6=Agree 7=Strongly Agree

81. My partner is very unpredictable. I never know how she/he will act from one day to the next.  
82. I feel very uncomfortable when my partner has to make decisions that will affect me personally.  
83. My partner is extremely dependable, especially when it comes  
84. When I am with my partner, I feel secure in facing new or unknown situations.  
85. My partner behaves in a very consistent manner.  
86. I can rely on my partner to react in a positive way when I expose my weaknesses to her/him.  
87. When I share my problems with my partner, I know she/he will respond in a loving way before I even say anything.  
88. I am sure that my partner wouldn’t cheat on me, even if there was no chance that she/he would get caught.  
89. I sometimes avoid my partner because she/he is very unpredictable and I fear saying or doing anything that might create conflict.  
90. I can rely on my partner to keep the promises she/he makes to me.  
91. Even when my partner makes excuses which sound unlikely, I am sure she/he is telling the truth.  
92. Even when I don’t know how my partner will react, I feel comfortable telling her/him anything about myself, even those things of which I am ashamed.  
93. Though times may change and the future is uncertain, I know my partner is ready and willing to offer my strength and support.
Appendix D
The Revised Exchange Orientation Scale

1=Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Slightly Disagree 4=Neutral 5=Slightly Agree 6=Agree 7=Strongly Agree

94. I usually remember if my partner owes me money or if I owe him/her money. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

95. I usually remember if I owe my partner a favor or if he/she owes me a favor. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

96. If I give my partner a ride to work or school on a regular basis, I expect him or her to repay me in some way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

97. When buying a present for my partner, I often try to remember the value of what he/she has given me in the past. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

98. If I tell my partner something personal, I expect him or her to tell me something personal. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

99. I wish my partner would show more acknowledgement when I say or do nice things for him/her. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

100. If I praise my partner for his or her accomplishments, I expect him or her to praise me for mine as well. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

101. If I take my partner out for dinner, I expect him or her to do the same for me sometime. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

102. If my partner feels entitled to an evening out with friends of either sex, I am entitled to the same. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

103. If I were to work very hard for my partner, I would expect compensation or at least recognition. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

104. If my partner were to do a chore for me (do laundry, wash my car, etc.), I would feel that I should replay such work in some way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Appendix E
The Revised Communal Orientation Scale

1=Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Slightly Disagree 4=Neutral 5=Slightly Agree 6=Agree 7=Strongly Agree

105. When making a decision, I take my partner’s needs into account, even if he/she should sometimes neglect or forget to take my needs into account. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

106. I’m very sensitive to my partner’s feelings, even if he/she is unable or unwilling to be very sensitive to my feelings. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

107. I would go out of my way to aid my partner should the need arise, without expecting repayment. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

106. I do not enjoy helping my partner, especially if he/she cannot or will not compensate me in some way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

107. I usually try to be responsive to my partner’s needs and feelings, regardless of how responsive she/he is to my needs and feelings. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

108. I usually try to help my partner solve his or her problems, without expecting anything in return. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

109. I tend to keep track of how much compassion and support my partner “gives” me. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

110. I do not tend to keep a mental record of how much time and energy my partner invests in our relationship. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Minzette Estelle Peterson was born in Dover-Foxcroft, Maine, on June 14th, 1975. From there, she moved to Maryland, then North Carolina, before returning to Maine in 1985. She received her high school diploma from Maine Central Institute in Pittsfield in 1993. After completing two years at Connecticut College in New London, she moved to Orono and attended The University of Maine to complete her Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology, with a minor in Psychology.

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