# No evidence that a hierarchy-based intervention decreases distress more than a distinction-based intervention:

# A critical reanalysis of Foody et al. (2013) and Foody et al. (2015)

# Ian Hussey

The evidential link between Relational Frame Theory (RFT) and Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) is a matter of on-going debate. Foody et al. (2013) is frequently cited as evidence of the relevance of RFT to ACT, specifically the concept of Self-as-Context. However, the failed replication study by Foody et al. (2015) typically goes uncited. Given their importance, I critically re-evaluate the results of both articles. I found many issues: Foody et al.’s (2013) central claim does not correspond with their analyses; they lacked a control condition and as such were seriously confounded by regression to the mean; and results are not robust to appropriate corrections for multiple comparisons. When I conducted new analyses that mapped onto the original claim (i.e., that the hierarchy condition reduced distress more than the distinction condition), all results were null. Taken together, results illustrate how flawed research practices and uncritical citation of results can negatively influence both theory and clinical practice.

Elsewhere, over the past decade, the Replication Crisis in psychology has raised questions about the replicability, robustness, and credibility of claims in the psychology literature (Gelman, 2016; Spellman, 2015). Although the replication crisis began in social psychology, recognition of the same systemic weaknesses, flaws and biases in our research processes have more recently also been acknowledged in clinical psychology (Leichsenring et al., 2017; Tackett et al., 2019). More recently, awareness of this issue has also spread to the behavioral research communities. In an editorial for Perspectives on Behavior Science, Hantula stated that “the ‘replication crisis’ in psychology could well be repeated in behavior science and behavior analysis. Even if it is not, it may hold some important lessons for both scientists and practitioners.”(Hantula, 2019, pp. 4-5). Encouragingly, however, the Association for Contextual Behavioral Science’s Task force on the Strategies and Tactics of Contextual Behavioral Science Research (2021) recently announced its explicit support for Open Science principles. As such, there appears to be growing support for the idea that behavioral research would be enhanced by examining and enhancing the reproducibility and credibility of its claims. As such, it seems important to reexamine the results and claims presented in Foody et al. (2013).

Foody, Barnes-Holmes, Barnes-Holmes, and Luciano (2013) reported the results of a study in which they compare the efficacy of two different interventions, both based on elements of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) (Hayes et al., 1999), for relieving experimentally-induced distress. Foody et al.’s (2013) study presented itself as a conceptual replication of a previous study by Luciano et al. (2011). Foody et al. (2013) stated that they and the study by Luciano et al. (2011) were among the first to successfully attempt to bridge the gap between ACT and RFT, specifically by recasting what ACT calls the therapeutic processes of “defusion” and “the three selves” into the more precise language of what RFT refers to as deictic relational responding (see Foody et al., 2013, Luciano et al. 2011). Specifically, Foody et al. (2013) adapted two different ultra-brief therapeutic interventions designed to decrease distress from Luciano et al. (2011). Briefly, these defined the distinction condition, in which participants were instructed to attempt to see their thoughts and feelings as distinct from their sense of self (i.e., you are not your thoughts), versus the hierarchy condition, in which participants were instructed to attempt to see their thoughts and feelings as contained by an overarching self of self (i.e., you contain your thoughts).

# The impact of Foody et al. (2013; 2015)

Foody et al. (2013) represents a key article in the on-going debate about the strength of the evidence for ACT’s core processes and their ties to basic science via RFT (see Barnes-Holmes et al., 2015; McLoughlin & Roche, 2022). At the time of writing it has 122 citations on Google Scholar, which is impressive given that it is published in a small journal that does not issue DOIs.

In addition to be being influential in terms of citation count, it is useful to understand where and how this work is cited. There are several notable examples of Foody et al. (2013) being cited as evidence for the superiority of hierarchy-based interventions over distinction-based interventions, and therefore for ACT’s concept of Self-As-Context. More generally, Foody et al. (2013) is often cited as evidence of the link between RFT and ACT. This is typically done without a) interrogating the strength of the evidence actually provided by Foody et al. (2013) or b) acknowledging that these results failed to replicate in Foody et al. (2015). It is important to recognise that, regardless of the details of Foody et al. (2013; 2015), these articles are being rendered as True by their repeated positive citation in the literature and the absence of any meaningful scepticism. I discuss several notable citations here, particularly examples in articles that are likely to influence larger audiences such as textbooks, introductions to the topic, articles by influential field leaders (including co-authors of Foody et al., 2013 and 2015), and articles advocating for the expansion of ACT training based (in part) on its links to RFT.

Foody et al. (2013; 2015) are cited in three different chapters of the recently published Oxford Handbook of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (REF). In their chapter on “Cognitive Defusion”, a key concept within ACT, Ruiz et al. (2021) state “Foody, Barnes-Holmes, Barnes-Holmes, and Luciano (2013) found that Defusion II [hierarchy] was more efficacious in reducing experimentally induced emotional distress than Defusion I [distinction].” This takes the conclusions of Foody et al. (2013) at face value without interrogating the strength of the evidence it provides for the claim. Additionally, they erroneously state “Foody, Barnes-Holmes, Barnes-Holmes, Rai, and Luciano (2015) found that protocols that included framing ongoing private events through hierarchical relations were more efficacious than those that only introduced deictic relations.” (p. 13). This mischaracterises the null results found by Foody et al. (2015) as if they support the claim.

In their chapter on “Clinical behavior analysis and RFT: Conceptualizing psychopathology and its treatment”, Luciano et al. (2022) cite Foody et al. (2013) as supportive evidence in the section on “Evidence of hierarchically framing ongoing behavior as a central relational process”. Again, this takes the conclusions of Foody et al. (2013) at face value without interrogating the strength of the evidence it actually provides for the claim. Additionally, they do not cite the failed replication by Foody et al. (2015).

In their chapter on “A primer on Relational Frame Theory”, Harte & Barnes-Holmes (2022) cite Foody et al. (2013) as a demonstration of hierarchical framing, again without interrogating the strength of the evidence it provides, and do not cite the failed replication by Foody et al. (2015). It is important to recognise that there is significant overlap in authorship between these publications, so mere unawareness of the failed replication is implausible.

Foody and colleagues’ work is also cited in other influential textbooks. In “Behavior Therapy” (REF), the chapter “The Future of Third Wave Cognitive Behavior Therapies” (Zettle & Masuda, 2022) cites both Foody et al. (2013) and Foody et al. (2015) as an illustrative example of the link between RFT and ACT. However, they do not either interrogate the strength of the evidence or mention that the latter article is a failed replication. Additionally, they cite Sierra et al. (2016) without citing or discussing the failed replication of that study by Pendrous et al. (2020).

Many other examples can be found. In their article advocating for the inclusion of ACT training in Applied Behavior Analysis curricula, Kelly & Kelly (2021) cite Foody et al. (2013) as evidence of the link between RFT and ACT. They do not examine the strength of the evidence actually provided by Foody et al. (2013) or cite the failed replication by Foody et al. (2015). In their article on the same topic, Dixon and Hayes (2022) cite both articles as supportive evidence without acknowledging that the latter is a failed replication. In their article celebrating the contributions of Murray Sidman, Law & Hayes (2021) state “understanding how to foster healthy perspective-taking seems central to establishing self-direction, independence, and values-based actions (Foody et al., 2015)”, which not only mischaracterises the nature of this failed replication but also the general nature of the study and its possible conclusions, which were not related to self-direction, independence, or values-based action.

Even replication studies, which might be expected to be more aware of the importance of citing failed replications, fall into this pattern. Gomide et al. (2024) cite Foody et al. (2013) favourably, without interrogating the strength of the evidence it provided and without citing the failed replication by Foody et al. (2015).

Of course, it is possible to find examples of more critical readings of Foody et al. (2013). Often, these come from researchers and journals that are not already strongly aligned with ACT and RFT. For example, Godbee & Kangas (2022) are more circumspect, stating “Although the differences between hierarchical [Self-as-Context] (“I am more than my experiences”) and distinction [Self-as-Context] (“I am not my experiences”) have been researched, there is limited evidence that one type is more effective than the other (Atkins & Styles, 2016; Foody et al., 2013; Foody et al., 2015).”

Is any such sceptical or critical reading of the results of Foody et al. (2013) necessary? In the next section, I briefly summarise Foody et al.’s (2013) purpose, design, results and conclusions. I then provided critiques of the evidence it presents. Lastly, I present a re-analysis of the results of both Foody et al. (2013) and Foody et al. (2015) to assess whether these studies can provide robust evidence for their claims.

# Summary of Foody et al. (2013)

## Stated relevance

Foody et al. (2013) stated the relevance of their study as follows: “The current study is among the first to attempt to target specific relational frames in the context of ACT exercises. In doing so, it fits the broader research agenda of scientific bridge building between ACT and RFT, while recognizing the difficulties inherent in the use of middle level terms, such as self as context and defusion. One of the central ways forward in dealing with middle level terms is to replace them with more functionally sound, empirically tested concepts, such as replacing the terms self as context with distinction or hierarchical deictic relations. Although the present study is only one small step in that direction, it does suggest that RFT concepts may have more clinical application than might have been previously recognized.” (Foody et al., 2013, p. 387).

## Design and method

Foody et al. (2013) employed a 3 (within time points: baseline, post distress induction, post ACT intervention) X 2 (between intervention groups: “hierarchical self as context” vs. “distinction self as context”) mixed between-within design. Three primary outcome measures were assessed at each time point: three single-item visual analogue scales (VAS) “were used as distress ratings and assessed discomfort, anxiety, and stress” (Foody et al., 2013, p. 376). Each visual analogue scale required participant to indicated “their level of distress on each scale by placing an X on a printed line that ranged from 0% (e.g., no discomfort) to 100% (e.g., very much discomfort).” (Foody et al., 2013, p. 376). Secondary outcome measures will not be considered here for brevity. Participants were assessed at baseline, completed a distress induction task, then were assessed again (post induction), then completed an ACT intervention (randomised to either a “hierarchical self as context” or “distinction self as context” exercise), and then completed the assessments again (post intervention). The analyses included 18 participants per group after exclusions.

## Hypothesis and claims

Foody et al. (2013) compared the efficacy of two interventions in relieving experimentally-induced distress. Their stated claim was that the “hierarchical self as context” intervention as more effective than the “distinction self as context” intervention, and they state that they therefore conceptually replicated the results of the original study by Luciano et al. (2011). The key statistical results they provide to support this claim are the interaction effects between time point and group on the 3 X 2 RM-ANOVAs. A statistically significant result was found for one of the three outcome measures (stress, *p* = .04; anxiety, *p* = .45, discomfort, *p* = .33). No statistical tests compared the groups at a given time point.

In their own words, they summarize their key findings as follows: “The findings demonstrated superiority of the intervention that focused on hierarchical, rather than distinction, deictic relations in terms of reducing distress.” (p. 373); “The superiority observed for the hierarchical intervention, relative to distinction, bore some overlap with the findings from the original study.” (p. 384); “The hierarchical intervention only resulted in a reduction in all three dependent measures, including a significant reduction in stress. … The lack of effect for the distinction intervention is also similar to the findings from the original [study], in which Luciano et al. found only limited effects for the defusion I intervention.” (p. 385); and “the hierarchical intervention was significantly effective only in the context of stress, and not in discomfort or anxiety (although both of these were also reduced).” (p. 385).

# Critique

## The claim does not correspond with the reported analyses

However, one could argue that even adjusted *p* values from the RM-ANOVAs are also uninformative to the actual claim that the hierarchical condition is superior to the distinction condition: by including the baseline scores, the interaction effects do not actually test the hypothesis that the interventions produce differential effects, because interaction effects could be driven by one or more of the baseline, post induction and post intervention time points. In order to support their claim, the authors would need to have reported the results of post hoc contrasts exploring these interaction effects, or to compare the post intervention conditions directly via a *t*-test. However, Foody et al. (2013) do not report any such results. Foody et al. (2013) do present mean change scores between time points for each of the visual analogue scales: “distinction resulted in a very small increase in discomfort (+.76), while hierarchy resulted in a decrease (-7.57)”; “Anxiety subsequently decreased for both conditions, although the larger change was recorded for the hierarchical intervention (distinction: -.03; hierarchy: -3.86)”; and “distinction resulted in an increase in stress (+4.71), while hierarchy reduced stress (-8.82).” (pp. 381-382). However, inferences about the population effect cannot be made on the basis of the sample means alone. As such, in summary, Foody et al. (2013) suffers from an absence of appropriate analyses to test their stated claim that the hierarchical condition is superior to the distinction condition.

There is good reason to believe that Foody et al. were aware that some form of pairwise comparisons between groups or timepoints beyond the RM-ANOVAs would be informative: because Foody, in her unpublished direct replication of their 2013 study (Foody, 2013, experiment 10) reported such pairwise comparisons between timepoints for each condition. – and claimed she found significant results where she did not (e.g., p.180).

## Results are not robust to appropriate corrections for multiple comparisons

In their abstract, Foody et al. (2013) stated that their “findings demonstrated superiority of the intervention that focused on hierarchical, rather than distinction, deictic relations in terms of reducing distress.” (p. 373). They reiterated this claim in the first paragraph of their discussion: “Nonetheless, the superiority observed for the hierarchical intervention, relative to distinction, bore some overlap with the findings from the original study.” (p. 384). However, a few paragraphs later they stated that the effect “was significantly effective only in the context of stress, and not in discomfort or anxiety” (p. 385), that is, for only one of the three outcome measures. This means that the authors made conclusions about the differential efficacy in general (i.e., on “distress”) based on just one of three measures of distress showing a significant effect.

Unfortunately, the authors did not explicitly tie these conclusions to the results of specific statistical inference tests. We can assume that these claims were based on the statistical significance of the interaction effects in three mixed within-between RM-ANOVAs that employed the outcome measures as dependent variables (in separate models), time point as within-subjects independent variable, and condition as between-groups independent variable (p. 381-382), as no other set of results in the article followed this pattern or has the same relevance to the claim. They reported that the interaction effects were significant for stress (“*p* = .04”) but not discomfort (“*p* = .45”) or anxiety (“*p* = .33”; pp. 381-382).

At this point, it is useful to note that this combination of barely-significant *p* values, small sample sizes, multiple outcome measures, and global conclusions being made on the basis of a subset of statistically significant results represent indications that the results may not be credible (REFs).

However, let us take these analyses at face value for a moment. Based on the above quotes, Foody et al.’s (2013) inferential method can be summarized as accepting their alternative hypothesis if they obtained significant results on any of the three outcome variables. Given this inference method, good statistical practice would require that these results are corrected for the familywise error rate (REF). Simply put, if one is willing to accept the alternative hypothesis on the basis of any significant result across multiple outcome measures, alpha corrections must be applied in order to keep the long run false positive rate within the nominal alpha value (e.g., 5%). Luckily, these corrections can be applied post hoc using the reported *p* values. Applying even a liberal correction method (e.g., Holm corrections, implemented using R’s p.adjust function) produces three non-significant adjusted *p* values (i.e., discomfort: *p*adj = .66, anxiety: *p*adj = .66, stress: *p*adj = .12). Using the results of their own statistical models with appropriate alpha corrections applied to their results, Foody et al.’s (2013) results therefore do not support their conclusion that the hierarchy intervention more effectively relieves distress than the distinction intervention.

## No control condition

Both the original study and the replication are seriously undermined by the lack of a (negative) control condition. Control conditions are of course needed to determine casualty within an experimental approach. Even more than usual, however, the need for a control condition becomes especially obvious when studying effects that are due to short term manipulations of mood, as in Foody et al.’s work. Mood inductions tend to produce very short lasting effects, and mood tends to return to baseline levels within a very short period of time. As such, in order to be able to differentiate between any change in mood due to the intervention vs. due to natural improvement over time, a negative control condition is needed (i.e., where participants are given no intervention).

This is not case of “hindsight is 20/20” or a post hoc call of more rigour: the authors of Foody et al. (2013, 2015) developed their distress induction procedure from work that demonstrated this natural return to baseline levels over a short period of time (e.g., 2 minutes). In an article they published the previous year which compared versions of distress induction procedures, Foody et al. (2012) cited work by Rachman et al. (1996) and van den Hout et al. (2002). Like both Foody et al. (2013) and Foody et al. (2015), these studies recorded anxiety scores using a Visual Analogue Scale, and measured affect at baseline and after a distress induction procedure. However, they also included no-intervention conditions to study the natural recovery of baseline mood. Both studies demonstrated that mood returned to baseline after a short delay (two minutes) in the absence of any intervention (Rachman et al., 1996: Hedges’ = 3.24, 95% CI [2.51, 3.97]; van den Hout et al., 2002: = 1.17, 95% CI [0.69, 1.64]). In order to allow for more direct visual comparisons between these effects, I extracted the summary statistics from Rachman et al. (1996), van den Hout et al. (2002), and Foody et al. (2013). A striking similarity in the pattern of effect across timepoints can be seen (see Figure XX). Foody et al. (2013) attribute this reduction to their interventions, but data from Rachman et al. (1996) and van den Hout et al. (2002) – both of which were cited in Foody et al. (2012) – make it clear that this improvement would have occurred either way in the absence of any intervention. As such, in the absence of a control condition, it is erroneous to conclude from Foody et al.’s (2013, 2015) results that the interventions caused reductions in distress between timepoints.

Of course, it would be appropriate to make direct comparisons between Foody et al.’s (2013, 2015) two intervention groups at the post-intervention time point and draw inferences about which one produced larger improvements in distress. Foody et al. (2013) does not report any statistical inference tests for this comparisons (e.g., a post hoc test, or an independent t-test, or an effect sizes between the conditions at this time point). Luckily, however, such tests can be conducted based on summary statistics alone. The next section therefore does this in order to provide a direct test of Foody et al.’s (2013) conclusion that the hierarchy intervention relieved more distress than the distinction intervention.

**Figure 1.** Results from no-instruction negative control conditions reported in previous studies using the distress induction procedure which were cited in Foody et al. (2012). Points represent means, error bars represent 95% Confidence Intervals.

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## Erroneous methodological details

Both studies report results from a reactions questionnaire that includes references to a car crash, e.g, “Please rate how vivid your thoughts and images were of the car accident”. However, neither study’s method reports anything to do with this. The distress induction procedure in both is stated to be requiring the participant to write out a negative self-referential thought. This fact got through peer review at two different journals.

All raw and processed data as well as R code for data processing and analyses are available (osf.io/XXX).

# Multiverse analysis

Foody et al. (2013) does not report a direct, appropriate and unconfounded statistical inference test to support their core claim that the hierarchy condition was produced lower levels of distress than the distinction condition. I therefore conducted a reanalysis to test this claim. Specifically, I aimed compare distress between the two groups at the post intervention time point using independent Welch’s *t*-tests with Hedges’ *g* standardized effect sizes (i.e., Cohen’s *d* with correction for small sample sizes).

Of course, data analysis involves multiple decisions, each of which may have more than one plausible and defendable choice. In order to understand the robustness of conclusions across multiple plausible choices, the concept of “multiverse analyses” (sometimes called “specification curves”; REFs). I will return to this analysis after first explaining how results were extracted from the articles.

## Attempts to obtain the original data

In the first instance, I attempted to obtain the original data. I contacted all authors of Foody et al. (2013) requesting the data. Unfortunately, the first author informed me that the dataset no longer exists.

## Extraction of summary statistics

Independent Welch’s *t*-tests and Hedges’ *g* effect sizes were constructed from summary statistics without access to the raw data, specifically from the sample size (*n*), mean (*M*) and standard deviation (*SD*) for each condition and outcome variable at each time point. Results for both the distinction and hierarchy conditions were extracted from Foody et al. (2013). I also extracted results for the same two conditions that were replicated in Foody et al. (2015). The two additional conditions included in Foody et al. (2015: i.e., object-distinction and object-hierarchy) were not extracted, as I focused only on the effects that were replicated. Similarly, although Foody et al. (2015) employed a second cycle of distress induction and intervention, I examined only the first phase of distress induction and intervention that replicated what was done in Foody et al. (2013).

Sample sizes after exclusions for both conditions were reported in text: “Participants were allocated randomly across two conditions denoted as distinction self as context (N= 18) and hierarchical self as context (N= 18).” (Foody et al., 1013, p. 375); “[quote]” (Foody et al., 2015, p. XX).

For the original study reported in Foody et al. (2013), means for each time point were not reported in text, only approximate values for the baseline time point (e.g., “<11”). However, (a) change scores for both conditions between the time points were reported in text (pp. 381-383) and (b) means were plotted in Figures 1 to 3. Means for the post intervention time point were therefore calculated in two different way to validate them against one another: using the mean for that time point extracted from the plots using WebPlotDigitizer (Marin et al., 2017); and using the mean for the baseline time point adding the change scores between time points reported in text. Both results produced estimate that were all less than ±0.6 (on a 0 to 100 scale), suggesting that the extracted estimates are very close to the values used to generate the plots. Given their extremely high similarity and the fewer number of steps involved in the latter (and therefore fewer opportunities for errors to be introduced, for example via rounding), I employed the estimates obtained via the XXX method for the reanalyses.

Standard Deviations for Foody et al. (2013) were recalculated from the Standard Error intervals reported in their Figures 1 to 3 and their sample sizes using the below equation. Data extraction was much simpler for Foody et al. (2015) as all means and SDs were reported in Table 2.

In order to compare differences between the distinction and hierarchy conditions at the post-intervention time point, while also acknowledging that there may be legitimate analytic

### Hypothesis tests for each outcome variable

The means, Standard Deviations, and sample sizes were then used to calculate independent Welch’s *t*-tests. This was done by calculating the Standard Errors of the differences in means (SE), *t* values (*t*), and degrees of freedom (df) using the below equations.

Hedge’s *g* effect size, a version of Cohen’s *d* with a bias correction for small sample sizes, was calculated using the following equation.

### *p* values and multiple testing corrections

When performing multiple tests of a more general hypothesis using multiple correlated outcome measures, as here where measures of anxiety, discomfort, and stress are used to make conclusions about distress more generally, researchers are typically advised to maintain the severity of their hypothesis test (i.e., their false positive rate) using familywise error corrections. Although not doing so provides a weaker test, this may still represent a legitimate choice between researchers (i.e., some may be more willing to provide a weaker test). I therefore calculated both *p* values (using *t* and df) and Bonferroni-corrected *p* values. For Hedges’ g effect sizes, I calculated both 95% Confidence Intervals and 98.33% Confidence Intervals, which correspond to the correct Bonferroni adjustment for three outcome variables (i.e., 1 – [0.05 / 3]). Both intervals were employed in the multiverse analysis to assess the robustness of conclusions to this analytic choice.

### Hypothesis tests using a pooled outcome measure of distress

As discussed previously, Foody et al. (2013) make claims in their abstract and discussion regarding the superiority of the hierarchical intervention over the distinction intervention with regard to decreasing “distress” *in general* rather than with regards to their three component outcome measures (discomfort, anxiety, and stress). Whether or not it is appropriate from a measurement perspective to treat these three ad hoc measures as valid measures of a latent “distress” variable cannot be answered without access to the original data (or possibly via new data collection). Nonetheless, it is possible to calculate a single pooled outcome measure to test this more general claim. This would also serve to avoid any potential issues with regard to how to interpret a mix of significant and non-significant results between outcome measures, as observed in Foody et al. (2013), where significant results were found for only one of three outcome measures (“stress”) but the authors made more conclusions about “distress”. I therefore I calculated pooled means for each condition by averaging them, and pooled Standard Deviations using the following formula. These were used to calculate a further set of Welch’s *t*-tests and effect sizes for both the original study and the replication.

Note that because the pooled effect size provides a single test of the hypothesis, no Bonferroni-adjusted version of the Confidence Intervals was corrected.

All four outcome measures (anxiety, discomfort, stress, and the pooled outcome measure) were employed in the multiverse analysis in order to attempt to understand the robustness of conclusions to the choice of outcome measure.

### Controlling for baseline

A common analytic decision that must be made when analysing differences between conditions after an intervention is whether or not to the control for differences at baseline (REF). Given only access to the summary statistics and not the original data (i.e., in order to estimate the correlation between time points), it was nonetheless possible to use Morris corrections (REF) to control for these differences (i.e., corrected Hedges’ = Hedges’ – Hedges’ ). Both Hedges *g* (not correcting for baseline scores) and Hedges (corrected for baseline scores) were entered into the multiverse analysis in order to assess the robustness of conclusions to this analytic choice.

## Results

Multiverse analyses involve calculating a metric under all permutations of analytic choices using data from a given underlying dataset. In this case, the outcome metric was Hedges *g* (including its variation controlling for baseline scores), and the analytic choices were 1) the outcome measure (anxiety, discomfort, stress, and pooled), 2) whether baseline scores were controlled for or not, and 3) whether corrections for familywise error rate were used to choose the width of the Confidence Interval (95% vs. 98.33%, corresponding to a Bonferroni correction for the three correlated outcomes).

Figure XX presents the results of the first multiverse analysis for the data extracted from original study by Foody et al. (2013). The upper panel presents the distribution of Hedges *g* effect sizes arranged from lowest to highest values. The lower panel presents the analytic choices that gave rise to each effect size (i.e., the one presented directly above it). Figure XX presents the results of the same multiverse analysis applied to data extracted from the replication study by Foody et al. (2015). As can be seen from the figures, specifically the failure of all Confidence Intervals to exclude the zero point, no significant differences were found between the distinction and hierarchy conditions at the post-intervention time point under any set of analytic choice in either the original study or the replication (see Figures XX and XX). That is, the results very robustly fail to support the hypothesis that there is a difference between the amount of distress relieved by the distinction vs. hierarchy conditions. This result is in strong contrast with the conclusions of Foody et al. (2013).

**Figure XX. Multiverse plot for the original study.**



**Figure XX. Multiverse plot for the replication study.**



# Discussion

The results of the reanalyses are presented in Figure XX as a flow chart. Starting from the top left, the reader can make one analytic decision at a time: starting with whether the results of Foody et al.’s (2013) RM-ANOVAs should simply be accepted on face value; if not, followed by whether merely correcting their results for multiple testing is sufficient; and if not, followed by which form of between groups effect size should be calculated. In summary, no set of analytic choices for Foody et al. (2013) followed by applying the same choice to the replication study in Foody et al. (2015) produce (a) a replicable result, and (b) all choices other than accepting Foody et al.’s (2013) RM-ANOVA results provide null results for all tests in both studies. Even for that exception, support for the hypothesis is limited to one out of three outcome measures, undermining Foody et al.’s (2013) general claim.

This is truly remarkable given the way that the results of Foody et al. (2013) are referred to in other work – i.e., as evidence for the utility of RFT to ACT, and support for the ACT model of psychotherapy.

Worryingly, other work attempting to tie RFT principles to ACT practices, such as the use of metaphor in therapy, have also been presented (Sierra et al., 2016) but have also failed to replicate (Pendrous et al., 2020; for a series of replies, in order of publication, see: Hulbert-Williams et al., 2020; Ruiz et al., 2020; Hussey, 2020).

It is a shame that the disconnect between Foody et al.’s (2013) results and claims was not caught during the peer review process.

**Figure XX. Flow chart for the interpretation of results from Foody et al. (2013) and Foody et al. (2015)**



How did this occur? Motivated reasoning is one possibility.

- Foody et al. (2013) do not report comparisons between the two timepoints that would have tested their hypothesis directly, as I do here. Interestingly, Foody and colleagues do report these same tests in other contexts (REF), raising the question of whether selective reporting was involved.

- Similarly, citations of Foody et al. (2013) are clearly biased, with twice as many citations of Foody et al.’s (2013) nominally positive result vs. the null results reported by their later replication study (Foody et al., 2015). [citation accuracy paper]

I first raised the possibility that CBS research, like many fields of psychology, may have an issue with replicability in 2017 at the ACBS world conference (REF). In the intervening years, there has been greater recognition of the scientific utility of replication studies, sharing of data and code, and other initiatves such as the use of preregistration and the Registered Report publication format that I advocated for in 2017. [eg JEAB editorialship; ACBS OS statement 2021]. I now must raise new possibilities that we must guard against: that many fields, including CBS, may have issue with not only the mere replicability of findings, but serious errors that serve to undermine and misdirect scientific knowledge and clinical practice. These errors can include but are not limited to errors in the sense of both incorrectness and omission. Errors that are likely mostly unintentional and human in nature, but which where scientific knowledge is undermined by us acting as if negligence and fraud do not exist and should be .

credibility and intertie of entire lines of work. The collective rendering by the CBS community of Foody et al. (2013)’s null findings into an incorrect but widely believed scientific truth should give us pause for thought. Some may be quick to suggest that this is a lone example, a bad apple. It may be worth recalling that similar appeals to exceptionalism were made early in the replication crisis, and yet the problems kept spreading to new areas of work people previously argued to be unaffected. We must be careful to avoid hubris here too, and instead be open to the possibility that many areas of our work are built on extremely shaky foundations.

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