

FOR REFERENCE

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

SOME CULTURAL CORRELATES  
OF AGGRESSION  
AS A RESPONSE TO FRUSTRATION

by

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of some cultural practices on the choice of aggression in responding to daily personal frustrations in Turkish society. The hypotheses were based on a modified version of the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis combined with social learning theory. The independent variables consisted of three aspects of Turkish family life: (1) the use of overtly aggressive (verbal and physical) punishment as discipline technique by parents; (2) the arbitrariness of childhood frustrations; (3) overtly aggressive modeling by the father. Two additional independent variables were; (4) agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal, which was assumed to be a central cultural value, and (5) socio-economic status. The dependent variable was the choice of aggression as a response to frustration.

It was hypothesized that aggression would be more frequently chosen as a response to frustration by subjects:

- (1) whose parents used overtly aggressive punishment as a preferred discipline technique;
- (2) whose parents used reasoning;
- (3) whose fathers serve as overtly aggressive models;
- (4) who show agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal; and
- (5) whose socioeconomic status is relatively low.

To measure the independent and dependent variables five scales were constructed which were pretested with students of Bosphorus University. These questionnaires were

administered to male adolescent students of two lycees representing two different SES levels. The data collected were subjected to Simple and Multiple Regression Analyses. All five hypotheses were supported at highly significant levels.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Aggression has become an important component of our daily life. Newspapers and mass media tell us that aggression and violence in various forms are daily events in the lives of millions of people the world over. Aggression is experienced both at the microlevel between individuals and at the macrolevel between nations. Having far-reaching consequences, it seems a topic of critical importance. If we are to control and reduce aggressiveness and the misery that follows it, we must first of all understand the conditions that foster it as well as those that inhibit it.

In our daily life we use the concept of "aggression" imprecisely. Like many psychological terms, it is a colorful concept loaded with surplus meaning. As a result, it receives almost indiscriminate usage in everyday language. Aggression may be applied to a specific action such as killing. It may also be used to refer to a category of emotional and attitudinal states such as anger or hate. It may be conceived of as a personality trait, a learned habit, a stereotyped reflex, or an underlying biological process. It may refer to motivation or intention without regard to consequences, or to the consequences (e.g. injury) without regard to motivation. In addition to all of these, there is the usual dictionary definition which is concerned mainly with the moral justification or legitimization of an act.

Also in the scientific literature there are contradictions about what kind of behavior is going to be qualified as "aggression". Over the years, several investigators have defined aggression differently. They have conceptualized it differently, and this has allowed them to pursue the study of aggression using different paths. Each of these conceptualizations has been useful for a given set of purposes. The definition that applies to children's aggression may not be effective when we study adult aggression, or the definition that applies to the "normal" population may not work when we study the psychiatric patients' aggression. In the same manner, the definition that helps us to understand animal aggression may not well apply to humans. The conceptualization about which behavioral patterns are going to be labeled as "aggression" may also differ according to the cultural standards of the society in which the behavior occurs. An overt behavior which is labeled as aggressive in the USA can be perceived as very ordinary in Turkey, or the reverse may be true.

As Bandura (1973) has noted, the study of aggression is a "semantic jungle". Many researchers have agreed on the view that it is difficult to arrive at a scientifically sound, single definition of aggression. To understand how the various definitions differ from each other and what they have in common, let us look at some of the definitions of aggression provided in literature.

Zillman (1979) has defined aggression as "an attempt to produce bodily or physical harm to another" (p.10). Investigators such as Berkowitz (1974) and Feshbach (1970) have argued that aggression must involve the "intent" to injure rather than merely inflicting harm. Buss (1961) has provided a definition which has been widely accepted; "aggression is any response that delivers noxious stimuli to

another organism" (p.1). Dollard (1939) has stated that "aggression is a response having for its goal the injury of a living organism" (p.5). Baron (1977) has defined aggression as "any form of behavior directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another human being who is motivated to avoid such treatment" (p.7).

If we review the definitions provided by researchers on this issue, we see that disagreements are seen on issues, like "physical" or "psychological" injury or both; "animate" or "inanimate" objects as the target or both; "intent to injure" or "the consequence" of the behavior etc.

As Johnson (1972) has noted, if we base a definition of aggression on whether or not physical injury takes place, then a doctor among others has also to be "aggressive". In this sense any behavior which fails to cause any physical injury is not aggressive. A tennis player can be regarded as "injuring" an inanimate object, thus aggressive; a person who commits suicide is equally aggressive. If aggressive behavior is defined in terms of anger and emotional involvement, there are many individuals who get extremely angry without ever attacking or injuring anyone. Conversely, some individuals are capable of committing hideous brutality without any emotional involvement. If aggressive behavior is defined in terms of certain acts, such as hitting, shouting, killing etc. such a definition seems to be unsatisfactory unless we know the intentions of the attacker and how the behavior is perceived by others. The problem of anchoring the definition in intentions, in turn, is that it immediately brings in mentalistic and teleological perplexities which may obscure rather than clarify the concept (Johnson, 1972). As Feshbach (1971) has pointed out, a functional analysis based on goals, on the other hand, may reveal that the same behavior can have entirely different dynamics. An individual may engage

in aggressive behavior which is instrumental in achieving a nonaggressive goal. If a definition focuses on intentions, accidentally harming someone is not considered to be an instance of aggression. But as we observe someone's behavior, we often find it difficult to know the person's true goal or intention. And, as Freud often pointed out, even the person himself may not be aware of his underlying motives. So we can not be sure whether a dentist is exhibiting his oral sadism or not. This ambiguity has led some social scientists to concentrate only on the person's behavior. They have argued that since we can never truly know a person's intentions, we should define aggression purely in terms of its effects upon another person by simply asking "did he hurt him or not?". Unfortunately, this kind of approach creates new problems. Accidents become aggression, and inept attempts at harming another person are not accepted as aggression. As Shaver (1981) has noted, social psychologists have preferred to define aggression first of all as an intentional action. In general, aggressive actions are accepted as being synonymous with aggressive intentions.

Many theorists have made the distinction between "hostile" vs. "instrumental" aggression (Baron, 1977; Feshbach, 1970). Hostile aggression is the behavior in which the primary goal is to harm or to injure the recipient. Instrumental aggression is behavior that is intended to obtain certain objectives and is not specifically produced to harm the recipient. While some theorists have found this distinction useful, others have criticized it as being wrong. Bandura (1973) has argued that both forms are aimed at achieving specific goals, even though the nature of goals may differ. Zillman (1979) has used the terms "annoyance-motivated aggression" and "incentive-motivated aggression". These terms have been criticized as distinguishing between two types of aggression while avoiding the problem of defining goals.

Because of the difficulties inherent in defining aggression and in conceptualizing the wide variety of forms that aggressive acts can take, in doing a study related to aggression it is perhaps more effective and productive to follow Geen's (1976) suggestions that the study of aggression has to be approached by adopting an "operational definition" of aggression suited to the type of aggression the researcher is dealing with. This is the approach that will be followed in the present study.

## 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this section we will review the theoretical background related to the concept of aggression. If we look at the literature we find four basic theories concerned with the aggressive behavior of human being. These are:

- 1) Psychoanalytic Theory
- 2) Ethological Theory
- 3) The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis
- 4) Social Learning Theory

These four basic approaches differ from each other on many grounds if we make a detailed analysis of their assumptions, propositions and implications. But in general, these four theoretical orientations can be subsumed under two main categories, namely those which operate within the "nature" framework and those which operate within the "nurture" framework. Psychoanalytic Theory and Ethological Theory belong to the "nature" side; the Frustration - Aggression Hypothesis and Social Learning Theory belong to the "nurture" side on the issue of aggression.

As in various domains of psychological inquiry, these two controversial perspectives have shaped the theoretical and methodological approaches of researchers concerned with aggression. If we argue by exclusion, we may say that theories

within the "nature" orientation encompass those ideas which reject culture and learning as determinant factors in the development and performance of aggressive behavior. To a "nature" theorist, the aggressive behavior is "inborn" rather than "acquired". In its extreme sense this argument accepts nature variables as those that are strictly internal rather than experiential. Thus an inner biological force seems to be selected for (through phylogenetic evolution) and to be passed on (through patterns of inheritance) to the offspring of the species. Frequently, the terms "innate" and "instinctive" are used to describe this inner force. As Cofer and Appley (1964) point out, the term "instinct" is an inherited tendency to action of a specific kind, having definite survival or biological value in the struggle for existence. Thus it seems that an instinct is conceived as a purely, physiological mechanism although the term may be used loosely as if it stood for a physical force, having a purposive form. The most mechanistic conception of an "instinct" regards it as being comprised of a group of reflexes or processes of a fixed type, energizing the muscles via outgoing nerves (Maple and Matheson, 1973).

The early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by an attempt to explain many types of human behavior by instincts. In fact, one theorist claimed to have identified 5684 behavior patterns that were instinctive (Janda and Klenke-Hamel, 1982). Two of the earliest proponents of this orientation, W. James and W. McDougall, believed that man possessed many instinctive tendencies. If we should give an example; James (1890) postulated a list of major instincts, including locomotion, vocalization, imitation, rivalry, pugnacity, sympathy, hurting, fear, acquisition, constructiveness, play, curiosity, sociability, secretiveness, cleanliness, modesty, love, jealousy and parental love. Nearly all of these instincts could be seen as playing a role in the development of aggression.

One reason for the appeal of the instinct and physiological theories of aggression is that they seem to make instances of incredible brutality understandable. The anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1968) has pointed out that there have been 14 600 wars during the 5600 years of recorded human history. During this period some 185 generations of humans have lived, but only about 10 have experienced uninterrupted peace. Although it is often difficult to define wars, and although wars vary greatly in intensity and destructiveness, this record leads many people to agree with instinct theorists that aggression and violence are inevitable.

From the aggression theories which will be discussed in the following pages, Psychoanalytic Theory and Ethological Theory represent this instinctive framework in approaching the issue of human aggression. Before discussing the "nurture" side of the subject matter, we will first consider these two basic theories operating within the "nature" framework.

### 2.1. The Psychoanalytic Theory of Aggression

As far as the social philosophical background of Psychoanalytic Theory is concerned, the propositions of this theory are in line with the Hobbesian Theory of human nature. Although Hobbes did not explicitly locate aggression in man as an organism, he emphasized the basic passion of egoism. He proposed that mankind must be regarded as in a state of "war of all against all". Man's basic was the desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death. This basic motive makes people prone to aggression. Hobbes suggested that only through a form of "social contract", each person could obtain protection from other power-seeking mortals (Hobbes, 1651, cited in Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder and Huesman, 1977).

Freudian Psychoanalytic Theory gave a boost to those who backed man's behavior being inner-determined. Freud wrote extensively on the question of psychically determined events that were directed from within the organism.

Initially, in the 1920's, Freud believed that aggression was a "primary response" to the thwarting of pleasure-seeking or pain-avoiding behavior of the organism. Originally, Freud, operating on a hedonistic principle, assumed that human behavior was regulated by two opposing sets of instincts; the sexual instincts and the self-preservative ego instincts that altered, deferred or inhibited the pleasure-strivings in the service of the reality principle. But there were certain behavioral phenomena - such as compulsive repetitions of unpleasant experiences, sadism and self-destructive actions - that could not be adequately understood in terms of this particular dualistic instinctual system. Freud therefore modified his views and adopted a new instinctual system of motivation with the opposition between two sets of instincts. Freud (1922) postulated the presence of two instincts present in all individuals; EROS, the "life instinct" aimed at enhancing and prolonging life and THANATOS, the "death instinct" continuously striving for destruction of life within the organism. By postulating the presence of EROS and THANATOS, Freud in one sense made a theoretical clarification of the universally familiar opposition between Love and Hate. With this conceptual revision, aggression has become an inborn drive rather than a by-product of thwarting libidinal strivings.

According to Freudian Theory, every person is genetically endowed with a given quantum of energy that is directed toward destructiveness and must inevitably be expressed in one form or another (Freud, 1922). In this view

of causation of aggression, the biological nature of destructive impulses is emphasized. The cruelty and a desire to hurt others seem to be a prominent feature of the human psyche. From the moment of its inception, the organism, guided by the death instinct, is slowly but inevitably driven back to its lifeless form - a state of death. Sadism and other forms of aggression represent the death instinct discharged outward; self-injurious actions are considered manifestations of the death instinct directed inward, the ultimate form of which is suicide. In Freud's system, aggression has not to be directed only to humans at all, it may find expression by being displaced to inanimate objects or household pets. If this energy is blocked or inhibited in its direct, external manifestation, it then seeks to express itself indirectly. Then, powered by libido, such a drive is the cause of war and a cause for pessimism in so far as man's future is concerned.

The pessimism implicit in such an approach to human aggression is perhaps best reflected in the letter Freud has written to Einstein (1933). When Einstein expressed his astonishment at the fact that it seemed so easy to make men enthusiastic about war and reported suspecting that there was something at work in men-an instinct for hatred and destruction, Freud completely agreed with him. Freud (1933) argued that it was a general principle that conflicts of interest between men were settled by the use of violence. Destruction satisfied an instinctual inclination and therefore it was fruitless to attempt to eliminate aggressiveness. Neither satisfaction of material needs, establishment of equality nor other improvements in the conditions of life could alter the fact of the inevitability of aggression; only the intensity and the form of it were modifiable. On this issue, according to the psychoanalytic view, human beings do not need to exclude themselves from the animal world. To begin

with, in a small human horde, it was superior muscular strength which decided who owned things and whose will should prevail. Muscular strength was soon replaced by the use of tools, but the final purpose of the fight remained the same. This regime was later on altered in the course of evolution. There was a path which led from violence to right and law. So the superior strength of a single individual could be rivalled by the union of several weak ones (L'union fait la force). But according to Freud (1933) this was still violence, ready to be directed against any individual who resists it; it followed the same final purpose.

In Freudian Theory, cultural evolution is proposed to be the means by which those instinctual impulses can be restricted and displaced. One important feature of the psychoanalytic view is that it suggests the provision of opportunities for outward discharge of the innate aggressive impulse. This proposition is implied in the ideas comprising the "catharsis" hypothesis of the theory. The idea of catharsis can be traced to the early days of the classic Greek theatre in which the purpose of great drama was not just to tell a good story, but to get the audience emotionally involved in a moral dilemma. The audience suffered along with characters like Oedipus. By the end, the audience had gone through a catharsis which left their emotions drained (Johnson, 1972). According to the catharsis hypothesis, aggressive impulses are weakened or reduced to a minimum level by substituting some form of less destructive or nondestructive behavior. As Aranson (1976) puts it, Freud believed that there are at least three ways to discharge the aggressive energy; by expending it in the form of physical activity, such as sport games, running, jumping, etc., by engaging in a nondestructive form of fantasy aggression like dreaming about hitting someone, or writing a violent story; and by engaging in direct aggression. This regulatory device is proposed by the psycho-analytic

theory for Freud (1933) maintained that when the expression of aggression is impeded, people are forced to behave destructively in order to protect themselves from self-destruction. The organism seems to preserve its own life, so to say, by destroying an extraneous one. Freud (1933) has commented that if a great portion of the death instinct remains operative within the organism, this gives rise to pathological phenomena of some sort. Thus Freud's system provides a biological justification for all the aggressive actions of man.

Another kind of justification for the aggressiveness of man is provided by the postulates of Freud (1933) which imply that one instinct is always accompanied by the other one. An action in itself is compounded by EROS and THANATOS. The satisfaction of the destructive impulses is facilitated by their mixture with others of an erotic and idealistic kind. In other words, idealistic motives serve as an excuse for destructive appetites.

Before concluding this discussion we have to mention one important point. In emphasizing the role of biological instincts, Freud's theory does not completely ignore the role of experiential factors, but their deterministic roles are underplayed. As Klein (1948) points out: "...innate aggressiveness is bound to be increased by unfavorable external circumstances and is mitigated by the love and understanding that the young child receives, and these factors continue to operate throughout the development... But destructive impulses are an integral part of mental life even in favorable circumstances..." (p.3).

## 2.2. The Ethological Theory of Aggression

Aggression as an instinctive behavior regained respectability during the 1950's and 1960's with the work of Ethologists. Their theories and studies have gained public popularity and renewed interest in the explanations of aggressive behavior in terms of an instinctive mechanism. Ethological approach is similar to the psychoanalytic approach in the sense that both, belonging to the "nature" side on the issue of aggression, propose that man's aggressive behavior is mainly determined and directed by the innate forces.

If we look at the works of some ethologists, for example Ardrey in "African Genesis" (1961) states that man has an aggressive imperative. Man is a predator whose natural instinct is to kill with a weapon. Thus Ardrey, like other proponents of the ethological approach rejects the view that man is born "tabula rasa".

One main proponent of the Ethological Theory is K.Lorenz, a Nobel Laureate. Lorenz, in his famous book "On Aggression" (1966) states that instinctual aggressive acts are the result of phylogenetically derived patterns of behavior that are built into the central nervous system. Lorenz's behavioral model is similar to the Freudian energy model. It is a hydraulic system that accounts for aggressive behavior through the effects of action-specific energy. Aggression is said to involve an instinctual system that generates its own source of aggressive energy independent of external stimulation (Bandura, 1973). This fighting urge is assumed to build up gradually until relieved by an appropriate releasing stimulus. Whenever the releasing stimulus is presented to the organism, the so-called "innate releasing mechanism" (IRM) is activated and the aggressive energy is allowed to flow (Maple and Matheson, 1973). An appropriate

releasing stimulus can be e.g. some physical feature of a conspecific, such as the color of its breast.

The aggressive energy is assumed to be preformed and preprogrammed, being a neurological behavior pattern. An important postulate of the Ethological Theory is that if the organism does not have the opportunity to act aggressively periodically, the energy will build until aggression can be elicited by less potent releasing stimuli or even in the absence of any releasing stimuli (Lorenz, 1963). Lorenz clearly believed along with Freud in the catharsis process, namely that periodical episodes of minor aggressive acts can prevent the occurrence of more destructive aggression.

Lorenz's system of aggressive behavior seems to be strongly Darwinian. Innate aggressive behavior, acquired through the long process of evolution, provides an almost instantaneous adaptation to the immediate requirements of the environment. In this sense, we may say that innate aggressive behavior is similar to the Pavlovian unconditioned response. It is worth noting that within the ethological framework, "learning" is also related to the phylogenetic process but it serves for adoptive modification of behavior through interaction between the organism and its environment. What has been learned is presumably stored in neural tissue (Janda and Klenke-Hamel, 1982). More recently Lorenz has allowed for the greater influence of learning and cultural factors on aggressive behavior. Yet in explaining how learning occurs, he adheres to a strict biological model implying that learning is performed by organic structures. The environment is only accepted as acting upon certain phylogenetic information stored in the genes.

As we have mentioned above, aggression is accepted as having survival value, by providing satisfaction of certain

basic needs such as reproduction, providing the best mate, natural selection, food-getting, territory acquisition and maintenance. Thus, as Eron et al. (1971) comment, aggression as the impulse to self-preservation is the same for Lorenz as for Hobbes. These potential benefits of aggression are realized by animals. But there is a difference which seems to differentiate human beings from the animal world. As Lorenz (1966) explains, through the evolutionary process, animals have developed aggression-inhibitions that prevent them from destroying members of their own species. The Ethologists view intra-species killing, such as human warfare, as an anomaly of evolution. The explanation for this phenomenon in human beings is provided by Lorenz (1966) as follows; man lacks the physical structure to kill others. Because man's physical make-up is puny and harmless he also lacks the innate safety mechanisms that prevent animals from abusing their lethal powers against intraspecifics. Because man lacks natural weapons, he has developed insufficient built-in inhibitors. In man, these mechanisms presumably have been rendered ineffective by the comparative rapid advance of cultural evolution to outstrip genetic evolution. Lorenz, in his own words, states (1966) that man has "...in his hand the atom bomb, the product of his intellect, in his heart the aggressive drive inherited from his anthropoid ancestors, which the same intellect can not control..." (p.49).

Another proponent of Ethological Theory, Tinbergen (1968) also suggests that population density or overcrowding, long distance communication (which provides a possibility for external provocation of aggression) are factors which are directly attributable to cultural evolution. In addition to these, man's ability to make and use long range weapons is seen as a particularly lethal product of cultural evolution. By preventing the victim from confronting his attacker with appeasement or distress signals, they obscure the disastrous

effects of aggression and thus are responsible for the insufficient development of inhibitory mechanisms in man.

Tinbergen deviates from Lorenz's views on the issue of "spontaneity of aggression". Whereas Lorenz (1966) proposes that the mechanism for the aggressive behavior is present in the organism and is released at the appropriate time, Tinbergen (1952) holds that aggressive behavior is a reaction to environmental stimuli. His views imply that fighting derives as much from the situation as it does from the aggressive drive. In this respect, implying that aggressive behavior is by no means reflexive, Tinbergen seems to agree with Morris (1967) who suggests that aggressive acts are genetically governed responses to stimuli originating in others.

In the ethological orientation, we again confront with the pessimism as we feel in Freud's system. This results from the postulates and assumptions that aggression is an inevitable drive, having the property of being self-generating rather than reactive to external conditions. Lorenz (1966) recommends that aggression can be controlled by being directed toward substitute targets and in sublimated forms as provided by international competitive sports.

The instinctual theories of aggression have received a great deal of criticism from psychologists and other related social scientists. It is beyond the scope of this study to include all the empirical and theoretical research which presents contradicting evidence and propositions. But it seems worthwhile to mention some of the major ones:

The criticisms stress the idea that the concept of "instinct" applied to man, whether used by Freudians or Ethologists is unproductive scientifically because it explains

nothing. Also, it is said that labeling aggressiveness as "human nature" connotes immutability and behavior so classified is placed beyond the limits of scientific investigation. Moreover, critiques agree on the view that this exercise is tautologous because if an emitted behavior is labelled aggressive, and the aggressive behavior is said to be the result of an aggression instinct, we have two concepts where only one is needed (Eron, Walder and Lefkowitz, 1971).

Freud's interpretation of self-injurious acts as being the manifestations of Thanatos is also subjected to criticism. Learning Theorists like Bandura (1973) point out that by temporal arrangements of positive and negative outcomes, one can cause any organism to engage in self-hurtful behavior. They state that man's most detrimental actions such as excessive drinking, overeating and other addictive behaviors are maintained by their immediate reinforcing effects and not because of the influence of Thanatos. Evidence provided by Bandura (1973) has demonstrated that self-injurious acts in humans can be turned off and on by varying their immediate consequences which provides support for the view that such behavior is under external (social) rather than instinctual control.

Gillespie (1971) criticizes Psychoanalytic Theory for not having provided evidence for a physiological drive mechanism of aggression and concludes that the drive mechanism assumed to exist is only a "construct".

Critics also agree on the fact that there are as yet not convincing genetic data to explain the hereditary transmission of the same amount of aggressive instinct in human beings (Montagu, 1968).

Certain aspects of Lorenz's Theory are well accepted. Many Ethologists have presented strong evidence for the existence of releasing mechanisms in lower animals (e.g. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1970; Tinbergen, 1951). That the existence of such mechanisms demonstrates that aggression is instinctive however, is accepted by the critics as a matter of conjecture. Many biologists and psychologists believe that learning factors have not been convincingly ruled out (e.g. Lehrman, 1970; Schneirla, 1959; Zillman, 1979).

Lorenz's generalizations from animals to people have been supported by some psychologists but questioned by many others. Some theorists like D.Morris (1967) have confirmed that there are both releasing and inhibitory mechanisms for humans. Others like Zillman (1979) reject this idea. The critiques consistently remind us of a principle that is well accepted among behavioral scientists and which holds that as we move up the scale from the lower to the higher animals, learning plays an increasingly important role in the development of all kinds of behavior, including aggression.

The motivational model presented by both Freud and Lorenz is further criticized by Hinde (1960), Lehrman (1953) and Scott (1972) who point out that there exists no neuro-physiological evidence that functional activities generate their own motivating energy which accumulate with time. They stress that there isn't any means by which energy can become "dammed up" in the nervous system, forcefully discharging without external elicitation or spelling over to brain centers controlling other activities. Bandura (1973) criticizes the conceptual status of an instinctual drive as being especially dubious, if it is presented as an autonomous energy system, as in the case of the aggression instincts posited by Freud and Lorenz; the innate drives usually have an identifiable source such as food deprivation in hunger, water deprivation

in thirst and gonadal hormones and evocative external stimuli in sexual urges.

If we briefly review what is known about the physiological basis of aggression, we see that certain areas of the brain seem to be associated with aggressive behavior in both animals and humans. The practice of psychosurgery with violent people has provided some information on this issue. Also inhibitory areas of the brain have been identified. Delgado (1967) has provided evidence of this by stopping a charging bull in his tracks through remote control stimulation of the bull's brain. While there appears to be little doubt that certain areas of the brain located in the limbic system are associated with the stimulation and inhibition of aggressive behavior, the critics conclude that the evidence does not allow us to say that these areas of the brain are "the" source of aggressive behavior. For example, Scherer, Abeles and Fischer (1975) argue that stimulation of a particular area results in pain, fear etc. and that these reactions provoke aggressive behavior. As Valenstein (1973) suggests, in a case like Delgado's charging bull, perhaps motor behavior that is incompatible with attacking was elicited. The most reasonable conclusion seems to be that certain brain areas play a role in aggressive behavior, but are not its unique source and that learning plays also an important role.

Eron, walder and Lefkowitz (1971) argue that the Ethologists' proposition about the instinctive inhibition against killing may also be stated in "learning" terms. The sight of slaughter is an aversive consequence that serves to diminish the probability that the response (aggression) will occur.

Much of the Ethologists' propositions were derived from "isolation experiments". In these experiments, the animal

is raised apart from others. If in the absence of stimulation from species - mates the animal shows the particular aggressive behavior unique to its species, the behavior is said to be innate; that is no learning or imitation is necessary for it to occur. Lehrman (1953) stresses that the practice of component activities which is never completely controlled in those experiments can make a possible contribution to the development of supposedly innate aggressive patterns. Experiments by Kuo (1960) have also provided significant evidence which contradicts the instinctive view of aggression. These experiments have shown that the different rearing conditions produce cats different in nature. Aggressive modeling has converted 82% of the pacifistic cats with isolation background into vigorous rat killers; but even the power of example and severe hunger could not induce rat-raised kittens to attack rats (only 7% did so). Kuo, based on these observations has concluded that the higher the evolutionary development of a species, the greater is its plasticity (1960). This finding also shapes a critique against the inevitability of aggression. In general, the fact that the propensity of laboratory animals to behave aggressively can be altered by differential maternal handling during the nursing period, is accepted by the critics as questioning the generality of the influence of genetic factors (Fredericson and Birnbau, 1954; Denenberg, 1970).

Montagu (1968) Criticizes Lorenz for making many generalizations from animal to human behavior. Bandura (1973) comments that lower species usually come equipped with rudimentary preformed habits and high initial susceptibility to modeling influences. By contrast, man is furnished with few inborn habits, but with vast potentialities for learning. It seems that advanced information -processing capacities render human behavior more subject to social and cognitive control rather than instinctive control. Innate releasing and

inhibitory mechanisms have been largely replaced by cortical control. For these reasons, causal relationships established in lower species may be misleading, when applied to man without empirical confirmation of the equivalence. Interspecies studies of the mechanisms governing sexual behavior provide an excellent illustration of this point; hormonal control of sexual behavior decreases with advancing evolutionary status (Beach, 1969; Ford and Beach, 1951).

The Catharsis Hypothesis has been subjected to a great deal of experimental tests. A few studies found it sound (Doob and Wood, 1972; Rosenbaum and Decharms, 1960). Several other studies, however, suggest just the opposite. It seems that one aggressive act rather than reducing aggression may serve to increase it (Geen, Stonner and Shope, 1975; Berkowitz, 1971; Feshbach 1955; Kahn, 1966; Liebert and Baron, 1972; McIntyre and Teevan, 1972; Dominick and Greenberg, 1972). One simple test of the hypothesis (which implies that substitute activities such as competitive sports are important to keep the level of aggressive energy down) is to see whether athletes in competitive or aggressive sports or outdoors-men are more peaceful fellows than office employees. There are not many studies, but a review of the available evidence indicates that these people do not have either weaker aggressive inclinations, or less concern about their hostile tendencies after engaging in socially sanctioned aggressive sports (Berkowitz, 1962). The idea that combative sports drain off aggressive energy, might lead us to expect that cultures with aggressive sports would be less warlike. An Anthropologist R. Sipes (1973) tested this proposition. Contrary to the Catharsis Hypothesis, he found that those cultures which engaged in wars also had aggressive sports. In a review of experimental research on this issue, Quany (1976) has concluded that aggressive responses can have a cathartic effect, but only for individuals who have a history

of being reinforced for responding in such a way. Further evidence for this view is provided by Jakobi, Selg and Belschner (1971). Catharsis, if evaluated from a Learning Theory perspective can be seen as functioning as a reinforcement. Since tension reduction is usually considered to be a reinforcer, a cathartic effect of an overtly aggressive act will actually reinforce this behavior. Thus, catharsis may decrease aggressive motivation in the short run, but actually increase it in the long run. Kaufmann (1970) points out that if catharsis really worked we should require all children to be maximally exposed to violence and bloodshed e.g. on television in an effort to reduce crime and delinquency. In the same vein, we should be able to reduce sexual desire by exposure to erotic stimuli. Similarly the evidence for general cathartic effects through the vicarious experience of aggression (e.g. watching violent television shows) does not support the Catharsis Hypothesis of the instinctual theories.

The instinct theories in general are heavily criticized for having ignored the role of learning in shaping aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1973; Berkowitz, 1971; Feshbach, 1970; Kaufmann, 1970). As Montagu (1968) comments, these theories have ignored man's unique ontogenetic development and the approximately one million years of his cultural evolution. These are exactly the points which are emphasized by the "nurture" theorists.

The "nurture" theories differ from the "nature" theories in the conceptualization of the motivational system of aggressive behavior in humans. They accept the importance of the genetic endowment, but they emphasize the role of learning and external factors in the development, acquisition and maintenance of human behavior in general, of aggressive behavior in particular. They stress the relevance of the past history of the individual, of the socialization experiences, the role

of current, past and future factors on the aggressive behavior. The general "nurture" approach is reflected in the proposition of the cultural anthropologist Alland (1972) who notes that, although regulated by genetic limitations, human development is mainly sociopsychological. The "nurture" theories, emphasizing the modifiability of the aggressive behavior, present us a more optimistic view of human nature if compared with the instinct theories.

### 2.3. The Frustration-Aggression Theory of Aggression

The historical background of the Frustration Aggression Hypothesis can be traced to W. James, W. McDougall and Freud. As Dollard et al. (1939) point out, it can also be traced to Marxist Theory. When Marxists have described the dynamic human interrelationships involved in the class struggle, and in the preservation and destruction of the state, they have unwittingly introduced a psychological system including the assumption that aggression is a response to frustration. Among the many research projects, stimulated to establish a relationship between frustration and aggression, was a study of lynchings in the American South between 1882 and 1930. The researchers found significant negative relationships year by year between the number of lynchings in the South and several indices of economic conditions, including the price of cotton. There were relatively few lynchings in years when the price of cotton was high, and relatively many lynchings when the price of cotton was low (Hovland and Sears, 1940).

Another sociological, political support for the existence of the Frustration. Aggression relationship is provided by Dollard et al (1939) in saying that "...in reference to Germany it was clear that almost every German in post-war Germany experienced at least some of various frustrations personally; it is clear that aggression would

increase and would be expressed in one form or another. Direct aggression toward the allies was not possible, such a response had already failed and increased the strength of instigation to aggression... The middle and upper classes of German society soon realized that display of aggression against state and social order would threaten their own position... The Jews were made ideal victims for the aggression of the German people. It was easy for the Nazi propagandist to suggest that Jews and Jews alone were economic rivals, as well as to identify Jews as the outgroup which should be hated. German persecution of the Jews, in short, is aggression, caused by various frustrations, that has been displaced from the agents really responsible for the frustration..." (p.154-155).

In essence, as Lawson (1965) has noted, this theory represents an attempt to translate into formal terms the ideas that were to be found in the early writings of Freud. Freud (1917) made the point that aggression would always occur as a basic reaction to frustrating circumstances whenever pleasure-seeking or pain-avoiding behavior is blocked. An important point to mention is that the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis, although seeming very similar to Freudian views, differs from it in that it rejects the "instincts" as driving forces. In an effort to solve the motivational problem, it is accepted that the aggressive response is elicited by the frustration, not impelled by the drive. According to this orientation, man is motivated to behave aggressively by a frustration-produced drive rather than by an innate aggressive force as postulated in the nativistic theories discussed before. As Janis, Mahl, Kagan and Holt (1969) have noted, within this framework reflective emotional reactions have been differentiated from an internally aroused emotional reaction which stems from a predisposition.

The influence of Psychoanalytic Theory on the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis is best reflected by the assumption of the hypothesis implying that the aggressive drive which is produced by a frustration is reduced by the act of aggression. This process is the same cathartic process defended within the psychoanalytic system.

The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis was originally developed by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears in 1939. The basis of this theory consisted of two seemingly very straight forward propositions:

- 1) The occurrence of frustration always increases the tendency for an organism to respond aggressively.
- 2) Whenever an organism responds aggressively this is evidence of previous occurrence of frustration (Dollard, et al., 1939).

As for as the fundamental concepts of the hypothesis are concerned;

- \* An "instigator" is some antecedent condition of which the predicted response is the consequence.
- \* An act which terminates a predicted sequence is called a "goal-response".
- \* An interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behavior sequence is called a "frustration". In order to say that a frustration exists, we have to specify two things:
  - a) that the organism could have been expected to perform certain acts and,
  - b) that these acts have been prevented from occurring.

\* Finally, any sequence of behavior, the goal-response of which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed is called "aggression" (Dollard et al., 1939). The hypothesis implies that aggression is not always manifested in overt movements but may exist as the content of fantasy or dream or even a well-thought plan of revenge. It may be directed toward the object which is perceived as causing the frustration or it may be displaced to some innocent source or even toward self, as in masochism, martyrdom and suicide. The target of aggression may be animate or inanimate.

The hypothesis, in other words, states that the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. Thus frustration and aggression are causally related to each other. Dollard et al. (1939) discussed four main classes of factors that determine the specific form that aggression might take as a result to frustration. To understand the propositions of this approach we will briefly discuss these conditions;

The first set of conditions are those which affect the "strength" of the tendency to respond aggressively to frustration. These can be summarized as follows:

- a) The greater the strength of the goal-response sequence interfered with, the greater would be the tendency toward aggression.
- b) The greater the amount of interference with the goal-response, the greater would be the tendency toward aggression.
- c) The more frustrated response sequences occurring over a period of time, the greater would be the tendency toward aggression.

The second set of conditions reflect the proponents' realization that the environment (organismic and inanimate both) does not take aggression passively. Aggressive responses are frequently punished. This inhibits the expression of aggression. Thus the degree to which aggression will be expressed—at least overtly—is a function of the amount of punishment expected for the particular aggressive act. Combining this principle with others, Dollard et al. (1939) have made the assumption that the positive and negative tendencies toward aggression summated algebraically determine whether aggression would occur overtly.

The third set of conditions refer to factors determining whether aggression will be direct or indirect. The strongest aggressive tendency is directed toward the agent perceived as the source of frustration. Less direct forms of aggression are less strongly aroused by frustration. But the most direct form of aggression may be the most strongly inhibited one. When this is the case, indirect forms of aggression will occur. In general this is called "displacement of aggression" (a term invented by Freud).

The fourth set of conditions imply that the successful occurrence of aggression is itself reinforcing (in psychoanalytic terms this is called catharsis if it leads to a reduction in the aggressive drive). Combining the principles of displacement and catharsis Dollard et al. reach at the final conclusion that there is an inverse relationship between the tendency of different forms of aggression to occur. As one form is inhibited, others are strengthened; when one form occurs, others are weakened.

The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis as it was initially formulated encountered almost immediate criticism which finally led the Yale Group (Miller et al.) to reformulate

the hypothesis in 1941. Before looking at the revised form of the hypothesis, we have to discuss the criticism which have contributed to the elaboration of the hypothesis in particular and to the psychological inquiry in general, by stimulating a great deal of research and by providing tremendous empirical data on the issue of aggression as related to frustration.

One main criticism has come from Kaufmann (1970) who comments that the hypothesis tends to be tautological. Since it is postulated that frustration is an inner state occurring when the organism is thwarted, there is no reliable way to measure this condition independent of some overt responses such as aggression. However, if in order to demonstrate the existence of frustration we have to demonstrate in each instance an act of aggression (or some other act in a hierarchy of responses), then we gain little knowledge or predictive accuracy from such post facto reasoning.

A majority of the criticisms directed at the hypothesis have focused on the nature of responses to frustration. Anthropologists (e.g. Bateson, 1941) have stressed that in some cultures, aggression is by no means a typical response to frustration.

Barker, Dembo and Lewin (1941) and Wright (1942) have demonstrated that young children are inclined to regress rather than to aggress, when frustrated. By relying on Freud's suggestions that frustration can cause an individual to revert to modes of action that had characterized his behavior at an earlier developmental stage, they have formulated the "Frustration-Regression Hypothesis". Maier (1949) has postulated a "Frustration-Fixation Hypothesis" which implies that the basic characteristic of behavior in a truly frustrating situation is that it becomes "fixated". Fixated behavior in this case is considered as an end in itself; it

does not arise because of ordinary reinforcement or motivational factors.

It has been shown that frustration can lead to "constructive" responses (Davitz, 1952). On the other hand, Mischel (1981) has demonstrated that frustration can result in the impairment of the quality of performance". Hiroto (1974) has suggested that there may be "withdrawal" reactions which are characterized by seeming emotional indifference. As Child and Waterhouse (1952) have commented also "primitivization" may occur in cases when frustration interferes with attention, thinking or other mental processes. Child and Waterhouse have also demonstrated that "distraction" effects can be shown when the person switches to an irrelevant activity instead of pursuing the original task.

As Mischel (1981) comments, the criticisms the hypothesis has been target to, converge on the view that the standard explanation provided by the hypothesis is insufficient for prediction whether the person will respond aggressively or not when frustrated.

Several critiques have indicated that only some kinds of frustration evoke aggressive behavior and others do not. Pastore (1952) has emphasized the role of the "justifiability" of the frustration in determining whether or not an aggressive response will occur. Baron (1977) has also provided empirical evidence that thwartings that appear unwarranted and arbitrary elicit more aggression than those for which a reasonable excuse exists. Thus the cognitions of the frustrated person have been found very much relevant to the response type he/she will choose. Zillman (1979), in an extensive review of criticisms of the hypothesis, has come to the conclusion that when frustration is perceived as arbitrary or unexpected, the victim will interpret it as a personal attack. And it is when

frustration is compounded with a personal attack, it is likely to lead to aggressive behavior. Experiments using similar situations have confirmed these suggestions (Maslow, 1941; Rosenzweig, 1965; Buss, 1963; Mallick and McCandless, 1966; Worchel, 1974). Brown and Herrnstein (1975) have introduced the concept of "illegitimate disappointment of legitimate expectations" to describe this phenomenon.

Interpersonal cues suggesting that aggressiveness will be rewarded rather than punished have been found to encourage the choice of aggression among response types when frustrated (Mischel, 1981). Thibaut and Riecken (1955) have stressed the importance of "authoritarianism" and "status positions" on the production of aggression as a response to frustration. Zimbardo (1969) has drawn attention to the fact that when persons are "deindividualized" they become more likely aggressive, impulsive and punitive when frustrated.

Besides these, some investigators have found that frustration may even serve to reduce aggressive tendencies on occasion (Gentry, 1970; Rule and Hewitt, 1971). It has been also shown that aggressive reactions can occur without prior frustration (Berkowitz, 1965). This part of the hypothesis is attacked by several learning theorists who question whether aggression could not occur because of other reasons like learning that is reinforcing its own right (not in reducing frustration) in particular situations. Learning Theorists have criticized the hypothesis because it assigns drive-like properties to aggressiveness whereas the Learning Theorists have considered it as a learned response pattern (e.g. Bandura, 1973).

Having been attacked by so many criticisms, Miller et al. (1941) have rephrased the hypothesis into its final form which states that "...frustration produces instigations to a

number of different responses one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression..." (p.338). It is further argued that responses which are incompatible with aggression, if sufficiently instigated, may prevent the actual occurrence of acts of aggression. Thus in a hierarchy of responses, if aggression is the strongest one, it will be the first response to occur.

As Bandura (1973) states, in this latter modification of the hypothesis, aggression is still considered the naturally dominant response to frustration. But in general it is accepted that nonaggressive responses can occur, if aggressive behavior had previously been eliminated through punishment or nonreward. Frustration nevertheless continues to be regarded as an inevitable cause of aggression. The Social Learning Theorists argue against this by saying that whenever an act of aggression occurs, it is reasonable to search for other environmental reinforcing conditions as much as we look for frustration. They continue to criticize the approach because it ignores the possibility of several other factors presumably affecting the link between frustration and aggression.

The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis by stimulating so much criticism, has contributed to the psychological inquiry at both the theoretical and empirical levels. The hypothesis is used by many researchers who have integrated it into Social Learning Theory. The most persistent user has been R.R.Sears. He has integrated the ideas of this hypothesis into socialization research in general and into aggression development in children in particular (e.g. Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957). Another important contribution of the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis, worthy of mention here, has been in the field of Social Psychology (e.g. Berkowitz, 1962). The suggestion by Dollard et al. of how such frustrative factors as economic depression or repressive forms of government can

lead one social group to aggress against another seem to have continued until now to be supported.

#### 2.4. The Social Learning Theory of Aggression

With the Social Learning Approach the focus on aggression research has shifted from hypothesized inner determinants of aggressive behavior to a detailed examination of external influences on responsiveness. Researchers have repeatedly demonstrated that response patterns generally attributed to underlying forces can be induced, eliminated and reinstated simply by varying external sources of influence. The Social Learning Theorists stress that aggressive behavior is a function of its consequences as well as of its antecedents. They seek the external rather than internal impellers to aggression. The major proponent of this view, A. Bandura (1973), in his own words, states that "...in predicting the occurrence of aggression, one should be concerned with predisposing conditions rather than with predisposed individuals..." (p.5).

One important thing to mention is that Social Learning Theory, by emphasizing the external control of behavior, stresses the view that man is neither driven by inner forces nor directed helplessly by environmental factors. According to this theory, psychological functioning is best understood in terms of continuous reciprocal interaction between behavior and its controlling conditions. There seems to be a two-way causal process, in the sense that behavior partly creates the environment and the resultant environment in turn influences the behavior. This view, while not denying the possible biological underpinnings of aggressive behavior, concentrates on the importance of "experience" (i.e. learning) in the causation and mode of expression of aggression.

Social Learning Theorists (e.g. Bandura and Walters, 1963) propose that accurate understanding and prediction of aggressive behavior requires knowledge about the individual's learned responses to thwartings, about his learned inhibitions or reinforcements throughout the socialization process, about the types of reactions modeled by influential figures, about social sanctions for aggressive behavior, about the likelihood of counteraggression, about the cognitions of the individual about the situational factors, about the self-evaluative reactions of the aggressor's experiences whenever he hurts people and about his level of tolerance for frustration etc.

Bandura stresses the importance of "observational learning" (or modeling) and of "direct experience" on the development of aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1973).

As applied to aggression, the "Modeling" principle of Social Learning Theory proposes that observation of aggressive social models, either in real life or in fantasy productions, increases the probability that the observers will behave in an aggressive manner if the model is rewarded or does not receive punishment for the aggressive behavior. Man's capacity to learn from observation enables him to acquire complex patterns of behavior, including aggression, by watching the performances of exemplary models. In observational learning, according to Bandura and Walters (1963), two processes are at work. The first process has to do with the person's learning of new responses not previously in this repertory. The second process is disinhibitory; observation of an aggressive model weakens the person's inhibitory tendencies and leads him to make aggressive responses already in his repertory. This second process immediately raises the question of what determines the level of, for example, a child's aggressive and inhibitory tendencies at the time he encounters the model. The Social Learning Theorists reject the possibility of any

innate aggressive potential. Rather they suggest that the level of inhibition is determined by the past history of rewards and punishments received for behaving aggressively. As Zigler and Child (1973) comment, once the modeling theorists turn their attention to the origin of variations in a child's tendency to express or inhibit aggressive behavior, they appear very similar to the acquired-drive theorists who have focused on the parent-child relation as one likely origin.

In the case of aggression, three prominent sources of observational learning are afforded to the child:

- 1) Familial influences
- 2) Cultural and subcultural influences
- 3) Symbolic modeling

As far as familial influences are concerned research has shown (e.g. McCord, McCord and Howard, 1961) that youngsters who display aggression and assaultive behavior tend much more frequently to come from families where there is much greater incidence of aggressive modeling than non-delinquent youngsters. Particularly as concerns disciplinary practices, children in these homes are furnished with an aggressive model when parents employ physical punishment.

Modeling Theorists have also demonstrated that power, status and other stimulus qualities of the model are important conditions of the effectiveness of Modeling (Epstein, 1966; Hicks, 1965).

Observational learning is considered to be relevant to the notion of "identification". This concept was developed by Freud. Freud (1923) distinguished two processes: "anaclitic identification", in which the child takes on the attributes of

the loved parent who has been the source of comfort and nurturance; "defensive identification", in which the child defends against anxiety by identifying with the aggressor. A son, fearing castration as punishment for his forbidden desires toward the mother and his hostility toward father, identifies with the father and thus secures the paternal role and power. According to Sears, Rau and Alpert (1965), the relevance of modeling to identification is that the child, by performing the acts which, in the parents' behavior repertoire, have become secondary rewards or reinforcing factors for the child, now has a mechanism by which he can reward himself. By imitating his parents, he can provide a substitute of them when they begin withdrawing affectionate interaction and nurturance from him. Bandura, Ross and Ross (1961) have shown that imitative aggression does not depend upon continued presence of the model. Thus a parent may serve as a strongly influencing model even when infrequently present.

A more important problem seems to answer the question of why the child imitates the model at all. Patterson, Littmann and Bricker (1967) have argued that not all children imitate all models all the time. Bandura (1965) suggests that both the acquisition of a response through imitation and its actual performance are influenced by a variety of motivation and reinforcement variables. New learning through modeling varies from person to person because the perceptual and cognitive determinants of overt responses are themselves variable. Perception and motivation are in turn determined by the past learning of the person and his developmental level.

Bandura (1973) makes a distinction between the "acquisition" and "performance" of the aggressive behavior and comments that if the aggressive behavior is rewarded, it will be performed. In his famous Bobo-doll experiment (Bandura, 1965), it has been shown that all children could imitate the

model's behavior when asked to do so; in other words, all children acquired the aggressive behavior; but they performed it only when they saw the model rewarded. This finding is supported by a study conducted by Dubanoski and Parton (1971).

As far as the cultural and subcultural influences are concerned, the Social Learning Theorists have stressed the role of socializers, other than parents, too. As Patterson, Ludwig and Sonada (1961) point out, reinforcement from the sociocultural environment is very much influential on the acquisition and performance of aggressive responses. The general prevalence of aggressive models in the subcultural environment is found to be very relevant to the acquisition and performance of aggressive behaviors. Whiting and Whiting (1960) suggest that cultural standards can be traced to economic needs, household composition and kinship relationships. If in the subcultural environment of a child, status is gained primarily through fighting and other physically aggressive solutions to problems, the child will imitate these modes of behavior, because individuals who are successful in aggression, are the prestigious models whose behavior is copied. Several studies have demonstrated that highest rates of aggressive behavior are found in environments where aggressive models abound and where aggressiveness is regarded as a highly valued attribute (Short, 1968; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). In the delinquent subcultures status is gained primarily through fighting prowess. There are several cross-cultural studies of aggression which provide evidence that in cultural settings where interpersonal aggression is discouraged and devalued, people tend to avoid aggressive reactions (Alland, 1972; Mead, 1935; Lantis, 1959; Turnbull, 1961; Levy, 1969). In other societies that value aggression, people tend to choose aggression as the prevailing response type (Bateson, 1936; Chagnon, 1968; Gardner and Heider, 1969). Several other studies have shown that divergent cultural practices also within the

neighbouring segments of the same society produce different attitudes toward aggression in individuals and different rates of aggression (Goodwin, 1942; Linton, 1945; Goldfrank, 1945).

The observations of several anthropological studies are in line with the propositions of the Social Learning Approach in that they imply that cultural and subcultural values, attitudes etc. influence the child-rearing practices and the whole socialization process in favor of or against aggressiveness, by providing the individuals with aggressive models or with constructive models (e.g. Sorenson, 1978).

As far as the symbolic modeling influences are concerned, this process is mainly assumed to occur through the words and pictures provided by mass media. Children, also adults, learn new ways of behaving violently, both verbally and physically, when they watch television programs. People even begin to lose their inhibitions against aggression. Aggression no longer seems bad. We can say, as far as the television shows, programs are concerned, Oscar Wilde was correct in saying that "life imitates art". Bandura (1973) states that limitless opportunities are provided by mass media to the child to view "stabbings, beatings, stampings,..." and other destructive forms of cruelty before he has reached kindergarten age. Liebert, Neale and Davidson (1973) have reported that the average American child can expect to see over 10 000 people killed on television between the ages of 5 and 15. This view is in line with a substantial body of research literature on this issue (e.g. Bandura, 1973; Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1961; Bandura and Walters, 1963). Evidence that witnessing aggressive cartoons can increase aggression in children, has been provided by Lovaas (1961) and Mussen and Rutherford (1961). In all of these studies, the aggressive behavior of the model goes unpunished or may even lead to definite rewards. This last variable has itself

been subjected to experimental tests. The general outcome is to demonstrate a facilitative effect on children's aggression when the model is rewarded and inhibiting effect when punished (Hicks, 1965).

The Social Learning Theory of aggression in general delineates four processes that govern the modeling of aggressive behavior. These are as follows: (Zigler and Child, 1973).

- 1) When the modeled acts serve as prompts or informative cues through association with past reinforcement, aggressive behavior in the observer is facilitated.
- 2) When aggressors receive approval or are even treated indifferently for their aggression, the observer receives the impression that such behavior is not only acceptable but even expected in certain circumstances. Modeled behavior of this kind serves to disinhibit the observer from his reluctance to perform an aggressive behavior.
- 3) Observing aggressive models generates emotional arousal and according to a general arousal model, aggressive responding in the observer is enhanced.
- 4) This process pertains to the stimulus-enhancing effect of particular implements being used by the model. The observer tends to use the same implements as the model.

In the same line, Prentice (1972) and Grusec (1972) have demonstrated that aggression is learned more thoroughly from observed actions than from verbal descriptions.

Although it is very much influential in acquiring aggressive behavior patterns, modeling is not the only way to develop aggressiveness. Another avenue for acquiring new modes of aggressive behavior is through "direct experience". It is possible to establish new response patterns solely on the basis of trial and error experiences. Here the aggressive behavior is directed by its consequences. Successful acts are selected from general exploratory behaviors, unsuccessful behaviors are extinguished through lack of positive reinforcement or through the application of aversive consequences. Human aggressiveness, like other forms of social behavior is regarded as being under stimulus reinforcement and cognitive control. Information about the probable consequences of the aggressive act is conveyed by environmental stimuli such as verbal communications, pictorial cues, distinctive persons, places, things or actions of others. As a result of paired experiences, formerly neutral stimuli begin to acquire motivating properties, becoming response-directive.

Another important question which the Social Learning Theory has dealt with is that, given that aggressive modes of behavior have been learned, how are they maintained? The answer is again that aggressive behavior is maintained by its consequences. It is sustained by tangible rewards, nonpunishment or symbolic reinforcers. Within the Social Learning framework, three kinds of reinforcers are emphasized which help to maintain learned aggressiveness:

- 1) External reinforcements: tangible rewards or less tangible rewards such as social and status rewards.
- 2) Vicarious reinforcements: those which people get when they observe the actions of others and the occasions on which they are rewarded, ignored or punished. It has been demonstrated that an observed reinforcement

influences behavior in much the same way as outcomes that are directly experienced (Bandura, 1971; Kanfer, 1965).

- 3) Self-reinforcement: with this concept the Social Learning Theory departs from traditional theories of reinforcement (e.g. Skinnerian approach). Here, it is suggested that at the highest level of psychological functioning, individuals regulate their own behavior by self-evaluative consequences, in self-critical ways (Bandura, 1971). If there is a conflict between environmental and self-produced evaluations, the relative strengths of self-approval and external censure determine the action. Thus aggressive behavior is regulated by cognitive control (Shuntich and Taylor, 1972; Reich and Hepps, 1972).

### 3. RELEVANCE OF CULTURE

The theoretical background of the present study is based on the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis in its modified version and its extension to the Social Learning Approach. We have taken the importance of a frustration situation as given in producing in the individual a certain kind of reaction. But as theory suggests, frustration by itself is not enough to elicit an aggressive response in the frustrated person. For this, we believe that learning is needed. We propose that, given that a person is frustrated, which response he is going to select and produce among the alternatives in the response set, depends—among other things—on this particular person's learning experiences. These in turn are very much influenced by the cultural context in which the person is socialized. The present study does emphasize the significance of the cultural environment in producing a certain kind of behavior, thus we have to discuss briefly the relevance of "culture" to our subject matter.

Culture is a main component of the social structure; it refers to all the knowledge, beliefs, customs, skills, material artifacts and values that people obtain as members of a certain society. Culture defines the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete design for living (Kluckhohn, 1951). The cultural paradigm implies how people should live their everyday lives and what makes life worth

living. It holds up certain goals as "the good life" which people should value and aspire to obtain. In addition to these, it also implies the desired, approved, legitimate ways to achieve those goals. In this sense cultural norms inculcated into the individual member proscribe and prescribe the means a person may employ to attain his/her personal goals. When a child meets his/her culture, he/she meets an organized way of life, a set of problems and also a set of problem solutions. Thus when confronted with a certain problem situation—as in the case of frustration—the individual, as a member of a certain society, —implicitly or explicitly—relies on the culturally implied standards to cope with it. The answer seems to exist already in the cultural environment.

Several researchers have referred to this general context as being influential throughout the whole life of the individual. G.H.Mead (1934) speaks of a "generalized other", a composite abstraction which serves as a transmitter of the norms of a given culture. This is a kind of social identification which shapes all the cognitions, attitudes, behaviors, value judgements, etc. of the individual. This means that the individual member of the society follows the imagined guidance of other members of the particular society by asking himself: "Now, what am I expected to feel and do in this situation?". The individual's decision process is very much influenced by the attribution of the society to his role, e.g. sex-role. These symbolically mediated generalizations can extend the social learning beyond the simple imitation of observed behaviors of individual models. This means that, in dealing with a certain problem occurring in a particular society, we have to take into account both the concrete aspects (e.g. behavioral forms) and the abstract aspects (e.g. value judgements) of the culture unique to that society. An analysis which ignores the culture-specific components of a behavioral pattern will be inadequate because it fails to

focus on the psychosocial development of the human being. As Eisenberg (1972) has stated, it seems that man is born with a genotype and concomitant morphology. What he becomes is contingent upon the interaction of these species-specific components with the "cultural envelope".

Emphasizing a socio-educational model through which the individual member of the society is indoctrinated with cultural norms, the present study stresses the view that certain characteristics of Turkish society influence its members' preferences for certain kinds of solutions to frustration situations.

If we consider the specific relationship between Frustration and Aggression within the cultural context, we may hypothesize that there are certain components of Turkish culture which contribute positively to the frustrated individual's choice of aggression rather than other types of responses to frustration. Frustration is an inevitable part of social life. The persons experience it in various forms, such as environmental and personal frustrations. Our observations of daily life in Turkish society indicate that aggression, too, is a major component of inter-personal relationships of Turkish people. Inter-personal confrontations in everyday life are often characterized by a lack of tolerance, which frequently results in aggression at the verbal and behavioral level, in direct or indirect forms.

Now, which response to frustration a member of Turkish society will choose depends on several factors operating simultaneously. To understand the behavioral pattern exhibited and also to be able to predict it, we must analyse its antecedents, the behavior itself and its consequences. All these components of an adequate analysis are strongly affected by "culture". The cultural norms of the society may imply that

aggression is the sole solution to problems, a legitimate way of need-fulfillment, an approved means for status establishment and maintenance, a tool to get public attention or a natural way of self-expression. The culture may attribute a virtue to aggression or it may devalue it.

An analysis such as mentioned above covers a very broad spectrum of elements which is beyond the scope of this study. Being aware of the significance of the socialization process, in attempting to account for the particular relationship between Frustration and Aggression, we will try to concentrate on some of the accepted practices inherent in Turkish culture as far as the socialization process is concerned. The rationale behind the choice of our independent variables is that the dominant cultural values, attitudes, expectations, etc. are reflected in the child-rearing practices, general family life and training of children with regard to certain attitudes like sex-roles. We believe that the responses people make to frustrations in everyday life are significantly affected by factors such as the type of punishment, the nature of frustrations they were subjected to in their childhood, the paternal modeling they are exposed to, their commitment to the ideal masculine personality as defined by Turkish culture and finally by their socioeconomic status.

#### 4. HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY AND THEIR JUSTIFICATION

The assumption underlying this investigation is that by considering a subject's family environment and his commitment to certain values characteristic to Turkish Culture, we can predict his preference for aggressive type of responses from the response set to frustrations.

Thus we are interested in five variables as predictors of the individual's choice in responding to daily personal frustrations:

1. The type of punishment preferred by parent as a discipline technique (verbally aggressive vs. physically aggressive vs. induction vs. withdrawal of love).
2. The nature of childhood frustrations (arbitrary vs. nonarbitrary).
3. Modeling of the father (overtly aggressive vs. non-aggressive).
4. Subject's agreement with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality (agreement vs non-agreement).
5. Perceived SES level (high vs. low).

The first three variables deal with the familial environment of the subject. The fourth variable is concerned with

a cultural value which is generally accepted as a central one in Turkish culture. These five variables are the independent variables of our study and they are assumed to be influential on the dependent variable, namely, the choice of aggression as a response to frustration.

#### 4.1. Hypothesis 1

"Those subjects whose parents used overtly aggressive (verbal and/or physical) punishment as the preferred discipline technique (as perceived by the subjects) will tend to choose aggression as a response to frustration more frequently than subjects whose parents used other discipline techniques".

As Becker (1964) has noted, aggression does appear to be fairly consistently related to certain broad dimensions of child-rearing. One relevant dimension is the "love-oriented" vs. "power-assertive" techniques of child-rearing, a dimension often simply labeled as "punitiveness". The "love-oriented" category generally includes such positive techniques as praise and reasoning and such negative techniques as showing disappointment with the child and withdrawing love. The "power-assertive" category usually includes physical punishment and in some research also included are yelling, shouting and verbal threats.

Research evidence from the child-rearing studies suggests that physical punishment is one of the antecedents of aggressive behavior, whereas nonphysical punishment is not. Power-assertive as compared to love-oriented techniques have been found to be correlated with a higher incidence of aggressive behavior in children (Hollenberg and Sperry, 1951; Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Allinsmith, 1960; Hoffman, 1960; Bandura, 1960 etc.).

The basic difference between physical punishment and

nonphysical punishment seems to be that the recipient of the physical punishment actually sees the agent performing an aggressive act. The parent is giving a demonstration of the types and varieties of aggressive behavior. The recipient of nonphysical punishment, however, is deprived, so to speak, of these sensory modes of experience. He does not see the motor behavior of the punisher.

Two kinds of identification processes are accepted as being at work when the child confronts a physically punishing parent. First of all, the children internalize their parents' standards, and secondly the parents provide their children a model. By relying on physical or verbal punishment, the parent teaches the child that yelling, shouting, procuding verbal threats, hitting, beating, spanking etc. are the specific means to achieve the desired ends. These behavioral patterns are justified in the eyes of the child because often parents are reinforced by actual success in modifying the misbehavior of the child through these kinds of techniques.

The love-oriented disciplinary techniques explain to the child how he has misbehaved, and by using reasoning they are accepted as facilitating the development of conscience and the development of internalized restraints against socially disapproved behavior. In contrast to this, physically punishing parents only achieve compliance from the child (Hoffman, 1960). Allinsmith (1960) has commented that parents following psychological disciplinary techniques —attempting to manipulate by expressing disappointment, appealing to the child's pride or arousing guilt or shame— tend to have children who display inhibited, indirect aggression. The aggression of physically punished or verbally threatened children is more direct and unrestrained.

Another important point seems to be that the parent

who practices physical and/or verbal punishment defines for the child how to behave when angry. The link between anger and aggression is inculcated into the person's cognitions by parents. Such a person comes to adopt the view that the emotional arousal called "anger" is followed by aggression. Showing overt aggression becomes the natural expression of anger. Growing in a family environment where parents do not restrain their emotional outbursts the child will not develop any anxiety about acting in an impulsive manner, thus he will not develop any anxiety about expressing aggression. This sequence of matters is probable because if a person is able to control his emotions, he will tend to minimize his emotional reactions to frustrations. Rationalization intervenes between the emotional arousal of anger and the impulsive response of aggression. Disrupting emotional reactions are thus restrained, and the person has the time lapse to try the other alternatives before aggression.

The significance of physical and verbal (aggressive) punishment by parents as a determinant of aggressive behavior in children becomes more obvious if we consider cases where aggression of the child is punished physically by parents. Various studies have been conducted on the assumption that punishment of aggression will lead to the development of aggression anxiety and thus will decrease later expression of aggression. However their results have contradicted this prediction revealing that parental (physical) punishment of aggression may even lead to heightened likelihood that the child will behave aggressively in situations outside the home (Chasdi and Lawrence, 1955; Sears et al., 1957; Bandura and Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1960 etc.). These studies provide clear evidence that physical punishment enhances rather than inhibits the expression of aggression. It seems that the saliency of a role model performing an aggressive act may alter the inhibiting effect of aggression anxiety. The intensity

of the punishment would probably have to be extremely severe for the inhibiting effect of aggression anxiety to overcome the facilitating effect of modeling. It appears that even if the primary goal of child-rearing practices is the inhibition of physical and verbal aggression, the specific parental discipline technique in achieving this is very important. If we should give an example; the parent who physically or verbally insults his child for having struck a playmate is in fact exemplifying the very behavior he is trying to eliminate. As we know, people are most influential when they are consistent in what they practice and what they preach, whereas the impact of their prescriptions is considerably weakened by discrepant modeling.

As Ulrich et al. (1965) state, physical punishment or verbal threats may act as an instigator rather than inhibitor of aggressive behavior. Since physical punishment is by definition the delivery of aversive stimulation following a response, it may be expected that social aggression will occur as an elicited reaction to such punishment. Thus the main objective of eliminating a response by punishment may have the completely unexpected effect of producing aggression by the punished organism. The important point here is that the physical punishment which seems to be simply the infliction of pain, often has more severe frustration quality, in the ego-derogation or loss of authority implied. Physical punishment is a severe frustration and frustrating events serve as instigators to aggression. It appears that the additional frustration created by the punishment itself adds one further determinant of behavior. As Sears, Rau and Alpert (1965) have argued, there occurs a process of drive facilitation, caused by nonpermissiveness for expression of aggression in the home, so there occurs a drive facilitation for such behavior outside the home. The parent only causes the aggressive behavior to be suppressed rather than eliminated altogether.

The hypothesis that children who are subjected to aggressive punishment techniques tend to show more aggression is consonant with

- a) The Psychoanalytic view that implies that the type of parent-child relationship embodied in physical punishment leads to aggression (identification with the aggressor).
- b) The Learning-drive formulation in as much as such punishment leads to frustration which results in greater aggression.
- c) The Modeling formulation in as much as the physically punishing parent provides a model emulated by the child in his own aggressive behavior.

Since the present study is conducted with adolescent male subjects who have grown up in Turkish culture, we have to look at the relevance of the particular child-rearing dimension in the Turkish family context. Although there isn't any study related to the specific relationship between the punishment type and aggression, there are some studies which help us to establish a prediction.

If we look at the Turkish family, we see that the alleged authoritarianism is somewhat different from its American variant (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1970, 1977). Unlike the typical American authoritarian personality producing family which is strict and rejecting, the typical Turkish family is said to be restrictive in discipline but warm in emotional atmosphere. Yörükoğlu (1978) has found that Turkish parents use spanking and verbal threats freely and do not feel guilty about it. This kind of discipline technique is very common so that the children accept it as a price to be paid for misbehavior. As

Arasan (1985) has reported, more than 80 % of the families confirm that they practice physical punishment. Yörükoğlu (1978) in his research on a sample of 100 primary school students in Istanbul found that more than the half of them are subjected to physical punishment at home. In these children aggressive tendencies were found to be more frequent than in those who were not physically punished. In these children, sense of self-esteem was not developed, either.

Olson (in press) has commented that there isn't classical child abuse in Turkey, but there is a lot of exercise of physical punishment. Spanking or direct verbal aggression like uttering angry talk, derogating status, commanding vigorously is frequently practiced by adults (Savaşır and Savaşır, 1974).

In Turkish society, punitive behavior toward children is actually assigned a pragmatic value by several socialization agencies besides the family. People consider it right to spank children, finding it "good" for their character. Often parents encourage teachers to do so. This fact is reflected in a proverb sometimes said to be the standard admission of a parent to his child's teacher "Eti senin, kemiği benim" (His flesh is yours, his bones are mine).

A recent investigation done by PIAR (Nokta, 1985) indicated that in a sample of 200 primary school students 74% of the children were subjected to physical punishment by their teachers in the form of pulling the ears, beating, hitting with rulers, and the like. Teachers, surveillants are expected to be strict disciplinarians including the use of corporal punishment. Though these practices may tend to change, currently the schools are loaded with punitive ideology. The overall community attitudes still imply the use of this kind of discipline. Throughout the socialization

institutions every parent or caretaker and every school master is supported normatively in the use of force for correcting the behavior of the child. The reasonableness of the force used is a matter of fact. Thus, it appears that Turkish adolescents experience a rather punitive upbringing, with the family and school ideology, supported by a retributive and punitive cultural ideology.

In general, by elementary school age, indulgence is increasingly replaced by demands for conformity through the use of physical punishment (Öztürk and Volkan, 1977). These researchers have stated that since the overt expression of aggression toward adults is strictly forbidden, such feelings have to be repressed or suppressed. Interpreting this situation from a psychodynamic perspective, the authors conclude that an identification with the aggressor would have to occur. Thus, the adolescent's use of initiative and autonomy would be inhibited and expressed through normatively accepted outlets like overvaluation of masculinity and heroism.

From the limited studies discussed briefly above, we can infer that one supposed antecedent of aggressive behavior in adolescents exists in Turkish culture. The Turkish family, by exercising aggressive punishment within the disciplinary context, may foster the production of aggressive reactions in coping with frustration situations. Given the socialization background of our adolescents, one might expect quite widespread internalization of aggressive behavioral modes. Therefore we can predict that persons who have been subjected to these kinds of treatments will show the internalized aggressive reactions in case of frustrations. Thus we suggest that there will be a strong correlation between the parents' use of overtly aggressive punishment and the subject's preference for aggression among the response alternatives available.

#### 4.2. Hypothesis 2

"Those subjects who have been arbitrarily frustrated by their parents (as perceived by subjects) will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations less frequently than subjects whose parents have used reasoning in presenting frustrations to their children".

The literature on the type of power-assertion concentrates on the "authoritarian" parent who is highly controlling, in the sense that such a parent sets rules, requirements and restrictions which are in fact all frustrating events to the child. However these controls are established by fiat. The message is "Do it because I said so!". The word "arbitrary" is the key word. In the case of arbitrary power-assertion the parent's authority is exercised with little explanation and little involvement of the child in decision making. Children of parents who frequently assert power arbitrarily have been found to be:

- a) Lacking in empathy (Feshbach, 1974).
- b) Low in self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967).
- c) Poor in internalization of moral standards, oriented toward external rewards and punishments (Hoffman and Saltzstein, 1967).
- d) Obedient; not quarrellsome, resistive, aggressive or cruel; lacking in spontaneity, affection, curiosity and originality, low in effective peer interaction (Baldwin, 1948).
- e) Weak in establishing positive relationships with peers, frequently sad in mood, somewhat withdrawn (Baumrind, 1971, 1973).
- f) Lacking independence, mid-level in social responsibility (Baumrind, 1971).

But research evidence also suggests that arbitrary power-assertion is also associated with another kind of child—the aggressive, impulsive boys of Pioneer House and the coercive children studied by Patterson (1976). The studies of juvenile delinquents tells much the same story—that they were subjected to considerable arbitrary frustrations by their parents. The researchers have interpreted these contradicting findings by suggesting that the arbitrariness of frustrations in childhood is associated with docile, unaggressive and constricted behavior only if it is accompanied by other elements such as close parental supervision and/or a reasonable level of affection. As Maccoby (1980) has noted, without these additional conditions, arbitrariness of restrictions, requirements presented to the child, is associated with both defiant and antisocial behavior.

A child's life can be considered highly frustrating for example, if parents make many rules so that the child is not allowed to touch certain objects, put feet up on the furniture, jump on beds, if the child has to adhere to strict standard table manners, to be always polite to adults. Parents continuously issue prohibitions like "No", "Stop that", "Don't touch" etc. These words provide little indication of why they want the child to do so. Baldwin (1948) has reported that these restrictions without reasoning background are associated with obedience and lack of aggression. Such individuals are timid and not tenacious in pursuing their goals. Becker (1964), in a review of a number of studies on effects of child-rearing, stresses that the effect of arbitrariness of restrictions depends on other parental attitudes. If the parents are warm and accepting, the child is likely to have an obedient, polite and unaggressive character.

As Bernstein (1964) has noted, at low SES levels, communication between the parent and child has an authoritar-

ian quality and tends to be simplified as far as the verbal reasoning component is concerned. The restricted codes of communication (compared with elaborated codes) are less informative. If we consider now two homes; a child is playing noisily in the kitchen, when the phone rings. In the first home, the mother says: "Be quiet!" or "Shut up!". In the other home, the mother says: "Would you keep quiet a minute, I want to talk on the phone!". In the first case the child is asked to comply with an uncomplicated message (which is perceived as an arbitrary frustration by the child). In the second case the child is asked to think of his behavior in relation to its effect upon another person. In status oriented families, norms of behavior are stressed with such imperatives as "You must do this because I say so!" or "Girls don't act like that!" As Bernstein (1964) reports, the restricted code of "Be quiet!" cuts off thought and offers little opportunity to relate information conveyed in the command to the context in which it occurred. In the second case mentioned above, the child is given a "why" for his mother's request and becomes more likely to ask "why" in another situation. In later life, he will search for possibilities when confronted with frustrations. Thus, in searching for reasons he will discover the arbitrariness of frustration he is exposed to, and as we have discussed earlier, frustrations are more likely to lead to aggression if they are arbitrary. So this person will tend to show aggression when confronted with an unjustified frustration.

As Baumrind (1968) has noted, there are differences between an "authoritarian" and an "authoritative" parent. The former does not consult the child about policy decisions and does not give explanations for family rules which present frustrations to the child. In contrast to the authoritative parent, an authoritarian parent does not use reasoning. Such families tend to be status oriented and the children learn

that obedience is a virtue. In such a family environment, verbal give and take is not encouraged and the reasons behind the frustrations are not shared with the child. Growing up in a family atmosphere like that, being continuously subject to arbitrary frustrations, the child gets used to this situation. He comes adopt the mentality that certain people external to him can set rules without having an identifiable reason or rationale behind them. He gets used to the idea that there can be a lot of circumstances where compliance rather than reasoning is needed. Over time he can be conditioned to do what he is commanded to, without thinking and asking why. This passivity presumably originates from the idea that life presents one with several occurrences which are beyond his own control and he can not do anything to manipulate them.

Another related issue is that such persons (who have been frustrated arbitrarily in their childhood) tend to be low in self-esteem. This is because self-esteem rests to some extent on the belief that one has the power to control the environment. Being low in self-esteem, people become passive, initiate little activity and do not have any motivation. Such an approach to problems will prevent the person from engaging in aggression, even though his perceived locus of control is external, because aggressive modes of behavior implicitly endorse the expectation of achieving the desired end through the use of force. It therefore seems reasonable to say that it is not the proper response for these kinds of persons. By not bothering himself with "why"s, such a person will not question the fairness of the treatments he is exposed to. Therefore he will not be influenced by the arbitrariness or unfairness of a frustration which in fact is expected to increase the probability of an aggressive reaction. Even if he discovers the arbitrariness of a frustration, this will not be so crucial in determining his response type, if compared with an individual who from his childhood experiences on (under authoritative parenting) has adopted the view that

every rule or restriction has to have a reason.

Now, if we are interested in using the type of childhood frustrations (arbitrary vs. nonarbitrary) as an independent variable, we have to analyse which type prevails in Turkish families and whether the additional factors mentioned in previous pages (like warmth and affection) exist within the Turkish family context. First of all, as Helling (1966) points out, in Turkey, especially in rural areas and at low SES levels, verbal communication between the parent and child which includes reasoning and causal explanations is very rare. The parents do not give a detailed explanation of events to their children, thus children are not used to questioning. Fişek (1983) comments that in Turkish culture the families tend, so to say, to punish activity, curiosity, talk and exploration whereas they reward compliance, meekness, respect and quietness. Therefore it appears that arbitrariness of childhood frustrations does exist to some extent in Turkish culture.

If we look at the literature on the Turkish family atmosphere, we see that the Turkish family is generally characterized as one where there is both strict parental control and a warm and loving parent-child relationship (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1973). With respect to discipline the general attitude can be described as controlling and protective (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981; Köknel, 1970). Affection and control seem to go together in contrast to Western families in which love tends to go with permissiveness and use of power usually implies an insufficiency of love (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1972; Fişek, 1982). The researchers on this area have commented that strict discipline does not necessarily mean lack of sincere love.

Based on these theoretical propositions, we can infer that the arbitrariness of frustrations imposed on the child

(if any), is accompanied by close parental supervision and by a high level of affection. Thus as Maccoby (1980) proposes, we may predict that the arbitrary power assertion (in the sense of arbitrary frustrating of children) of parents in Turkey will produce docile, unaggressive, constricted behavior tendencies in individuals. Hence we suggest that there will be a negative correlation between the parents' arbitrary frustrations and the subject's preference for aggression among the response alternative available.

#### 4.3. Hypothesis 3

"Those subjects whose fathers serve as an overtly aggressive model for their children will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations more frequently than subjects whose fathers do not serve as an overt aggressive model for their children".

When reviewing the literature on Social Learning Theory, we discussed the importance of the familial influence on the child's acquisition and maintenance of aggressive responses. This viewpoint implies that in studying the development and the production of aggressive habits, we have to look first of all at the primary socializing agents, who, deliberately or unintentionally, model aggressive behaviors and attitudes for the observing adolescent.

Family members are generally accepted as being the most potent models for several reasons. As Mischel (1981) has stated they are the earliest models in the child's development, they are the most enduring models and they are by far the most powerful people in child's life. They provide nurturance and control the child's resources. Bandura (1977) has demonstrated that factors like nurturance, power and similarity are important characteristics for increasing the influence and credibility of the model.

In Jones and Gerard's (1967) terms, the child has both "effect" dependence (the rewards and punishments are controlled by parents) and "information" dependence (the child's knowledge about the world is derived largely from the information provided by parents) on parents. Because of these reasons, parental attitudes and behaviors play an important role in the development of emotions (positive or negative) connected with aggressiveness.

The child or adolescent may love or hate his/her parents, but he/she is significantly influenced by them and copies their actions in a given situation (Bandura, 1977). Social Learning theorists have demonstrated that children copy their parents' habitual forms of behavior even though they harbor a strong resentment toward them (e.g. Bandura and Huston, 1961). Also McCord, McCord and Howard (1961), in their study on "The Family Correlates of Aggression in Nondelinquent Male Children", suggest that children utilize aggressive parents as models for their own behavior. They acquire inhibitions and controls as well as non-inhibitions for aggression by observing parents.

In a study of problem families, Patterson (1976) has found that aggressive behavior of the parents is often observed by the child as yielding positive results, that is the aggressive individual is seen as getting his/her own way.

Many researchers have found consistently in their studies that the same-sexed parent is preferred as the model by the child. The findings indicate that generally the boy's aggression is related to the father's and the girl's aggression is related to the mother's. Another interesting finding-related to the question of why one parent rather than the other should become the model-is that the child seems to model himself after the more mother-esteemed parent. This means

that the mother of the high-aggression-syndrome boy has a high evaluation of the father. Also, the mother of the aggressive girl (one who exhibits masculine forms of aggression) has a high evaluation of the father. So the girls imitate fathers, if the mother is low in self-esteem (Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965).

Since our subjects are male, we will concentrate on the relationship between father and son. In several studies, male children with strong restraints against aggression have been identified to have fathers who are emotionally controlled (e.g. Kaufmann, 1970). A father who derogates other people in violent terms, who graphically describes the injuries he might inflict upon them or who perhaps even attacks others physically, acts as a model for social interaction. Such a father implicitly encourages his son to "stand up for himself", "to fight back when attacked". The father's aggressive reactions both in everyday life frustration situations, in ordinary family life or in exceptional crisis periods (e.g. loss of job) are actually learning situations for the boy. They define for him the effective and proper ways of behavior in coping with stress. The boy derives indirectly philosophical support from his father for using aggression in the interpersonal confrontations. He will at least obtain a psychological (internal) reward which results from producing the same responses as his father.

An habitually hostile father is expected to be someone who has developed a particular attitude toward the various segments of the world around him. He has learned to interpret or categorize a wide variety of situations and/or people as threatening or otherwise frustrating to him. All of these mechanisms on the cognitive side of the issue may also be adopted by the son which make him prone to aggression.

Fathers can serve as aggressive models also without intending to be exceptionally aggressive. The sex-role associated with the father makes the boy to internalize his father's behavioral patterns. The father represents for the male adolescent the "masculine" personality. If the adolescent has to acquire the masculine identity he has to copy his father. Thus, especially in adolescence the focus of interest shifts from the mother to the father. Because aggressive behavior is associated with the masculine role, it is thought that a man must be able to display at least "some" aggression. Thus the boy can learn to exhibit some aggression by merely identifying with his father and taking over his role.

It has been found that if fathers are absent from home during the formative years and no suitable adult male substitute is present, the young boys do not learn to act in a thoroughly masculine fashion and thus exhibit less aggression. Sears, Pintler and Sears (1946) have shown that boys of such absent fathers tend to have a relatively lower level of aggression than boys whose fathers are not away. A similar difference has not been found between the father-absent and father-present girls. So, the researchers have concluded that boys model themselves upon their fathers who show a customary and normative amount of aggression in the society. The results of such studies have been interpreted differently by researchers who represent different theoretical orientations. The psychoanalytic interpretation of those findings has been that the father is a frustrator to the boy because of the Oedipal rivalry. His absence means the absence of the aggressor with whom the boy has to form a defensive identification. The Social Learning interpretation has been that the father's absence from the home results in an inadequate masculine identification and this deficient identification produces relatively strong restraints against aggressive behaviors in their sons. Tentative support for this explanation can be found in

data published by Sears, Pintler and Sears (1946). In Several studies it has been found that approximately half of the aggression-anxious men had no father because of death or divorce. Other empirical studies support the view that whenever the father is present, he serves as a model for the son to acquire aggressiveness (Lovaas, 1961; Brofenbrenner, 1960; Pettigrew, 1964).

In emphasizing the view that the boy's identification occurs mainly with the father, we can not ignore a great deal of empirical evidence that indicate that a child's initial identification is with the mother (Brofenbrenner, 1960; Mowrer, 1950; Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957). But researchers emphasizing the boy's identification with the father have stressed that the boy copies his father when he becomes aware of the sex-roles. Masculinity is a product of the boy's identification with the father. The primary identification theory derives considerable support from this view. The boy's aggressive father is an aggressive model who is admired by the much-loved mother. The boy acquires the adult role by adopting the father's attitudes and thus by copying his style of aggression at the same time.

As far as the relevance of such a relationship to the Turkish family is concerned, there are several reasons for predicting such a modeling effect on aggression. In Turkish society, the family is a highly influential factor throughout an individual's life. Capitalizing on the culture of relatedness the family appears to be a major reference group. The emotional dependency on the family and its general value system continues even if the material dependency ends. As Kağıtçıbaşı (1981) comments, in Turkish familial ethic dependency, relatedness and loyalty is emphasized instead of separation, individuation as in the case of Western families. The Turkish adolescents tend to live for a much longer time with their families.

Given this physical proximity, the dependency produces high degrees of conformity to familial values, attitudes and behavioral patterns. The children develop a "group-self" rather than a "self". In other words, their "self" becomes often a replica of the family's general orientation.

Concerning the male adolescent, a family member—the father— becomes salient for influencing his development. First of all, the father is a highly influential model because his credibility is high. He derives this from his high status within the family as acknowledged and respected by the other members of the family. As Fişek (1983) argues the status ordering in a traditional Turkish family as a social system assigns absolute authority to the father. If the boy evaluates the roles of the father and mother, the father is seen as the source of nurturance and power for the whole family. Words like power, strength, trust are associated with father's position. These positive attributions associated with the word "father" are also reflected in the daily usage of the word by adolescents for each other. They call a person a "baba" (father) one when they want to say that he is a person whom you can trust absolutely, who is powerful and strong. The father's superior sex-role and his being the source of economic power, playing a substantial role in the existence and survival of most families, make him in the eyes of the boy an intimate model of human behavior upon which he develops his attitudes and behavioral patterns. In doing so he may wish to take on the prestige of the father.

As Fişek (1983) has noted the Turkish father is expected to feel entitled to and responsible for monitoring the behavior of his wife and children as he sees fit. Since the cultural sanctions do not inhibit physical expression of anger, he can easily lean in that direction. According to the status ordering, the natural flow of aggression is from

husband to wife and children. The status position given to the father appears to facilitate the issue that he actually shows and freely expresses his aggression. Being alert to the cues coming from the father, the boy will internalize his behavioral modes.

In addition to the acquisition of aggressiveness, the father is also influential on how these acquired patterns of behavior are maintained. By observing the father the boy sees that he is rewarded for such kind of behavior, since the Turkish father is a person who is never punished within the familial context. Within the family environment by engaging in aggression the father probably gets his own way. This acts as a vicarious reinforcement for the son. In anticipating reward he will show the same reactions outside the home.

Another process appears to be relevant if we evaluate the relationship between the overtly aggressive reactions of the father and his son's preference for aggression in responding to daily frustrations. This is the aggression instigating effect of an overtly aggressive father. The continuous observation of such a model can create in the adolescent an instigation to aggression, conceived of as a state of emotional arousal or a readiness (at motivational level) to engage in aggression. If we should give an example; if in general the father treats the mother in an aggressive manner, the psychological outcome of witnessing this in the adolescent will be emotions leading to anger. This emotional arousal of anger predisposes the boy toward aggression that may be easily elicited by aggressive cues like a frustration situation. In addition to this, it interferes with the cognitive functions of evaluating all relevant variables in a frustration situation which can distort his evaluations pro aggression. As Öztürk and Volkan (1977) have noted the aggressive feelings toward adults have to be repressed since the Turkish child accepts

it as a matter of fact that he can not retaliate toward parents. Thus since the boy can not direct his motivated aggression toward his father, he has to channel it elsewhere. The lower or equal status persons who present him frustrations serve as proper targets of displacement, so to say, a release of tension (induced at home) takes place.

Because of the several reasons discussed above, it seems reasonable to expect that those male adolescents whose fathers exhibit an aggressive personality will tend to produce similar behaviors in appropriate situations-like frustrations. Hence we suggest that there will be a strong correlation between the subject's father's aggressive modeling and his preference for aggression among the response alternatives available.

#### 4.4. Hypothesis 4

"Those subjects who show agreement with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations more frequently than subjects who do not agree with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality".

The literature on the relationship between sex and aggression indicates clear evidence that boys consistently exhibit more aggression than girls. The studies have also demonstrated that boys show less aggression anxiety than girls. Males are generally accepted as being more ready to display direct, overt aggression and females are more remorseful after an aggressive act (Gordon and Smith, 1965; Jegard and Walters, 1960; Sears, 1961; Szegal, 1981). The researchers in this area have noted that any given obstruction to goal-directed activity may actually mean more of a deprivation to one sex than the other.

Empirical evidence provided by Frodi, Macauley and

Thome (1977) and Brodzinsky, Messer and Tew (1979) indicate that sex differences in aggressiveness can be explained on the basis of Learning Theory. These differences are generally accepted as resulting from the different socialization processes girls and boys are subjected to. There are several studies which have demonstrated that such a differential treatment of boys and girls does indeed exist (e.g. Minton, Kagan and Levine, 1971; Serbin, O'Leary, Kent and Tonick, 1973; Ferguson, 1970; Maccoby and Masters, 1970; Olah, 1981).

Besides these, a number of cross-cultural studies are relevant to the issue that gender-specific characteristics acquired throughout the socialization process relate to aggression. Sex differences in socialization techniques may very well explain this phenomenon (Whiting, 1963). Classifying ethnographical data from 110 cultures, Barry, Bacon and Child (1957) have reached the conclusion that the individual cultures show consistent differences in the socialization of boys and girls. Cross-cultural research describes aggression, achievement orientation as masculine, obedience, caring as feminine characteristics.

As Johnson (1972) has stated, aggressiveness seems to be a well-entrenched masculine characteristic in humans. It has been argued that humans are basically psychosexually neutral at birth and that gender roles are learned through socialization (Hampson, 1965; Mischel, 1970). Clinical cases of ambisexual incongruities (e.g. various types of human hermaphroditism) indicate that until language develops, reversal in sex-rearing can be successfully imposed (Johnson, 1972).

Since cultural norms and values are highly influential on the sex-role training of children, we have to look at the characteristics of the Turkish culture which may be relevant to this issue.

There is scarce amount of literature specific to the particular relationship between sex-roles and aggression, but the existing ones seem to be sufficient to predict such a relationship. This issue can be more easily understood if we look at the separate evaluations of developmental issues for the two sex-groups in Turkish society. In Turkey, there is a striking difference between the attributions and expectations of people concerning the two sex-roles. Throughout the socialization process children acquire the gender-specific characteristics as implied in the Turkish culture. Sex-role training is given considerable importance by parents. Being concerned to socialize his son according to the future conditions of life, so that he can survive as a male member of the society, Turkish fathers seem sometimes to over-emphasize the sex-linked prescriptions appropriate for masculinity. A Turkish father can be expected to react very negatively to his son's sex-inappropriate play. The parents as the primary socialization agents regard some aggression as natural or even desirable in a boy, particularly outside the home. If a Turkish father punishes his son for aggression against his playmates, this punishment has not the same qualitative content as if he punishes his daughter for aggression against her playmates. This explicit socialization of masculine behavior is also confirmed by the attitudinal and behavioral modes of male models prevailing in the boy's social environment.

In Turkey, the social pressure on male children and adolescents is so great that they feel bound to conform to the characteristics associated with their sex-roles. These characteristics gain the status of "musts" in everyday life implications. Once a male has internalized them, he tends to show strong effort to defend them. Especially in the case of adolescents, who are going to be the new members of the male social world, we can see the somewhat exaggerated struggle to assert their masculinity. Any deviance from the normative

expectations of the in-group leads them to be labeled a "coward", "girl-like" which has to be strongly avoided. Thus in problem situations, including personal frustrations, they prefer the conventional forms of behavior including aggression which derive their power from the social consensus on which they are based. This can be seen simply as a matter of conformity. Like other social norms, sex-roles exert pressures upon people. Some of them are external (e.g. coming from peers), some of them are internal in that they become part of the individual's self-concept.

If we analyse the qualitative content of this strictly conformed "masculinity" concept in Turkish culture, we see that there are elements which facilitate the use of aggression in social relationships and which attribute a virtue to aggressiveness. Even if aggression is not directly referred as a "virtue", the implication of the cultural expectations is that a "real" man has to have the mastery to use aggression to overcome problems. He is expected to be alert to insults, attacks on his personhood. He should not avoid fighting, he has to be physically fearless, quick to take offense and always ready to fight. He has to be able to favor death over losing in a conflict and has to be unwilling to compromise his beliefs (Ergil, 1980; Surar and Özgür, 1982). These factors seem to facilitate the actual performance of aggression in interpersonal confrontations. The Turkish man is culturally given the freedom to use physical strength. Its use is associated with the assertion of masculinity.

One significant outcome of the emphasis on masculinity is fondness for weapons. Ergil (1980), Stirling (1965), and Tezcan (1972) have argued that the Turkish male is expected to be familiar with and interested in guns; in traditional segments of the society, guns are almost seen as an extension

of one's self. This fondness also implies that being so much involved in weapons, the Turkish male will also be predisposed to aggress.

Mardin (1978, cited in Magnarella, 1982) maintains that in general Turkish families socialize their sons to be warriors, with aggressive tendencies to be directed against any available outgroup.

In addition to these, Turkish culture defines the concepts of "honor" (namus) and "social prestige" (şeref) normatively as the main components of masculinity. As is true in most Mediterranean cultures, personal honor is the most important virtue a man can have in Turkish society (Lozios, 1978; Peristiany, 1965).

Honor may refer to a man's reputation as a participating member in the society (şeref) or it may refer to his reputation as determined by the chastity of women in his family (namus) (Magnarella, 1982). They, in one sense, compose one's masculinity. These values have to be defended at any cost, including aggression. If these values are threatened, the man's masculinity is threatened, too. Thus an insult or threat to these values must be punished in some way in order to maintain them as "clean".

As Sunar and Özgür (1982) have noted, in Turkey there is a honor-centered masculinity ideal which justifies some forms of violence by relating them to the masculinity concept. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the society's attitude toward honor crimes.

Honor crimes have to be known publicly. They are an enhancement of the masculinity of the person who has got involved in it. They have to be communally validated to serve their function of cleansing a stained "şeref" or "namus".

The community acceptance of violence under these circumstances can be traced back to the ideal masculinity definition of Turkish culture. These norms are promoted through fear of social ostracism, loss of honor and loss of manhood. Magnarella (1982) has argued that in such a honor-centered culture in which everyone must be constantly alert and ready to defend himself, there will be weak internal restraints against aggression.

The overvaluation of the concepts of "namus" and "şeref" makes the Turkish male extremely sensitive to attacks against his personhood. Since these values are located in the core of masculine personality, when frustrated by another party, these two motives are aroused. To defend them, he feels the need to assert his masculinity. The most obvious, common way to do this is merely reliance on aggression. The expression becomes the enhancement of masculinity. It appears that the personal frustrations are felt more severely than they should be because they are related to masculinity. Thus the person feels free to act spontaneously on his anger. He does not feel himself compelled to restrain his emotions because he derives support from cultural norms.

Related to the concepts of honor and social prestige, an additional process seems to be operative in frustration situations. The Turkish male, especially in the presence of others, is particularly concerned about "saving face". When frustrated, this frustration is perceived as a threat to one's essential self or ego. The occurrence of the frustration is seen as equivalent to a fight for the masculine identity. If he loses the fight, he will suffer both from losing and from the shame and disgrace of losing face. So he is motivated to "save face" which is done by expressing masculinity which in turn implies the use of aggression. Aggression in one sense is viewed as having the function of restoring the balance of power in the positions of two egos. Culturally, aggression is described as an appropriate and effective means for bolstering self-esteem, especially if notions of manliness are involved. In case of personal frustrations there seems to be motives operative other than only reactive emotional arousal that enhance the motivation for "revenge". There occurs a "motivational shift" for responding aggressively. Sometimes it can be that the original goal, which was frustrated, is no more important and a new goal, to punish the frustrator to regain the social prestige, now takes the priority.

Related to the concept of masculinity aggression appears to reinforce itself, providing a psychological relief resulting from a sort of self-congratulation for having acted in an upright way. In addition to this self-approval, in Turkish society, aggression seems to bring social approval rather than social disapproval. Rather, e.g. avoiding a fight when provoked by someone leads to social disapproval. Even if this disapproval may not be expressed explicitly by others, the male person can anticipate it psychologically. Even if the engagement in aggression, for example, in a fight, can be frightening in some situations, the Turkish male feels him-

self psychologically compelled to do it. In Turkish society it is a common saying that when a man gets angry at someone in presence of others, he yells "Don't hold me back" anticipating that the others will exactly do this (Fişek, 1983). In other words, no matter whether he feels himself strong enough to fight with the other or not, he first of all tries to enact the societal expectations associated with his masculine role identity. In such a cultural context where aggression is frequently demanded, it doesn't seem unreasonable to say that the Turkish males tend to develop a "non-aggression anxiety" rather than "aggression anxiety".

All of these cultural characteristics imply that Turkey's high rate of criminal homicide can not be explained by the level of development. One must ask whether there are elements of Turkish culture which encourage individual violence (Sunar and Özgür, 1982). As Magnarella (1982) has stated, in addition to the infrastructural and ideological contributions to civil violence, the cultural contributions must not be ignored.

Based on this theoretical rationale, we can say that Turkish culture promotes the acquisition and performance of aggressive responses, the masculinity emphasis being significantly influential on this promotion. Therefore it seems reasonable to predict that male adolescents who show agreement with the ideal masculinity definition of Turkish culture will tend to prefer aggressive responses to frustrations. Hence we suggest that there will be a significant correlation between the subject's agreement with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality and his preference for aggression among the response alternatives available.

#### 4.5. Hypothesis 5

"Low SES subjects will tend to give aggressive responses to frustrations more frequently than high SES subjects".

The main rationale behind this hypothesis is that the variables, which are assumed to foster the choice of aggression among other types of responses to frustration, are generally expected to be more commonly shared at the low SES levels of the Turkish society. At the low SES level the material conditions and the subcultural conditions combine to produce aggressive behavior tendencies.

A person's SES level (i.e. ranking in the economic hierarchy) has a great and lasting influence upon his life. It partially determines how he will live his life, where he will live, whom he will marry and what his manner of speech and style of dress will be. In addition, SES level affects his ability to influence other people, how he will treat others and how they will treat him-in short, his social life. Given this significance, SES level also contributes to several behavioral outcomes, sometimes in direct, sometimes in indirect ways. It appears that if we do not consider the effects of the SES level in analysing a certain behavior, we commit the fallacy of treating the person abstracted from his "natural" setting.

A relevant issue for discussing the direct effect of the SES level on aggression is the psychological consequence of the economic inferiority associated with low SES level. Low SES people in Turkey are economically disadvantaged, but they coexist with the high SES people. Through various mass communication devices they are exposed to life styles which are very discrepant from their own. They are undoubtedly influenced by these rather extreme life styles illustrated in

television series, shows, ads, etc. Comparing themselves with those others, they experience feelings of relative deprivation. All of these experiences and anxieties about the future may decrease those persons' levels of frustration tolerance. They may experience feelings of anomie (a generalized attitude of alienation from other people and social institutions). In such a case people adopt a jaded outlook toward life, a generally hostile orientation toward other people. This makes these individuals prone to aggression which serves for them the function of asserting their "self" which is derogated by material conditions. It appears that often people respond to society (symbolized in their interpersonal relationships) in the same way that the society responds to them.

In addition to these material conditions, the subculture at the low SES level seems to include elements that foster the actual production of aggression. The low SES subculture endorses practices which in fact serve to bolster of ego in social relationships. Besides establishing goals, the subculture also defines what means are permitted in attaining these goals. "The good life" or "appropriate behavior" may mean different things according to the social standing of a person. In low SES environments certain values are promoted and enhanced by the community which are avoided and devalued in high SES environments. To understand the prominence of aggressive reactions among males at low SES levels we have to analyse the meaning and function attributed to aggressive behavior in these environments.

At low SES levels persons who have no opportunity to establish dominance at the economic level are motivated to do so at the social level. Therefore the subculture adheres to practices which are seen as being effective for establishing physical and emotional dominance over other people. The normative prescriptions imply that the best way to prove one-

self and to enhance status is the use of physical force. The verbal as well as nonverbal content of communication tends to have an aggressive flavor. Often, aggression is exhibited to attract "public attention" and it does. In these environments status is gained through fighting (or fighting potential).

As Ergil (1980) has noted, the concepts of "masculinity" and "honor" mostly appeal to traditional low SES segments of the society. Thus when frustrated, the low SES person's main concern becomes to save his ego and he engages in ego-defensive reactions. Also Çifter's study (1970) has shown that in low SES segments there is a tendency for outward-directed aggression. In these environments success is equated with victory. Attributions such as "delikanlı" (hot blooded youth) and "kabadayı" (swashbuckler) gain a positive meaning.

How a person responds to a frustration depends to a great extent on how he perceives it. This in turn is determined by the information processing mechanisms i.e. cognitions of the particular person. An incident that might seem trivial to a high SES person can be seen a vital one by a low SES person. A remark about one's ego may be an insult to both persons, but the low SES person's subculture requires a physically aggressive response while the high SES person limits his reaction to for example, ignoring the offender. It seems that adherence to subcultural values may make individuals more sensitive to aggressive cues and thus facilitate aggressive responses through processes of social perception and attribution. Because the low SES subcultural socialization makes people sensitive with regard to certain domains of personality, these people perceive frustrations at a personal level and give their reactions at that level.

The SES level of the parent determines the value system he has internalized, his aspirations and his style of life. It

determines which behaviors of the child are going to be punished and which are going to be rewarded. The low SES parents tend to react more favorable to displays of aggression by their children. They tend to socialize their children by over-emphasizing values like honor, masculinity, personal pride, etc. In addition to this, economic uncertainties affect the parents' self-esteem and their modes of coping with daily situations, which are reflected in child-rearing practices.

It has been shown that lower-class parents tend to prefer physical punishment and verbal threats as discipline techniques whereas upper-class parents tend to use psychological punishment (AllinSmith, 1954; Brofenbrenner, 1958; Aberle and Naegele, 1952). An associated finding is that middle-class parents tend to punish their children more severely for aggressive behavior than lower-class parents do (Davis, 1943). As far as this relationship in Turkey is concerned, LeCompte, LeCompte and Özer (1978) have reported that urban middle-class parents, compared with lower-class parents tend to favor a more democratic and egalitarian approach to discipline and to use less physical punishment. It seems that working under stressful conditions throughout the day and experiencing many frustrations in daily life, low SES parents tend to be worried and feel unable to control many events, especially the material ones. Given this emotional state, they may not be patient and understanding with their children or willing to take time to reason with them. A slightest deviance of the child from expectations may arouse anger. These families tend to be traditionally patterned, adhering to traditional child-rearing practices which imply overtly aggressive punishment as a working discipline technique. Proverbs such as "dayak cennetten çıkmadır" (the stick is from Paradise), "tektir ile uslanmayanın hakkı kötekdir" (he who doesn't become sensible with warning

deserves beating), "kızını dövmeven dizini döver" (keep your daughter in order or you will regret it later), "annenin vurduğu yerde gül biter" (where the mother hits grows a rose) appear to be confirmed to a great extent in these environments. Therefore people do not feel restrained in spanking their children.

As far as the nature of childhood frustrations is concerned, it can be expected that lower class parents will frustrate their children more arbitrarily than upper-class parents. According to Bernstein (1967), at low SES levels, communication within the family in general and between the parent and child in particular relies heavily on a restricted code which is stereotyped, limited and condensed. Sentences are simple, short and easily understood. Control within the family is such that behaviors tend to be regulated in terms of role expectations. The children are rarely involved in decision making processes. Norms the children have to follow (thus frustrations) are stressed with imperatives like: "You must do it because I say so!"

With regard to the Turkish family, Helling (1966) has reported that, especially at low SES levels, children are not provided with detailed causal explanations. This can result from the fact that parents themselves are poorly educated and their occupations do not require them to develop any skill in verbal reasoning in their daily lives. Educated fathers in high status jobs are more likely to deal with ideas and with interpersonal relationships than with physical objects. As Maccoby (1980) has argued, the same characteristics are then reflected in the way they treat their children. Thus they are more likely to use reasoning and negotiation with their children.

Concerning the relationship between SES level and

modeling behavior of the father, we expect low SES children to be exposed to overtly aggressive fathers more than high SES children. The 1969 National Survey of attitudes toward violence in the USA showed that working-class parents are more favorable towards violence than are middle-class parents (Blumenthal et.al., 1972). Also Ball-Rokeach (1973) has demonstrated that parents with lower income and less education seem to approve violence more than those with higher income and better education. This, at the same time, indicates that social strata may differ in the degree to which they provide aggressive models for children. Miller and Swanson (1960) have demonstrated that middle-class parents are more controlled than working-class parents. When frustrated, the latter apparently are much more likely to show aggressive reactions. Absence of control in parents is associated with a relative absence of inhibitions in their sons who display very direct aggression. Another related finding is that the low SES parents tend to score high on the F-scale, which indicates a positive tendency for aggression (Miller and Swanson, 1960).

With regard to the Turkish family, the low SES father is primarily responsible for the economic survival of his family. Having experienced several frustrations outside the home, he'll be easily aroused by any thwarting or misbehavior at home. As Fişek (1983) has reported, in low SES families representing the traditional segment, there is a family system which itself is conducive to conflict and frustrations. Given that the father gets angry, he does not feel compelled to repress his aggressive feelings because of his exclusive status position within the family. Wife beating is a common practice in these families. This practice derives normative support from proverbs such as "kadın halı gibidir, dövüldükçe değeri artar" (a woman is like a carpet, the more you beat, the more valuable she becomes). In low SES families, the

father who exhibits aggression at home is in fact producing a behavior which is probably the outcome of a chain effect. Throughout the day the father has to repress frustration - caused aggressive feelings. When he comes home he is under the pressure of the ego-derogation he is subjected to throughout the whole day. As Fişek (1983) argues, one of the few avenues leading to self-enhancement is direction of anger toward those beneath him in the hierarchy, namely wife and children. Trivial reasons seem to be enough to trigger an angry outburst in the father. His particular reaction may be more (overtly) aggressive than it should be. Such a process is less likely to be operative in high SES level families. There is first of all not so much pressure on the father with regard to economic conditions. Even if the pressure is great, the superior occupational status provides appropriate targets for channeling his aggression before coming home. In modernized families the status ordering among members may not resemble that of the low SES family, so that the father represses his anger or shows it in ways other than aggressive - impulsive ones. The basic difference between those two families seems that when the father is angry, the traditional family creates an atmosphere which encourages him to express his anger unrestrained, whereas the modern family creates an atmosphere which discourages displays of overt aggression toward other members. Because of these reasons the adolescent in the low SES family is more exposed to aggressive modes of behavior than the adolescent in the high SES family.

As far as the relationship between SES level and agreement with the masculinity definition of the Turkish culture is concerned, as we have discussed before, in these segments the subculture and socialization agencies exert a considerable amount of pressure on male children to acquire sex-typed behavioral patterns. Because people at low SES levels generally

come from a rural background, they continue to conform to the highly sex-segregated standards of social interaction. Both in the family and the social environment, the male adolescent is exposed to models enacting the culturally defined ideal masculine personality. The internalization of this value is promoted by parents who encourage their son by saying things like "benim oğlum kimseden korkmaz" (my son is never afraid of anybody), "benim oğlum herkesi döver" (my son can beat anyone), "erkekler ağlamaz" (men don't cry), "erkekler kavgadan kaçmaz" (a man doesn't run away from a fight). Thus boys are explicitly trained to adopt a set of interests, emotions, attitudes, beliefs, values, behaviors and skills related to masculinity. The view that masculinity is a privilege is imposed on the adolescent. Any deviance from the traditional masculinity conception might entail more losses than gains because it entails a function of self-preservation in the low SES subculture.

Because of the relative contributions of the factors discussed above, it seems reasonable to predict that adolescents coming from the low SES segments of the Turkish society will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations more than adolescents who come from the high SES segments of the society.

## 5. METHOD

### 5.1. Subjects

The population from which the subjects for the present study were selected consisted of the male students of two different lycees representing two different socio-economic status (SES). The subjects, who were all the male students of the senior grades in "ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ" and "MAÇKA ANADOLU ENDÜSTRİ MESLEK LİSESİ" were around the ages of 16-18. The total number of subjects was 128; with 64 subjects from the high SES lycee and 64 from the low SES lycee.

The preference for adolescents instead of children rests first of all on practical reasons. Working with adolescents had an additional advantage over children as far as the content of the questionnaires was concerned. To give an example, one independent variable to be measured was the extent to which the subject seemed to agree with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality. When compared with children on this issue, the adolescents are thought to be more likely to be at a maturity level at which they should be aware of the cultural norms, standards and expectations and should be at an age at which they should have internalized such an image, if at all.

The rationale behind the exclusion of females was, as

reviewed in the theory section, the indication that females tend consistently to avoid aggressive responses because of the learned restraints which define aggressiveness as an improper behavior for females. Having more conformist tendencies and being more concerned about what is socially "right" and "proper", we thought that females might from the very beginning exclude aggression from the response alternatives. This view should however be investigated in a different study.

The two lycees selected for the present study were the "ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ" and "MAÇKA ANADOLU ENDÜSTRİ MESLEK LİSESİ". We assumed that these lycees provided representative groups from the two different SES levels. As far as the "ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ" is concerned, it is generally known that majority of students attending this school come from families of upper-middle socio-economic status. High tuitions (approximately 300.000-TL a year) and very competitive entrance exams for which the children are intensively trained by tutors seem to guarantee that virtually all the students come from higher socio-economic status. Therefore we expected to have a relatively homogenous group of subjects of similar age group. The same reasoning was followed for the choice of the "MAÇKA ANADOLU ENDÜSTRİ MESLEK LİSESİ" which is generally known to be a school that is attended by the sons of low SES families. In addition to this choice of lycees based on common sense, we also determined the SES levels for each subject within each lycee.

## 5.2. Measurement Instruments

### 5.2.1. Measurement of the Independent Variables

- a) Subjects' perception of the type of punishment preferred by parents

To measure this independent variable, a questionnaire was developed by the investigator. This questionnaire consisted of several individual examples of misbehavior a child could commit at home or outside the home. For each example, the subject was asked to choose which of four different styles of punishment his parents were most likely to use whenever the subject as a child of primary school age had engaged in that particular misbehavior.

The set of alternatives provided included the following punishment types.

#### (1) Physical Punishment

This category included the direct physical punishment of the child by the parents, in the form of spanking, beating, ear-pulling, etc. It was assumed that this punishment type involved physical contact with the child.

#### (2) Verbal Punishment

This category included parent behavior such as shouting at the child, commanding vigorously, showing anger verbally and derogating the status of the child.

Both of these categories were considered as "overtly

aggressive" or "power assertive" discipline techniques.

(3) Induction

This category included techniques such as reasoning with the child, explaining why a particular behavior was bad and disapproved, arousing guilt or shame and giving advice to the child.

(4) Withdrawal of Love

This category included techniques such as the expression of disappointment, refusal to talk with the child and threats that the parent would withdraw his/her love in future.

These two categories together were considered to represent "psychological" discipline techniques.

These four alternatives obviously do not cover all the types of punishment techniques that the parents may practice. But due to practical reasons we concentrated on these four as the most frequently used ones based on commonsense observations and our discussions with several parents.

The initial questionnaire was pretested with 20 subjects who were students at the Bosphorus University and friends of the investigator. Following an Item Analysis of the results of this pretest, one individual example was eliminated and the number of the examples of misbehavior was reduced to 10. The results of the pretest yielded an approximately normal distribution.

The final form of the questionnaire administered to

the subjects of the present study consisted of 10 examples of misbehavior, each followed by the four types of parental disciplinary response. The subjects were asked to respond in terms of their memory of their primary school years.

This questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1.

(b) Subjects' perception of the nature of childhood frustrations

To measure this independent variable a Likert type scale was developed. Initially, 20 monotone items were generated in form of statements which presented the subject with frustration situations experienced in childhood (during the primary school years). The statements implied that the frustration the child was exposed to was either arbitrary or was explained by parents, in other words, was not arbitrary. To give an example; the statement:

- "When my parents refused to get me a toy that I wanted, they would tell me why".

Implied a kind of frustration which would not be perceived by the child as arbitrary because he was given an explanation by parents about the reasons for the particular frustration.

The statements in this questionnaire referred to various kinds of prohibitions, restrictions, rules, manners imposed by the parents on the child. The items were derived from discussions of the investigator with several parents in her environment. The arbitrariness of these childhood frustrations depended on whether the subject as a child had been given an explanation for those frustrations or he was simply required to obey to those rules and restrictions without questioning. In the latter case we assumed that the frustration

the child had experienced was more likely to be perceived as being "arbitrary".

For each of these statements, the respondents were asked to indicate on a five - category rating system (always - frequently - sometimes - rarely - never) to what extent they had been subjected to such situations. The categories were scored by assigning values of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, respectively. Positively and negatively worded items were presented in a balanced order. The scoring was reversed for negatively worded items.

This initial questionnaire, consisting of 20 items, was pretested with 30 preparatory school students of Bosphorus University. These thirty students were selected from various majors to avoid their being all from the same class and to increase their representativeness of the target population.

The results of the pretest were subjected to an Item Analysis and an Analysis of the Power of Discrimination. Through the Item Analysis, the item scores were correlated with the total score (the sum of item scores). All of the items yielded high correlations. From these, the top 10 statements yielding highest r-values were selected for the final scale (highest  $r = 0.9334$ , lowest  $r = 0.8589$ ). Another index used for this final selection was the statement of item discriminability through an analysis of the Power of Discrimination (highest  $P_D = 3.67$ , lowest  $P_D = 2.33$ ).

The final form of the scale consisted of 10 items. The respondent's score on this questionnaire was computed as the sum of his individual item scores.

This questionnaire is presented in Appendix 2.

(c) Subjects' Perception of their fathers' modeling Behavior:

To measure this independent variable, again a Likert type scale was developed. The initial form of the questionnaire consisted of 40 statements. Sixteen of the statements were related to the issue of whether the father of the respondent presented an overtly aggressive model to him or not. The other 24 statements were irrelevant to the issue of aggressive modeling and were put into the scale to disguise what the scale was actually measuring, so that this questionnaire could be perceived as concerning the general state of emotional interaction between the father and son. The 16 items which were relevant for the study concentrated on issues such as the father's usual behavior in coping with frustrations, stress of various kinds (family, job, etc.), and whether the father relied on aggression in solving problems in various contexts. The information this particular questionnaire was expected to elicit from the respondent was the extent to which the father was perceived by his son as an overtly aggressive person. The items relevant to our subject matter were scattered throughout the scale.

The respondents were asked to indicate again on a five - category rating system (always - frequently - sometimes - rarely - never) to what extent the particular statement defined their father's general behavioral pattern. Positively and negatively worded items were presented in a balanced order.

This initial form of the questionnaire was pretested with 30 preparatory school students of Bosphorus University, again selected from various majors. The 16 items relevant to our topic of modeling were then subjected to Item Analysis and Analysis of Power of Discrimination. All of them yielded high  $r$  and  $P_D$ -values. The items providing the top 10  $r$ -values were selected for the final scale (highest  $r=0.8762$ , lowest  $r=0.7395$ ; highest  $P_D=3.5714$ , lowest  $P_D = 2.5714$ ).

The final form of the questionnaire consisted of 20 statements, 10 of them relevant to the independent variable, 10 of them irrelevant to the issue of overtly aggressive modeling by the father.

This questionnaire is presented in Appendix 3.

(d) Agreement with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality:

To measure this independent variable a Likert type scale was developed. This scale in its initial form consisted of 33 statements. The statements referred to the culturally defined attributes of an ideal masculine personality. To generate these attributes the investigator interviewed several male friends representing various segments of the Turkish society. In addition to this, various magazines, which appealed to male readers only (such as Erkekçe, Playmen and Playboy), and articles and advertisements in these magazines were analysed to find out the culturally approved and imposed image of the ideal masculine personality. From the characteristics, values, attitudes, expectations and behavioral patterns associated with the ideal male those that were emphasized most frequently by these sources were selected and used in the construction of the questionnaire.

The subjects were asked to indicate on a five-category rating system (strongly approve - approve - no opinion - disapprove - strongly disapprove) their reactions to the ideas contained in the statements. Positively and negatively worded items were presented in a balanced order.

This initial scale was also pretested with 30 preparatory school students of Bosphorus University selected from various majors. The results were subjected to an Item Analysis and Analysis of Power of Discrimination. Those 10 items yielding the highest  $r$ -values and  $P_D$ -values were selected for the final scale (highest  $r = 0.9457$ , lowest  $r = 0.9209$ ; highest  $P_D = 3.8572$ , lowest  $P_D = 3.1429$ ).

The 10 items comprising the final scale concentrated on the widely approved expectancies, characteristics, values, attitudes - the general personality characteristics associated with the ideal masculine identity.

This questionnaire is presented in Appendix 4.

#### 5.2.2. Measurement of the Dependent Variable:

To measure the dependent variable of the study a questionnaire was developed by the investigator presenting the respondents with examples of frustration situations. Those situations were generated through discussions with several friends about which events would be perceived as frustrating by males. The frustrations illustrated were simple everyday life events with which an average Turkish person is likely to be confronted. The frustrations were simple environmental frustrations, obstacles put to the individual by other persons. The examples were selected from the situations

relevant to everyday life in order to increase the representativeness of the results, to get the subjects more involved and to be able to make generalizations relevant to daily life. The frustrating agents were presented as being of equal or lower status when compared with the subjects. This was especially important because, in Turkish society, aggression toward an authority figure is commonly avoided. Respect for authority seems to be the crucial thing. To make the frustrations more salient (to increase the involvement of the respondent) the frustration examples were deliberately worded in a way as to imply that the frustrations were arbitrary. It was assumed that this would increase the intensity of frustration felt by the subject.

For each case illustrating frustration, three response categories were provided which referred to the three of the main types of reactions likely to be shown in response to frustrations. The response set provided to the subjects was not worded in exactly the same way throughout the questionnaire because the different situations illustrated in frustration cases required differential wording of responses. But throughout the questionnaire the three alternatives provided always indicated three types of reactions - withdrawal aggression and constructive reactions-to frustration. The following response set presents a typical example:

a) "I would do nothing..."

This category referred to reactions of withdrawal type, the wording implied that the subject marking on this category tended to avoid any action.

- b) "I would shout, get angry, use harsh language, go out and slam the door..."

This category was worded in such a way that it implied an aggressive reaction in either direct or indirect form, at verbal or behavioral level.

- c) "I would speak calmly..."

This category was worded in a way that implied a constructive reaction to frustration.

The initial questionnaire consisting of 12 examples was pretested with 20 people from among the friends of the investigator. The results yielded an approximately normal distribution. Based on an Item Analysis, two examples were eliminated and the final form of the questionnaire consisted of 10 examples of frustrating incidents with a response set for each consisting of three types of reactions. The subjects were asked to indicate the alternative closest to the response they would ordinarily show when confronted with such a frustrating situation.

The aggression scale is presented in Appendix 5.

#### Other Information

In addition to these questionnaires mentioned above, information was gathered about a number of demographic characteristics, by means of a simple questionnaire inquiring about:

- age
- school attended
- father alive? - Mother alive?
- number of siblings
- sex of siblings

- birth order
- household composition
- parents split?
- if yes, whom does the subject live with
- education level of father
- education level of mother
- income level of the family (as perceived by the subject)
- the occupation of the father

A copy of the face sheet may be found in Appendix 6.

The criteria for determining the SES level of the subjects were their parents' levels of education, father's occupation and the income level as perceived by subjects.

### 5.3. Procedure

After having obtained permission from the Public Education Directorate and from the administrations of the two lycees, the two schools were visited in February, 1986 on two consecutive days. The subjects appeared willing to cooperate in filling out the lengthy questionnaire, since it was presented with the approval of school authorities.

The subjects were told that the study was a psychological investigation of the "development of social attitudes" for the purpose of a thesis in Social Psychology at Bosphorus University. Before giving out the questionnaires, the subjects were given verbal instructions on how to fill out the questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered during counseling hours. The investigator herself and the teacher of the particular class hour were present in each of

the sessions. The subjects filled out the questionnaires in the 50-minute class hour.

After the collection of the relevant data the investigator coded the data sets. Statistical calculations were carried out with the use of the SPSS package programme at the Bosphorus University Computer Center.

## 6. RESULTS

The data collected were subjected to simple regression and multiple regression analyses. In this section, the results concerning each of the five hypotheses and results of the multiple regression will be presented.

### 6.1. Results Concerning the Hypotheses:

(Table 1)

#### Hypothesis 1

"Those subjects whose parents used an overtly aggressive (verbal and/or physical) punishment as the preferred discipline technique (as perceived by the subjects) will tend to choose aggression as a response to frustrations more frequently than subjects whose parents used other discipline techniques.

The simple regression analysis of the independent variable "overtly aggressive punishment" on the dependent variable "aggression" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.46406$  ( $F_{1,126} = 109.10241$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that this independent variable, if it is considered in isolation from the effects of the other independent variables can explain 46.046% of the variance in the responses to the Aggression Scale. This finding is in line with Hypothesis 1, indicating that there is a significant correlation between the use of overtly aggressive punishment

TABLE I- RESULTS OF THE SIMPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	R <sup>2</sup>	BETA	F-VALUE	P
"OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT AS THE PREFERRED DISCIPLINE TECHNIQUE	0.46406	0.68122	109.10241	0.0001
"NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUSTRATIONS"	0.29502	0.54316	52.72956	0.0001
"AGGRESSIVE MODELING OF FATHER"	0.59945	0.77424	188.56485	0.0001
"AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH MASCULINE IDEAL"	0.58187	0.76280	175.34226	0.0001
"PERCEIVED SES LEVEL"	0.48702	-0.68578 -0.43380	59.33592	0.0001

by parents as the preferred discipline technique and the preference of the subject for aggression among the response alternatives to frustrations. Therefore the first hypothesis is strongly supported by the findings.

### Hypothesis 2

"Those subjects who have been arbitrarily frustrated by their parents will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations less frequently than subjects whose parents have used reasoning in presenting frustrations to their children".

The simple regression analysis of the independent variable "nature of childhood frustrations" on the dependent variable "aggression" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.29502$  ( $F_{1,126} = 52.72956$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that 29.502% of the variance in the responses to the Aggression Scale can be attributed to the "nature of childhood frustrations", if this variable is considered in isolation from the effect of the other independent variables. This finding is in line with Hypothesis 2, indicating that there is a significant correlation between the nature of childhood frustrations and the preference of the subject for aggression among the response alternatives to frustrations. Therefore the second hypothesis is strongly supported.

### Hypothesis 3

"Those subjects whose fathers serve as an overtly aggressive model for their children will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations more frequently than subjects whose fathers do not serve as an overtly aggressive model for their children".

The simple regression analysis of the independent variable "modeling of father" on the dependent variable "aggression" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.59945$  ( $F_{1,126} = 188.56485$ ;

$p < 0.0001$ ). This means that if we exclude the effect of the other factors and consider only the "modeling of father", 59.945% of the variance in the responses to the Aggression Scale can be attributed to the effect of an overtly aggressive father. This finding is in line with Hypothesis 3, indicating that there is a significant correlation between having an overtly aggressive father and preferring aggression in responding to frustrations. Therefore the third hypothesis is strongly supported.

#### Hypothesis 4

"Those subjects who show agreement with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality will tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations more frequently than subjects who do not agree with the cultural definition of the ideal masculine personality".

The simple regression analysis of the independent variable "agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal" on the dependent variable "aggression" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.58187$  ( $F_{1,126} = 175.34226$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that, if we exclude the other factors, the agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal can explain 58.187% of the variance on the Aggression Scale. This is a highly significant correlation which is in line with Hypothesis 4. Therefore the fourth hypothesis is strongly supported.

#### Hypothesis 5

"Low SES subjects will tend to give aggressive responses to frustrations more frequently than high SES subjects".

For applying a regression analysis to data concerning the socioeconomic status of subjects, dummy variables were

used. The simple regression analysis of the independent variable "SES level" on the dependent variable "aggression" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.48702$  ( $F_{2,125} = 59.33592$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that if the relationship between SES level (as perceived by the subjects) and aggression is evaluated by excluding other factors, the SES level explains 48.702% of the variance in responses to the Aggression Scale. This finding is in line with the fifth hypothesis, indicating that there is a significant correlation between the SES level of the subject and his preference for aggression among the set of responses to frustrations. Therefore the fifth hypothesis is also strongly supported.

## 6.2. Results of the Multiple Regression Analysis

The data were further analysed to find out the marginal contributions of each independent variable to the explanation of the variance in the dependent variable in the presence of the other independent variables. The results were as follows: (Table 2).

1- The multiple regression analysis of the three independent variables other than "overtly aggressive punishment" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.81961$  ( $F_{3,124} = 187.79613$ ;  $P < 0.0001$ ). If we include the effect of the overtly aggressive punishment" the  $R^2$  increases to  $R^2 = 0.83490$  ( $F_{4,123} = 155.50369$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that without the "overtly aggressive punishment", the other three independent variables can account for 81.961% of the variance in aggression, while with it they can explain 83.490% of the variance in the responses to the Aggression Scale. The inclusion of "overtly aggressive punishment" leads to an increase of 1.5% in the explanation of aggression. In other words, although it is very influential on aggression by itself the "overtly aggressive punishment"

TABLE 2. RESULTS OF THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	R <sup>2</sup>	BETA	F-VALUE	P	MARGINAL INCREASE IN R <sup>2</sup>
"NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST." "OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT." "AGREEMENT WITH THE TR. MASCL. IDEAL"	0.81961	0.19344 0.36601 0.42887	187.79613	0.0001	
+"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT"	0.83490	0.16377	155.50369	0.0001	0.01529
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT" "OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT." "AGREEMENT WITH THE TR. MASCL. IDEAL"	0.80548	0.16377 0.37601 0.42887	171.15517	0.0001	
+"NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST."	0.83490	0.19344	155.50369	0.0001	0.02942
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT" "NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST." "OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT."	0.71092	0.16377 0.19344 0.37601	101.64683	0.0001	
+"AGREEMENT WITH THE TR. MASCL. IDEAL"	0.83490	0.42887	155.50369	0.0001	0.12398
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT" "NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST." "AGREEMENT WITH THE TR. MASCL. IDEAL"	0.75586	0.16377 0.19344 0.42887	127.96777	0.0001	
"OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT."	0.83490	0.37601	155.50369	0.0001	0.07904
"SES LEVEL"	0.48702	-0.16796 -0.09692	59.33592	0.0001	
+"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT" "NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FURST." "OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT." "AGREEMENT WITH THE TR. MASCL. IDEAL"	0.84724	0.13810 0.22559 0.29616 0.37264	111.84796	0.0001	0.36022
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT" "NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST." "OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT." "AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH MASCULINE IDEAL"	0.83490	0.16377 0.19344 0.37601 0.42887	155.50369	0.0001	
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT" "NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST." "OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT." "AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH MASCULINE IDEAL"	0.84724	0.13810 0.22559 0.29616 0.37264	111.84796	0.0001	
"SES LEVEL"		-0.16796 -0.09692			0.01234

adds only slightly to the explanation of aggression in the presence of other factors. This implies that it is highly correlated with the other independent variables.

2- The multiple regression analysis of the three independent variables other than the "nature of childhood frustrations" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.80548$  ( $F_{3,124} = 171.15517$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). If we include the effect of the "nature of childhood frustrations" the  $R^2$  increases to  $R^2 = 0.83490$  ( $F_{4,123} = 155.50369$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that although it is influential on aggression by itself (even if not as much as the other independent variables), the "nature of childhood frustrations" adds only slightly (2.9%) to the explanation of aggression in the presence of other factors. This implies that it is highly correlated with the other independent variables.

3- The multiple regression analysis of the three independent variables other than the "modeling of father" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.75586$  ( $F_{3,124} = 127.9677$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). If we include the effect of the "modeling of father"  $R^2$  increases to  $R^2 = 0.83490$  ( $F_{4,123} = 155.50369$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that the inclusion of the "modeling of father" leads to an increase of 7.904% in the explanation of variance in aggression. In other words, the "modeling of father" which explains a great deal of the variance in aggression by itself (it yielded the highest  $R^2$  in the simple regression analysis) contributes slightly (but its contribution is still higher than that of "overtly aggressive punishment" and "nature of childhood frustrations") to the explanation of aggression in the presence of other factors. Again, this implies that it is highly correlated with the other factors.

4- The multiple regression analysis of the three independent variables other than "agreement with the ideal

masclunty definition of Turkish culture" yielded an  $R^2 = 0.71092$  ( $F_{3,124} = 101.64683$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). If we include the effect of "agreement with the ideal masculine definition of Turkish culture"  $R^2$  increases to  $R^2 = 0.83490$  ( $F_{4,123} = 155.50369$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that the inclusion of this independent variable leads to an increase of 12.398% in the explanation of the variance in aggression. This is at the same time the highest marginal contribution obtained in this study. But it appears that this variable is still correlated with the other factors, although it yields the highest marginal contribution in the presence of others.

5- The multiple regression analysis indicated that given the effect of the SES level, if we introduce the other four independent variables we obtain on  $R^2 = 0.84724$  ( $F_{6,121} = 111.84796$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that the marginal contribution of the four independent variables is 36.022% because the SES level by itself can explain 48.702% of the variance in aggression scores. The marginal contribution of the four factors (36.022%) is less than the single contribution of the SES level (48.702%). This indicates that the SES level is a very effective component in understanding aggression in the Turkish culture as investigated in this study. Another related finding was that without the SES level, the four independent variables accounted for 83.490 % of the variance in aggression. With it they can explain 84.724% of the variance in aggression ( $R^2 = 0.84724$ ;  $F_{6,121} = 111.84796$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that the SES level, although it is by itself very important in accounting for aggression, makes only a very slight contribution (1.234%) in the presence of other factors. This again means that the SES level is very closely related to other factors.

6.3. Results of Additional Analyses Related to Demographic Variables :

Besides the simple and multiple regression analyses concerning the hypotheses some additional analyses were carried out.

(Table 3)

1- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND SUBJECTS PREFERENCE FOR AGGRESSION

The results of the multiple regression analysis indicate that whereas the four independent variables ("overtly aggressive punishment", "nature of childhood frustrations", "modeling of father", "agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal") can account for 83.490% ( $R^2 = 0.83490$ ;  $F_{4,123} = 155.50369$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ) of the variance in aggression scores, if we include the "occupation of the father" this percentage increases to 84.029% ( $R^2 = 0.84029$ ;  $F_{6,121} = 106.10669$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This means that there is a strong correlation between the father's occupation and the other four independent variables because the occupation of father can explain 31.244% ( $R^2 = 0.31244$ ;  $F_{2,125} = 28.40143$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ) of the variance in aggression scores (which is a high correlation by itself) but it adds only 0.539% to the explanation of aggression in presence of other factors.

2- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S EDUCATION AND SUBJECT'S PREFERENCE FOR AGGRESSION

When considered separately in relation to aggression, the educational level of the father yielded an  $R^2 = 0.35212$  ( $F_{2,125} = 33.96892$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). Whereas the other four independent variables can account for 83.490% of the variance

TABLE 3- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION AND SUBJECT'S PREFERENCE FOR AGGRESSION

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	R <sup>2</sup>	BETA	(F-VALUE)	P	MARGINAL INCREASE IN R <sup>2</sup>
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT"	0.83490	0.14183	155.50369	0.0001	
"NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST."		0.22023			
"OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT."		0.34070			
"AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH MASCULINE IDEAL"		0.40156			
+"OCCUPATION OF FATHER"	0.84029	-0.04174 -0.12702	106.10669	0.0001	0.00539
"OVERTLY AGG. PUNISHMENT"	0.83490	0.14996	155.50369	0.0001	
"NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUST."		0.19779			
"OVERTLY AGG. MODELING OF FAT."		0.36630			
"AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH MASCULINE IDEAL"		0.42180			
+"EDUCATION OF FATHER"	0.83556	0.03202 0.01786	102.46969	0.0001	0.00066

in aggression, if we introduce the educational level of father this increases to 83.556% ( $R^2 = 0.83556$ ;  $F_{6,121} = 102.46969$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). This marginal increase of 0.066% is a very slight one, indicating that the educational level of the father is highly correlated with other factors.

3- COMPARISON OF TWO LYCEES WITH REGARD TO THE INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES:

(Table 4)

a) A t-test applied to the mean scores of two SES level lycees indicated that those subjects who attend the low SES lycee were subjected to "overtly aggressive punishment" more ( $\bar{x} = 5.6$ ) than those who attend the high SES lycee ( $\bar{x} = 3.7$ ) ( $t = 4.41$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

b) A t-test applied to the mean scores of two SES level lycees indicated that there is no statistically significant difference between subjects from the low SES lycee and subjects from the high SES lycee with regard to the "nature of childhood frustrations" ( $t = -1.24$ ;  $p < 0.217$ ).

c) A t-test applied to the mean scores of two SES level lycees indicated that fathers of subjects from the low SES level lycee served as overtly aggressive models more ( $\bar{x} = 34.1$ ) than fathers of subjects from the high SES lycee ( $\bar{x} = 20.5$ ) ( $t = 5.99$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

d) A t-test applied to the mean scores of the two SES level lycees indicated that subjects from the low SES lycee agreed with the ideal masculinity conception of Turkish culture more ( $\bar{x} = 33.6$ ) than subjects from the high SES lycee ( $\bar{x} = 20.3$ ) ( $t = 7.17$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

TABLE 4- COMPARISON OF TWO LYCEES WITH REGARD TO THE INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	LYCEE	MEAN SCORE ( $\bar{x}$ )	t-VALUE	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL
1)	"OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT"	MAÇKA A.E.M. LİSESİ	5.6	4.41	0.0001
		ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ	3.7		
2)	"NATURE OF CHILDHOOD FRUSTRATIONS"	MAÇKA A.E.M. LİSESİ	24.42	-1.24	0.217
		ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ	26.64		
3)	"OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE MODELING OF FATHER"	MAÇKA A.E.M. LİSESİ	34.1	5.99	0.0001
		ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ	20.5		
4)	"AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH MASCULINE IDEAL"	MAÇKA A.E.M. LİSESİ	33.6	7.17	0.0001
		ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ	20.3		
5)	"AGGRESSION"	MAÇKA A.E.M. LİSESİ	6.4	6.66	0.0001
		ÖZEL IŞIK LİSESİ	3.7		

e) A t-test applied to aggression scores indicated that subjects from the low SES lycee tend to choose aggressive responses to frustrations more ( $\bar{x} = 6.4$ ) than subjects from the high SES lycee ( $\bar{x} = 3.7$ ) ( $t = 6.66$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

#### 4- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION AND HIS AGGRESSIVE MODELING:

(Table 5)

An analysis of variance applied to scores from the father modeling scale indicated that there is a significant difference among fathers of different educational levels concerning their aggressive modeling. The more educated the father, the less he serves as an aggressive model ( $F_{2,125} = 31.1087$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ). The same trend is relevant to the relationship between father's occupation and his aggressive modeling. The higher the occupational status of the father, the less he serves as an overtly aggressive model ( $F_{2,125} = 25.1342$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

#### 5- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND HER USE OF OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT:

(Table 6)

An analysis of variance indicated that there is a significant difference among the educational levels of mothers concerning the use of overtly aggressive punishment. The less educated the mother, the more she uses overtly aggressive punishment ( $F_{5,122} = 31.4272$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

TABLE 5- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S EDUCATION AND HIS AGGRESSIVE MODELING

FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	N	AGGRESSIVE MODELING ( $\bar{x}$ )	S
GROUP 1: (OKURAZAR+İLKOUL MEZUNU)	1	48.00	-
GROUP 2: (ORTAOKUL+LİSE MEZUNU)	69	34.61	14.4611
GROUP 3: (ÜNİVERSİTE+YÜKSEK L.)	58	18.26	7.9153

Results of ANOVA:  $F=31.1087$   $df=2,125$   $p<0.0001$

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND HIS AGGRESSIVE MODELING

FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	N	AGGRESSIVE MODELING ( $\bar{x}$ )	S
GROUP 1: (TÜCCAR-SERB.M.-ÖZEL-KAMU YÜKSEK MEMUR)	66	20.38	10.8298
GROUP 2: (KAMU-ÖZEL KÜÇÜK MEMUR-ESNAF-ZENAAT)	48	32.40	14.9577
GROUP 3: (KALİFİYE İŞÇİ-DÜZ İŞÇİ-İŞSİZ)	14	42.50	8.1595

Results of ANOVA:  $F=25.1342$   $df=2,125$   $p<0.0001$

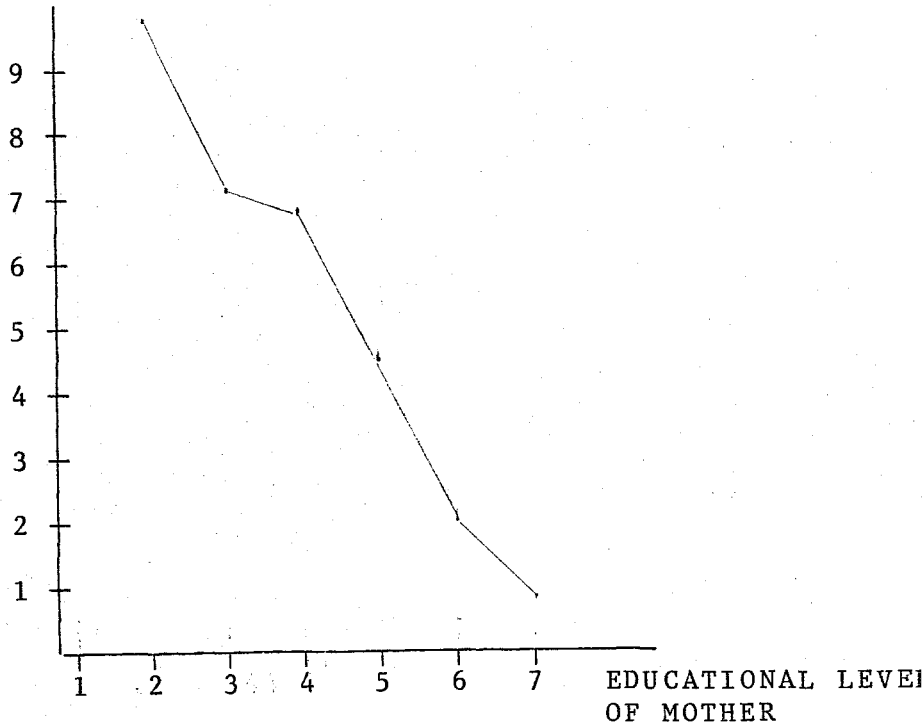
TABLE 6- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND HER USE OF OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT

MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	N	OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT ( $\bar{x}$ )	S
HİÇ TAHSİLİ YOK	-	-	-
OKURYAZAR	4	9.50	0.5774
İLKOKUL MEZUNU	11	7.09	2.3433
ORTAOKUL MEZUNU	22	6.77	2.1142
LİSE VEYA DENGİ OK. MEZUNU	62	4.40	1.7222
ÜNİVERSİTE VEYA YÜK. OK. MEZ.	28	1.89	1.3427
YÜKSEK LİSANS VEYA ÜSTÜ	1	1.00	-

\*F=31.4272 df=5,122 p<0.0001

\*

MEAN SCORE ON  
OVERTLY AGG.  
PUNISHMENT



6- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY TYPE AND THE USE OF OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT:

(Table 7)

An analysis of variance indicated that there is a significant difference among family types on the variable of overtly aggressive punishment. Children are subjected to overtly aggressive punishment most frequently in nuclear families. In extended families the children are subjected to the least overtly aggressive punishment ( $F_{3,124} = 31.7280$ ;  $p < 0.0001$ ).

7- COMPARISON OF THE TWO LYCEES WITH REGARD TO SES LEVELS:

A Kolmogorof Smirnov Goodness of Fit test indicated that the two lycees are significantly different from each other with regard to perceived SES level ( $Z = 1.995$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ).

TABLE 7- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY TYPE AND THE USE OF OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT

TYPE OF FAMILY	N	OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT ( $\bar{x}$ )	S
NUCLEAR FAMILY	72	6.07	2.1904
PATRIARCHAL EXTENDED FAMILY	7	1.86	1.0690
TRANSIENT EXTENDED FAMILY	42	2.60	1.5936
SINGLE PARENT FAMILY	7	4.71	2.5635

p<0.001

\*F=31.7280 df=3,124 p<0.001

\*

## 7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the present investigation was to study the relationship between some cultural practices and aggression exhibited in Turkish society. The study provided some insight about to what extent and in what combination the practices and values inherent in Turkish culture are influential on the choice of aggression as a response to daily frustrations.

The first hypothesis concerning the relationship between the "use of overtly aggressive punishment" and "aggression" was strongly supported. This finding is in line with those from several other studies in the world literature. This demonstrates that although conceptually the various kinds of parental discipline behavior, such as force applied through physical contact, giving advice, arousing guilt, withdrawing love or deprivation of privileges, may nominally be classified as "punishment", when evaluated in terms of their effects upon aggression some of them seem to have a significant effect in fostering the preference of aggressive responses by the subject. This finding indicates that the propositions of the social learning theory are relevant for our society, too. The implication of our finding is that Turkish parents who conveniently rely on physical or verbal aggressive punishment as means of discipline may succeed in producing a well-behaved child at home but this child later in his life may be a problem elsewhere.

A related finding worth mentioning is that 74.2% of the subjects reported that they had been aggressively punished by their parents whenever they showed any sign of verbal aggression toward their parents. This suggests that Turkish children from the early ages on are forced to learn the displacement of aggression. Another related finding was that among the family types the use of overtly aggressive punishment was most frequent in nuclear families. This may be interpreted as indicating that in extended families the relatives like grand mother, grandfather etc. seem to function as buffers between the parent and child, preventing the child's being subjected to overtly aggressive punishment.

A t-test applied to the mean scores of the two lycees, representing the two SES levels, indicated that the two SES levels do not differ from each other with regard to the nature of childhood frustrations. Although the mean score of the subjects from the low SES lycee was lower (which means relatively more arbitrary frustrations) than that of the subjects from the high SES lycee, the difference was not statistically significant. This finding was not expected. It was expected that at high SES levels the parents would tend to exercise "authoritative" rather than "authoritarian" parenting. However the findings suggest that on this aspect of child-rearing the high SES level parents also adhere to the traditional authoritarian type of parenting which includes arbitrary power assertion. It appears that the parents at both SES levels prefer to keep the exclusive right to determine the conditions of the child without feeling a necessity to give an explanation to the child. They may do so either because they really do not feel it necessary that the child knows why he is frustrated or because they are highly concerned with maintaining parental authority and value obedience for its own sake and thus expect the child to accept this as a matter of fact. Being concerned to maintain and enhance their absolute authority, they may demand the

child to show unconditioned respect and compliance to their decisions without questioning.

The second hypothesis, concerning the relationship between the "nature of childhood frustrations" and "aggression" was supported by the findings. This, at the same time, suggests that the Turkish family atmosphere is one where there is warmth and affection as indicated by several researchers. Our findings imply such a family atmosphere because, as discussed previously, arbitrary childhood frustrations are expected to lead to unaggressive behavior tendencies if they are accompanied by elements such as warmth and affection. It appears that although the children are subjected to a great deal of spanking, they do not feel personally rejected, because they receive enough love at other times. We may say that they are clear and secure with respect to their place in the network of intimate relationships within the family.

The third hypothesis concerning the relationship between the "modeling of father" and "aggression" was strongly supported by the findings. This independent variable proved to be the most effective one in explaining aggression. In addition to other factors discussed previously, one reason for this high correlation may be that this variable focused on the present orientation of the father, compared with the other variables related to family environment, which were all concerned with early childhood experiences. This indicates that the relevance of current familial environment to current behavior may be greater than that of early experiences. This suggestion is supported by the relative contributions of each independent variable to aggression scores in the presence of other independent variables. The marginal contributions to the explanation of aggression decrease as we move from present information to past experiences.

The fourth hypothesis concerning the relationship between "agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal" and "aggression" was strongly supported by the findings. The frequency distribution indicated that the concept of personal honor, which is defined in terms of the chastity of women, is closely related to aggression. In a frustration example, where the subject was asked what he would do if another male made insolent remarks about his girl-friend, nearly 80% of male adolescents reported that they would show aggression. The findings indicate that masculinity is a variable which makes the highest contribution to the explanation of aggression when other factors are present. This means that its inter-correlation with the other factors is relatively low. This may result from the fact that it is a general cultural value, whereas the others represent aspects of family life. Thus it may appeal to a broad spectrum of motives that are crucial components of self-identity. The other three variables are practices exercised, sustained and reinforced within the family context, depending on the convention of authority figures in the family. Their sphere of influence is to a great extent restricted with the family setting. In the case of masculinity as a communal value, it continues to be enhanced by the community outside the home. Therefore masculinity may be continuing influence even though the familial practices may not be of the kind which produce aggressive personalities.

The fifth hypothesis concerning the relationship between the "SES level" and "aggression" was supported strongly. Some related findings indicating that the less educated the mother, the more she uses overtly aggressive punishment, and that the higher the educational level and occupational status of the father, the less he serves as an overtly aggressive model, confirm the expectation that child-rearing practices and general attitudes in the family are

strongly affected by the social standing of the parents. The findings demonstrated that the educational level of father is a better indicator of his son's aggression than his occupational status. This is can be expected especially with regard to high status and high income earning occupations because in Turkey people can occupy high income earning jobs without higher education. In other words, the less educated person may perform a high status and high income earning job (e.g. free enterprise), but continue to direct his life according to the mentality in line with his educational level. These people tend to adhere to traditional norms concerning child-rearing and other aspects of family life.

The multiple regression analysis has demonstrated that, although each variable by itself can explain a significant portion of the variance in aggression scores, they are all strongly related with one another. This issue needs to be discussed in detail:

The use of overtly aggressive punishment may be closely related to overtly aggressive modeling by the father. This seems somewhat obvious because the father's preference for a certain discipline technique will more likely be an index of his own personality and values, beliefs, attitudes associated with it. His aggressiveness, if it is a general trait, will also be salient in his relationships with his child. A generally aggressive person can not be expected to exclude his child from being subject to his harsh treatment. Such a father should have adopted a style of life which, consciously or unconsciously, attributes a virtue to aggression, because of its effectiveness or its convenience. If such a father has chosen a certain attitude toward life, having survival value for him, he will behave in a rather consistent way in various situations, including the familial relationships. Although the direction of causality can not be established

accurately, we would expect that the father's reactions are governed by his own temperament. They are more likely to be a function of his beliefs about appropriateness and effectiveness of aggression. If we should give an example; an aggressive father, from real life experiences, may have adopted the view that aggression is a form of self-assertion. Thus he can rely on physical (aggressive) punishment toward his child to enhance his status within the family. Another important point is that an aggressive father tends to show a special sensitiveness or accessibility to certain classes of stimuli which facilitates aggression toward his child. The process of converting at least some of the anger into physical punishment involves several cognitive achievements which are facilitated in the case of the aggressive father. Because of these reasons, the generally aggressive father may tend to practice overtly aggressive punishment more easily and without feeling guilt because his aggressiveness as a major personality characteristic provides him enough cognitive, emotional and attitudinal support to do so.

The use of overtly aggressive punishment and arbitrariness of childhood frustrations may also be closely correlated, in the sense that those subjects who had been punished aggressively by parents were presumably subjected to arbitrary frustrations. The choice of using aggressive punishment by itself implies that the parents do not think it necessary to spend their time on reasoning with the child. Rather, they directly expose the child to overt reaction. Thus the child does not have the time to get involved in a cognitive reasoning process before he gets spanked. Such a treatment is more likely to be perceived by the child as an arbitrary power assertion if compared with a discipline technique which focuses on the explanation of causal relationships and reasoning. In the former case, the child first of all perceives the immediate reactions of the parent, sometimes not knowing why the parent

has beaten him or has shouted at him. Another point is that a parent who generally relies on aggressive punishment tends to be more "authoritarian" rather than "authoritative". In other words, he has made his choice for using force to make the child obey certain externally defined standards. He does not need to give a detailed explanation of events. If the child resists, the use of physical force is the means to modify his behavior. In such a family, where "authoritarian" parenting prevails, the child presumably receives little or no information about the reasons of frustrations and this increases the probability that he perceives the frustrations arbitrary.

The use of overtly aggressive punishment by parents and the subject's degree of agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal may also be correlated. Here we would suggest an indirect relationship between these two factors. We expect that the more traditionally patterned the family background of the person, the more he will show agreement with the cultural definition of ideal masculinity. The masculinity conception is confirmed and supported by the traditional rather than modern segments of Turkish society. In a family which is traditionally oriented the male child will obtain an intensive sex-role training. He will acquire the culturally implied attitudes, beliefs, values, behavioral patterns associated with the psychological concept of masculinity. This socialization process is facilitated by the imitation process which occurs more easily in traditional than in modernized environments, because male figures representing the masculine ideal are probably more abundant in the traditional subculture. Growing up under familial and subcultural pressure, the child will tend to be more committed to the cultural definition of ideal masculinity. At the same time we observe that the use of aggressive punishment is more frequent in these traditionally patterned families

than in more modern segments. In traditional groups, child-rearing practices are also in line with the accepted practices prescribed by Turkish culture. The traditional viewpoint of parenthood accepts strict discipline as a virtue, thus parents exercise physical punishment without feeling any guilt. In other words, the general life orientation of the family context affects both dimensions of socialization—sex-role training and the discipline process—in a similar manner and therefore they can be expected to be closely related to each other.

The nature of childhood frustrations may be correlated with aggressive modeling of the father because a generally aggressive father, being impulsive in his reactions, will not have the patience to give detailed explanations to his child—why he must or must not do certain things. Rather he will rely on force to get his way as he generally does in his other interpersonal confrontations. Having probably an authoritarian tendency, in his communications with his child commands with restricted codes will be dominant. He will emphasize compliance, thus his prohibitions, restrictions, etc. are more likely to be perceived by the child as arbitrary.

The nature of childhood frustrations may also be correlated with the subject's agreement with the Turkish masculine ideal. As discussed previously, those males who come from traditional families tend to adhere to the cultural conceptualization of masculine personality. At the same time, parents in these families tend to verbalize their feelings and cognitions less. As we have mentioned elsewhere, their appeals to their children are in restricted rather than elaborated codes and thus not informative. In other words, because both of these factors can be traced to the general orientation of the family context they may be related to each other.

We would suggest that a similar relationship exists between aggressive modeling of father and agreement with the cultural definition of ideal masculinity. These two factors may go together because of the following reasons: the aggressive types of behavior the father exhibits within the family are behavioral modes which are consistent with the Turkish masculine ideal. In producing them, the father partially relies on his sex-role. Engaging in such behavior the father actually exemplifies the modes of expression appropriate for males. At the same time he confirms for his son what is expected from a male in certain situations (e.g. how a "real" man reacts when he gets angry at someone). It can be said that in serving as an overtly aggressive model, the father in one sense asserts his masculinity by practicing the cultural norms associated with a male person. Therefore his aggressive reactions have some relevance for the sex-role training of the boy. The congruity between these behaviors and the cultural normative propositions facilitates the boy's involvement with the cultural standards. Another point is that in traditional families, where the male child receives an intensive sex-role training, the intrafamilial status ordering is such that the father is assigned absolute authority and can freely express his aggressive feelings when he gets angry. The status hierarchy provides an appropriate climate for the father to show aggression in an unrestrained manner. This again means that the general orientation of the family leads both of these factors to be correlated. Even if they do not cause one other, they reflect two congruent characteristics of a certain family type.

The findings of this investigation have demonstrated that the particular factors which were chosen as the independent variables do have a significant amount of explanatory

power with regard to aggression as a response to frustrations. An additional information we can derive from these findings is that those factors appear to be significantly correlated with each other, influencing each other, and being influenced by each other. The extent and direction of these intercorrelations needs further experimental work.

As we can infer from the above discussion, the general social standing of the Turkish family seems to be highly correlated with all of the other independent variables. The additional data analyses indicated that, as anticipated, those factors which appear to foster the preference for aggression are more dominant at low SES levels, and at lower educational and occupational status levels of parents. Although the present analysis does not demonstrate it conclusively, it suggests that there may be a causal relation between SES level and the other factors. Our findings indicate that socialization encompasses overlapping areas of study in psychology and sociology. Socialization can be seen as a mediating process in cultural integration which is sensitive to environmental demands and adjustive to the environment. This study provides some insight into the effect of the SES level (with its material and subcultural components) and the total socio-cultural context on the family as a social unit. The parents are influenced and this influence is reflected in child-rearing practices. In other words the social standing of the family affects the child via the parents. It determines the parents' general value system, which is explicitly inculcated into the child and indirectly influences him through child-rearing practices. Therefore there seems to be a chain effect beginning with social status of the socialization agents which implies that certain practices lead to certain modes of child, adolescent, and adult personality and behavior, and finally these act on the socio-cultural

environment, the circle repeating itself.

As a concluding remark we can say that the present study, although limited in its scope, has demonstrated that an understanding of aggression exhibited in Turkish society requires consideration of cultural conditions in addition to material conditions. This study sheds light on the fact that some causes of aggression which prevails as a "socially patterned defect" in Turkish society, can be located in particular characteristics of Turkish culture. The material conditions may determine the probability that Turkish people will experience frustrations. However, the specific response type to be preferred seems to be conditioned by culture which endorses certain norms appropriate for conflict resolution.

Further investigations in this area should focus on these culture-specific components of Turkish society. Longitudinal research, covering the primary socialization process of the individual members would be advisable.

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## 9. APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1

- Aşağıda çocukların işledikleri bazı suçlar ve bu gibi durumlarda anne ve babaların uyguladıkları ceza yöntemlerinden bazıları belirtilmiştir. Siz de kendi çocukluğunuzu düşünerek (ilkokul çağları), bu gibi durumlarda aşağıda belirtilen cezalardan en çok hangisini gördüğünüzü uygun sıklıkla daire içine alarak belirtiniz (a).
- Aşağıdaki soruları cevaplarırken, suç işlediğiniz zaman evde genellikle kimden ceza gördüğünüzü (anne veya baba veya ikisi birden) göz önünde bulundurarak, o kişinin davranışlarını hatırlamaya çalışınız.
1. Bana izin vermedikleri halde, onlardan habersiz sokağa çıktığım zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
    - a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
    - b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
    - c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığımın neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
    - d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
  2. Evde onlar için kıymetli bir eşyaya zarar verdiğim zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
    - a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
    - b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
    - c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığımın neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
    - d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
  3. Eve onların tembih ettiği saatten geç gelirsem, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
    - a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
    - b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
    - c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığımın neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
    - d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
  4. Önemli bir konuda onlara yalan söylediğimi anladıkları zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
    - a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
    - b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.

- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığının neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
5. Elbiselerimi yırtıp, kirlettiğim zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
- a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
- b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığının neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
6. Yemek yemekte zorluk çıkarttığım zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
- a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
- b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığının neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
7. Onların belirlediği yatma saatinde yatağa gitmemekte direttiğim zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
- a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
- b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığının neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
8. Onlara karşı ters cevap verip, terbiyesizlik ettiğim zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
- a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
- b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığının neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
9. Bana verilen önemli bir işi yapmadığım zaman, annem (ve/veya babam) en çok
- a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
- b) Bana bağırır, azarlar söz ile kötülerdi.
- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığının neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.

- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.
10. Yorgun olduklarını, kafalarını dinlemek istediklerini, sessiz olmamı söyledikleri halde gürültü etmeye devam edersem, annem (ve/veya babam en çok
- a) Beni döver, kulağımı çekerdi.
- b) Bana bağırır, azarlar, söz ile kötülerdi.
- c) Benimle konuşur, yaptığımın neden kötü birşey olduğunu anlatır, nasihat ederdi.
- d) Bana küstüğünü, beni artık eskisi kadar sevmeyeceğini söylerdi.

APPENDIX 2

- Aşağıda anne-baba-çocuk ilişkileri ile ilgili birtakım görüşler sıralanmıştır. Siz de kendi çocukluğunuzu (ilkokul çağları) düşünerek, bu görüşlerin sizin anne-baba-çocuk ilişkileriniz için ne sıklık ile geçerli olduğunu her görüşün karşısında boş bırakılan yerlerden en uygununa (x) işareti koyarak belirtiniz.

	<u>Her Zaman</u>	<u>Sık Sık</u>	<u>Bazen</u>	<u>Nadiren</u>	<u>Hiç bir zaman</u>
1. Annem ve babam bana istediğim bir oyuncuğ almayı reddettikleri zaman nedenini söylerlerdi.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Annem ve babam gezmeye gidip beni götürmedikleri zaman neden evde kalmam gerektiğini bilmezdim.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Annem ve babam bana herhangi birşeyi ellemememi söylediklerinde nedenini açıklarlardı .	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Annem ve babam sevmediğim birşeyi yemem veya içmem için ısrar ettiklerinde "çünkü gerekli gibi birşey söylerlerdi".	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Annem ve babam bana sessiz olmamı, gürültü etmememi söylediklerinde neden böyle olmamı istediklerini de söylerlerdi .	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Annem ve babam bana önceden söz verdikleri birşeyi yapmadıkları zaman sebebi üstünde dururlardı .	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. Annem ve babam bazı şeylerin neden tehlikeli olduğunu bana açıkça anlatırlardı.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Temiz, uslu, çalışkan bir çocuk olmam istenirdi ama bunların ne için gerekli olduğunu bilmezdim.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
9. Anne ve babamdan bazı şeylerin neden, niçin sorulmadan yapılması gerektiğini duymuşumdur.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
10. Çocukken anne ve babama sorduğum sorulara tatmin edici cevaplar almazdım .	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

### APPENDIX 3

- Aşağıda aile hayatı ve baba ile olan ilişkilere ait genel birtakım görüşler sıralanmıştır. Bu görüşlerin sizin aile hayatınız ve babanızla olan ilişkileriniz için ne sıklıkta geçerli olduğunu uygun yere (x) işareti koyarak belirtiniz.

	<u>Her Zaman</u>	<u>Sık Sık</u>	<u>Bazen</u>	<u>Nadi- ren</u>	<u>Hiç bir zaman</u>
1. Babamın bana ters gelen fikirleri vardır.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Babamın çocuklarına karşı katı ve kesin olarak belirlemiş kuralları yoktur.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Babamı sinirli bir insan olarak nitelendirebilirim.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Annem ve babam bir konuda anlaşamadıkları zaman sorunu sakinlikle konuşurlar.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Babam yeteneklerimi geliştirmem için bana yardımcı olur.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Babamla ilişkilerimiz mesafelidir.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. Babam birine ne kadar kızarsa kızarsın sesini yükseltmez.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Babam birisi tarafından hüsara uğratıldığı zaman, o kişiye doğrudan ve/veya arkasından şiddetle tepki gösterir.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
9. Aile ile ilgili planlar yapılırken, babam benim tercihlerimi de göz önünde tutar.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
10. Babamın sinirlendiği zaman anneme bağırdığını görmemişimdir.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
11. Babam kendi fikirlerini kabul ettirmek için zora başvurmaz.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
12. Babamın benden çok şey beklediğine inanırım.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
13. Babam hayatından memnun olduğunu söyler.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

	<u>Her</u> <u>Zaman</u>	<u>Sık</u> <u>Sık</u>	<u>Bazen</u>	<u>Nadi-</u> <u>ren</u>	<u>Hiç</u> <u>bir</u> <u>zaman</u>
14. Babamın aile dışında başka kişilerle kavga ettiğini duymuşumdur	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
15. Babam benim arkadaşlarımla da beraber olmaktan hoşlanır	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
16. Babam işyerinde birşeye çok sinirlendiği zaman, evde anneme, bana, kardeşlerime çatarak bunu bize yansıtır	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
17. Babam birçok konuda beni kendi kararlarımı vermekte serbest bırakmıştır	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
18. Babam çevresi ile barışçıl ilişkiler içindedir	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
19. Babam çok sinirlendiği zaman evde bir eşyaya zarar verebilir	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
20. Babamla paylaştığımız hobilerimiz vardır	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

APPENDIX 4

- Aşağıda genel birtakım görüşler sıralanmıştır. Her görüş karşısında boş bırakılan yerlerden, sizin kendi fikrinize "benzerliği" açısından en uygun olan yere (x) işareti koyunuz.

	<u>Fikrime</u> <u>çok</u> <u>uygun</u>	<u>Fikrime</u> <u>uygun</u>	<u>Fikrim</u> <u>yok</u>	<u>Fikrime</u> <u>ters</u>	<u>Fikrime</u> <u>çok</u> <u>ters</u>
1. Bir erkek için en kötü durumlardan biri başkalarının önünde küçük düşürülmektir	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Çekingenlik bir erkekte olduğu zaman olumsuz bir niteliktir	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Kabadayılık, delikanlılık gibi özellikler olumsuz etki yapar	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Bebek erkek çocuklar için de uygun bir oyuncaktır	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Bir kız veya erkek çocuğa sahip olmanın değeri aile için aynıdır	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Askerlik bir erkek için faydalı ve gerekli bir tecrübedir	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. Bağımsızlığına sahip olma isteği kadınlarda erkeklerden daha çoktur	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Ölüm, hastalık vs. gibi konularda erkekler kadınlara nazaran daha soğukkanlı davranmalıdırlar.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
9. Kadınlar erkeklerden daha çok liderlik yeteneğine sahiptirler.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
10. İş hayatında bir kadından emir almak, onun kontrolü altında çalışmak bir erkek için istenmeyen bir durumdur	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

## APPENDIX 5

- Hepiniz günlük yaşantımızda bizi sinirlendiren birçok olayla karşılaşırız. Bu tip olaylardan bazıları aşağıda anlatılmıştır. Genelde bu tip olaylara gösterilen tepkilerden bazıları da aşağıda belirtilmiştir. Siz böyle olaylarla karşılaştığınız zaman, aşağıda verilen davranış biçimlerinden en çok gösterdiğinizizi daire içine alarak belirtiniz.
1. "Soğuk bir havada uzun zamandır dolmuş bekliyorsunuz. Durağa bir dolmuş geliyor. Siz binmek üzere elinizi kapıya attığınız anda, sizden arkada olduğunu bildiğiniz birisi, sizi iterek yerinizi alıp dolmuşa kendi binmeye kalkıyor..." Nasıl davranırsınız?
    - a) Hiçbirşey yapmam, öteki dolmuşu beklemeye koyulurum.
    - b) Yerimi alan kişiye sinirlenir, bağırır, en azından diğer insanların önünde küçük düşürmeye çalışırım.
    - c) Yerimi alan kişiye sakince dolmuşa binme sırasının bende olduğunu söylerim.
  2. "Saatlerdir postanede telefon parası yatırabilmek için sırada bekliyorsunuz. İşinizi yapacak olan memur daha çok yanındaki ile sohbet ettiğinden, iş oldukça yavaş ilerliyor. Sıra size geldiğinde memur artık öğle tatili için ara vereceğini, eğer işinizin görülmesini istiyorsanız öğlenden sonra tekrar gelmenizi söylüyor..." Nasıl davranırsınız?
    - a) Hiçbirşey yapmam, dışarı çıkarım.
    - b) Memura kendi keyfi yüzünden işimin geciktiğini sert bir dille söyler, öfkeyle çıkışıırım.
    - c) Memura sakince başkaları ile sohbet etmeseydi işimin görülebileceğini söylerim.
  3. "Bir grup olarak bir proje üstünde çalışıyorsunuz. Proje vaktinde tamamlanırsa iş hayatınızda bu sizin için önemli bir başarı olacak. Hatta bir zam veya terfi almanız söz konusu. Başka kişilerle aranızda iş bölümü yapılmış. Proje teslim tarihi geldiğinde, diğer kişilerden biri kendine düşen işi tamamlamadığını söylüyor ve size göre oldukça keyfi bir neden ileri sürüyor..." Tepkiniz ne olur?
    - a) Hiçbirşey yapmam.
    - b) Projenin tamamlanamamasından kimin sorumlu olduğunu müdürüme belli ederim.
    - c) Sadece o kişiye sakince bir iş bölümü yapıldığı zaman herkesin dikkatli olması gerektiğini hatırlatırım.
  4. "İki gün sonra çok önemli bir sınavınız var. Gerekli ders notlarını bir arkadaşınızdan zar zor alıp bir fotokopiciye götürüyorsunuz ve ertesi gün notları ve fotokopileri mutlak almanız gerektiğini de defalarca söylüyorsunuz. Fotokopici size herşeyin ertesi güne hazır olacağını söylüyor. Ancak ertesi gün gittiğinizde bıraktığınız notlara daha

dokunulmamış olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Fotokopiyi çekecek olan kişi, sizin işinizi tamamen unuttuğunu söylüyor. Sizin de beklemek için vaktiniz yok..." Nasıl davranırsınız?

- a) Hiçbirşey yapmam, notları alır çıkarım.
  - b) Fotokopiciye çok sinirlerimim, beni çok güç durumda bıraktığını sert bir dille söyler, kapıyı vurup çıkarım.
  - c) Fotokopiciye sakince bunun sorumsuzluk olduğunu söylerim.
5. "Bir mağazadan bir pantolon alıyorsunuz, ancak vaktiniz olmadığından orada deneyemiyorsunuz. Satıcıya durumu anlatıp, ancak değiştirmek kaydı ile pantolonu alabileceğinizi söylüyorsunuz. Kabul ediyor, parasını ödüyorsunuz. Evde denediğiniz zaman, pantolonun size bir beden büyük olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Ertesi gün gittiğinizde mağazada durumu anlatıyorsunuz. Ama satıcı kesinlikle değiştirme işlemi yapmadıklarını, pantolonu alamayacağını söylüyor..." Tepkiniz ne olur?
- a) Hiçbirşey yapmam, terzi parasını gözden çıkarıp dükkandan çıkarım.
  - b) Diğer müşterilerin de duyabileceği bir sesle satıcıya müşterilerini aldattığını açıkca söylerim.
  - c) Sakinliğimi koruyup aşağıdan alarak satıcıyı anlaşmamız için ikna etmeye çalışırım.
6. "Gazeteden bulduğunuz bir iş ilanına göre iş yerine gidiyorsunuz. Müdür ile görüşmek için dışarıda beklerken başka bir kişiye rastlıyorsunuz. Konuşmanızdan anladığınız kadarı ile bu kişi de sizinle aynı eğitim ve becerilere sahip. Hatta sizin ona göre bazı avantajlarınız var. Laf arasında size müdüre bir tanıdığından selam getirdiğini söylüyor. Müdür ile görüşmenizi yapıyorsunuz. Ertesi gün sonucu öğrenmeye gittiğinizde, sekreterden sizin reddedildiğinizi, o kişinin ise işe alındığını öğreniyorsunuz..." Tepkiniz ne olur?
- a) Hiçbirşey yapmam, dışarı çıkarım.
  - b) O kişiyi kayırdıklarını, bunu herkese anlatacağımı ima eder, söyleyerek dışarı çıkarım.
  - c) Sekretere sakince bana verebilecekleri benzer bir iş için tekrar ne zaman başvurabileceğimi sorarım.
7. "Yolun kenarında vasıta bekliyorsunuz. Bir saat önce yağmur yağdığından yollar ıslak ve çamurlu. Önünüzden geçen bir araç üstünüzü çamur, pislik içinde bırakıyor..." Tepkiniz ne olur?
- a) Hiçbirşey yapmam, üstümü temizlerim.
  - b) Bir yandan üstümü temizlerken, bir yandanda en azından arabanın arkasından bağırır, küfür ederim.
  - c) Kendi kendime böyle şeylerin kaçınılmaz olduğunu söyler, üstümü temizlerim.

8. "Kız arkadaşınız ile yolda yürüyorsunuz. Yanınızdan geçen bir adam arkadaşınıza laf atıyor..." Tepkiniz ne olur?
- Hiçbirşey yapmam, duymamazlıktan gelirim.
  - Çok sinirlenir, adama sert bir dille çıkışıırım.
  - Adamın yanına gider sakince konuşurum.
9. "Bir yaya geçidinde karşıya geçmek istiyorsunuz. Siz yolun ortasına gelmişken, üstünüze hızla bir araba geliyor, siz de kendinizi zar zor geri kaldırıma atıyorsunuz. Bu arada şöför de frene basmış ve durmuş bulunuyor..." Nasıl davranırsınız?
- Hiçbirşey yapmam, onun geçmesini beklerim.
  - Şöförün açık olan camından içeriye yaya geçidi olduğunu, dikkat etmesi gerektiğini bağırırım.
  - Şöföre sakince parmağımla yaya geçidini gösteririm.
10. "Bir markette alışveriş yaptınız. Aldığınız malın parasını ödemek için kuyruğa girdiniz. Sizden önceki insanların paralarını sesini çıkarmadan bozan kasiyer, siz tam para uzatınca size sert bir dille bozuk para vermenizi söylüyor ve söylenmeye başlıyor..." Nasıl davranırsınız?
- Hiçbirşey yapmam, sıradan çıkarım.
  - Bende kendisine sert bir dille benden öncekilerin parasını bozarken şikayet etmediğini söylerim.
  - Arkamdakilere paramı bozdurmaya çalışırım.

APPENDIX 6

- Yaşınız: .....
- Anneniz hayatta mı: Evet \_\_\_ Hayır \_\_\_
- Babanız hayatta mı: Evet \_\_\_ Hayır \_\_\_
- Kaç tane kardeşiniz var: \_\_\_\_\_
- Kardeşlerinizin cinsiyeti: \_\_\_\_\_
- Kardeşlerinizin arasında siz kaçınıcsınız: \_\_\_\_\_
- Oturduğunuz evde şu anda sizinle beraber kimler yaşıyor, size olan akrabalık derecesine göre yazınız (en az 6 aydır sizinle beraber olan kişileri yazınız, geçici olarak beraber olduğunuz tanıdık, akraba veya diğer misafirleri dahil etmeyiniz): \_\_\_\_\_
- 
- Anne ve babanız ayrılar mı: Evet \_\_\_ Hayır \_\_\_
- Eğer ayrı iseler siz kiminle beraber yaşıyorsunuz: \_\_\_\_\_
- Anne ve babanızın eğitim düzeyi nedir:
- | <u>Anne</u> | <u>Baba</u> |                                   |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| _____       | _____       | Hiç tahsili yok                   |
| _____       | _____       | Okur yazar                        |
| _____       | _____       | İlkokul mezunu                    |
| _____       | _____       | Ortaokul mezunu                   |
| _____       | _____       | Lise veya dengi okul mezunu       |
| _____       | _____       | Üniversite veya yüksekokul mezunu |
| _____       | _____       | Yüksek lisans veya üstü           |
- Sizin görüşünüze göre aileniz ekonomik bakımdan şu genel grupların hangisine dahildir:
- \_\_\_ Zengin
- \_\_\_ İyi halli
- \_\_\_ Orta halli
- \_\_\_ Orta altı
- \_\_\_ Fakir

- Babanızın mesleđi ařađıdaki gruplardan hangisine girer (eđer babanız řu anda emkeli ise, emekli olduđu meslek hangi gruba dahil ise onu iřaretleyip yanına "emekli" diye yazınız):

- Tüccar-Sanayici
- Serbest meslek sahibi
- Kamu-yüksek memur
- Özel-yüksek memur
- Kamu-özel küçük memur
- Esnaf-Zenaatkâr
- Kalifiye işçi
- Düz işçi
- İşsiz