THE ROLE OF MORAL FOUNDATIONS IN EXCUSING VERBAL AGGRESSION IN FORMAL RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING POWER ASYMMETRY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ÇAĞDAN ERDOĞAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

JULY 2023

Approval of the thesis:

THE ROLE OF MORAL FOUNDATIONS IN EXCUSING VERBAL AGGRESSION IN FORMAL RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING POWER ASYMMETRY

submitted by **ÇAĞDAN ERDOĞAN** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY BIYIKOĞLU
Head of Department
Department of Psychology _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Banu CİNGÖZ ULU
Supervisor
Department of Psychology _____

Examining Committee Members:

Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülden SAYILAN (Head of the Examining Committee)
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Department of Psychology _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Banu CİNGÖZ ULU (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Psychology _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Beril TÜRKOĞLU DEMİREL
TED University
Department of Psychology _____

Prof. Dr. Bengi ÖNER ÖZKAN
Middle East Technical University
Department of Psychology _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Leman KORKMAZ KARAOĞLU
Middle East Technical University
Department of Psychology _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Çağdan ERDOĞAN

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF MORAL FOUNDATIONS IN EXCUSING VERBAL AGGRESSION IN FORMAL RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING POWER ASYMMETRY

ERDOĞAN, Çağdan

Ph.D., The Department of Psychology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Banu CİNGÖZ ULU

June 2023, 127 pages

This dissertation examines the moral foundations of excusing aggression, assuming that the diversity in the cases of aggression that are excused may be the manifestation of the diversity in people's subjective morality. Since there are various angles to examine excusing aggression along with morality, the scope of this dissertation is limited only to excusing verbal aggression in formal relationships involving power asymmetry. For this reason, two scales have been developed primarily to measure this specific type of aggression. Accordingly, the first study examined the relationship between moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power, and indicated that both direct and indirect effects of the authority moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression are significant. The second study examined the relationship between moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has less social power, and indicated that the direct effect of the liberty moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression was significant whereas the indirect effect of the liberty moral foundation was not. Other moral foundations were also tested within the models and their validity in Turkey was discussed.

Keywords: Excusing Aggression, Morality, Power Asymmetry, Identification, Moral Foundations Theory

ÖZ

GÜÇ ASİMETRİSİ İÇEREN RESMİ İLİŞKİLERDE SÖZEL SALDIRGANLIĞI MAZUR GÖRMEDE AHLAKİ TEMELLERİN ROLÜ

ERDOĞAN, Çağdan

Doktora, Psikoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Banu CİNGÖZ ULU

Haziran 2023, 127 sayfa

Bu tez, mazur görülen saldırganlık durumlarındaki çeşitliliğin, insanların öznel ahlakındaki çeşitliliğin tezahürü olabileceğini varsayarak, saldırganlığı mazur görmenin ahlaki temellerini incelemeyi hedeflemiştir. Saldırganlığı mazur görmenin işlemselleştirilebileceği pek çok düzey olduğundan, bu tezin kapsamı yalnızca güç asimetrisini içeren resmi ilişkilerde sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmekle sınırlandırılmıştır. Bu sebeple de öncelikle saldırganlığın bu özgül türünü mazur görmeyi ölçmek için iki yeni ölçek geliştirilmiştir. Yürütülen ilk çalışmada, ahlaki temeller ile fail daha çok sosyal güce sahip olduğunda gösterdiği saldırganlığın mazur görülmesi arasındaki ilişki incelenmiş ve otorite ahlaki temelinin saldırganlığın mazur görülmesi üzerindeki hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı etkisinin anlamlı olduğu görülmüştür. İkinci çalışmada ise, ahlaki temeller ile fail daha az sosyal güce sahip olduğunda gösterdiği saldırganlığın mazur görülmesi arasındaki ilişki incelenmiş; özgürlük ahlaki temelinin, saldırganlığın mazur görülmesi üzerindeki doğrudan etkisinin anlamlı, dolaylı etkisinin ise anlamsız olduğu bulunmuştur. Diğer ahlaki temeller de model dahilinde test edilmiş ve Türkiye'deki geçerlilikleri tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme, Ahlak, Güç Asimetrisi, Özdeşleşme, Ahlaki Temeller Kuramı

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Like all other comprehensive research written to date, this thesis has been made possible thanks to many people and institutions, and undoubtedly each of them deserves sincere thanks.

First, I would like to sincerely thank my dear advisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Banu CİNGÖZ ULU, who has trusted me and the questions on my mind since I applied to the doctoral program. Your expertise, tenacity, and open-minded curiosity made the whole process much more productive and enjoyable for me than I could ever imagined.

I also thank TUBITAK Science Fellowships and Grant Programs Department and BIDEB-2211/A Program for the graduate scholarship that I received for three years. This scholarship allowed me to focus solely on my doctoral studies and made me feel financially secure during my graduate years.

I would also like to extend special thanks to the following:

The members of my thesis advisory committee, Assist. Prof. Dr. Beril TÜRKOĞLU DEMİREL and Assist. Prof. Dr. Leman KORKMAZ KARAOĞLU, as well as the members of my thesis committee, Prof. Dr. Bengi ÖNER ÖZKAN and Asst. Prof. Dr. Gülden SAYILAN, for their crucial suggestions, careful guidance, and constant support through the whole these years,

My dearest friends Yeliz AYDIN, Aslı AYDEMIR, and Fatih KÖK for supporting me no matter how the dice fall, excusing my absence in many gatherings, and giving me the strength to continue on this academic journey,

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Müjde Peker-Booth, for introducing me to social psychology, supporting my graduate plans at every stage,

encouraging me every time I stumbled, and making me stay in the field. I will never forget how you supported me on my weakest days.

And, of course, Buğra Berkant GÖREN, my chosen family and companion, you were always been by my side, and the biggest witness of my whole academic life. I owe you sincere thanks for helping me clarify my mind every time I got muddled, for turning into an honorary social psychologist, and for supporting me with all your love over the years.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother Zeynep ERDOĞAN and my father Mükerrem ERDOĞAN for supporting me without hesitation throughout my long academic life, lifting me up when I fell, and loving me unconditionally. You guys are my chance in life. None of these would have been possible without your love and trust.

Çağdan ERDOĞAN

İstanbul, 2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii
ABSTRACT iv
ÖZ v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS viii
LIST OF TABLES xi
LIST OF FIGURES xii
INTRODUCTION 1
1.1. Aggression and Different Types of Aggression 6
1.2. Excusing Aggression and Morality 8
1.3. Morality 10
1.3.1. The Moral Development Theory 11
1.3.2. The Social Domain Theory 13
1.3.3. The Big Tree of Morality 15
1.3.4. The Moral Foundations Theory 16
1.4. Identification and Favoritism 21
1.5. The Current Study 25
STUDY 1 29
2.1. Method 30
2.1.1 Participants and Procedure 30
2.1.2. Measures 31
2.1.2.1. Demographic and Background Variables 31
2.1.2.2. Ideological Views 31
2.1.2.3. Moral Foundations Questionnaire 32
2.1.2.4. Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire- Version 1 33
2.1.2.5. Identification with the Perpetrator 34
2.2. Results 35
2.2.1 Excusing Verbal Aggression: Scale Construction and Descriptive Statistics 35

2.2.2. Internal Consistency Coefficients of Study Variables 36
2.2.3. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among the Study Variables..... 38
2.2.4. Path Analysis of the Proposed Model 40
2.2.5. Unpacking the Liberty Moral Foundation..... 42
2.2.6. Additional Exploratory Analyses Based on Misconducts and Relational Settings..... 44
2.3. Discussion..... 45
STUDY 2 48
3.1. Method..... 49
3.1.1 Participants and Procedure 49
3.1.2. Measures..... 50
3.1.2.1. Demographic and Background Variables 50
3.1.2.2. Ideological View..... 50
3.1.2.3. Moral Foundations Questionnaire 51
3.1.2.4. Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire- Version 2 ... 51
3.1.2.5. Identification with the Perpetrator 52
3.2. Results 53
3.2.1. Excusing Verbal Aggression: Scale Construction and Descriptive Statistics 54
3.2.2. Internal Consistency Coefficients of Study Variables 54
3.2.3. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among the Study Variables..... 56
3.2.4. Path Analysis of the Proposed Model 58
3.2.5. Unpacking the Liberty Moral Foundation..... 60
3.2.6. Additional Exploratory Analyses Based on Misconducts and Relational Settings..... 61
3.3. Discussion..... 62
GENERAL DISCUSSION..... 65
4.1. Limitations..... 70
4.2. Future Directions 71
4.3. Implications and Conclusion 74
REFERENCES..... 75

A. STUDY MATERIALS 82
B. SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES FOR STUDIES 93
C. CURRICULUM VITAE 99
D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET 102
E. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU 127

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Sample Items from Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire.....34
Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings of Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire 37
Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of the Moral Foundations.....38
Table 4. Summary of Means, Correlations, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Coefficients of Variables.....39
Table 5. Summary of Correlations among Demographic Variables, Moral Foundations and Excusing Verbal Aggression 40
Table 6. Lifestyle Liberty Items from Exploratory Factor Analysis.....44
Table 7. Sample Items from Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire.....53
Table 8. Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings of Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire 55
Table 9. Mean, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of the Moral Foundations.....56
Table 10. Summary of Means, Correlations, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Coefficients of Variables.....57
Table 11. Summary of Correlations among Demographic Variables, Moral Foundations and Excusing Verbal Aggression 57
Table 12. Lifestyle Liberty Items from Exploratory Factor Analysis.....60

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Factor structure of Excusing Verbal Aggression Scale based on Parallel Analysis. 36
Figure 2. Standardized regression coefficients for the tested model..... 41
Figure 3. Standardized regression coefficients for the model with lifestyle liberty..... 44
Figure 4. Factor structure of Excusing Verbal Aggression Scale based on Parallel Analysis..... 54
Figure 5. Standardized regression coefficients for the tested model..... 59
Figure 6. Standardized regression coefficients for the model with lifestyle liberty .. 61
Figure 7. Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Settings..... 95
Figure 8. Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Misconducts 96
Figure 9. Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Settings..... 97
Figure 10. Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Misconducts 98

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The initial observations that led to the formation of this dissertation were the variety of the aggression cases that people excuse, and the variety of aggression-affirming justifications that people appeal to when excusing these cases.

For instance, anyone who is claimed to be insulting a sacred value might receive threatening messages ("Sosyal medya yok", 2016), and this mass attack or even lynching can be seen as "deserved" by some social media users. Threats against women who have not acted according to the gender roles ("Etik ve milli", 2020) or murder of a woman in the name of honor ("Eşini yatak odasında", 2017) can also easily be applauded in patriarchal societies. Alternatively, the murder of a rape perpetrator by another convict in prison might be appreciated ("Gültekin Alan serbest", 2016), and it can be claimed that justice has finally been served. It is possible to extend the list of such examples. In short, excusing certain types of aggression under certain circumstances, considering certain cases as fair in the interest of justice, and even calling for impunity under particular conditions indicate that we are selective about distancing ourselves from aggression.

Apart from these examples, we can also talk about situations of aggression excused by broader sections of society. Reactions toward self-defense, joining the army during wartime, or aggression with altruistic motives, show us that these acts are approved widely through certain justifications. It is also common to excuse aggression against someone who humiliates national values, or aggression against those who

disrespect for state authorities. All these examples show that there are cases or situations where different people may view aggression as justifiable or excusable under certain conditions.

As the incidents that were tolerated varied highly and people excuse these perpetrators in the name of “justice”, “honor”, or a kind of “higher” principle which they assumed primarily important, the question of whether excusing aggression is related to the subjective morality of the audience becomes an interesting question. In other words, this dissertation focuses on the idea of the moral bases of excusing aggression.

When the relationship between aggression and morality is examined, it can be seen that aggression is related to morality in a multi-layered way in terms of both its causes and consequences. For instance, aggression can emerge based on a punishment motivation or the pursuit of justice. Or, aggression might stimulate the motivation to protect the victim and trigger the pursuit of removing the aggressor from the society. From this point of view, both the reasons forming the emergence of aggression and the consequences it led to can be seen as a vortex that pulls areas defined as moral domains (such as fairness, care, purity) toward itself. For this reason, it seems reasonable to expect that attitudes towards aggression are associated with moral foundations.

On the other hand, it should be clearly emphasized that the first study focusing on the relationship between excusing aggression and morality is not this dissertation. Lagerspetz and Westman (1980) problematized the very same issue almost 40 years ago by asking what kinds of aggressive behavior are socially sanctioned, and developed a scale called The Moral Approval of Aggression Inventory. Their research led to various studies in the field, and many cross-cultural psychologists conducted

new researches on which aggressive actions are approved under what conditions. However, all of these studies, interestingly, had a common deficiency. After Lagerspetz and Westman (1980) failed to find a significant relationship between approval of aggression and Kohlberg's moral stages, subsequent studies either never used a moral measure or did not report the results. (These studies are discussed in more detail in Section 1.2., Excusing Aggression and Morality). Therefore, the current dissertation aims to address the problem of excusing aggression by taking the “moral element" into account.

Admittedly, excusing aggression can be operationalized in various ways, and it is quite a complex variable to deal with. There are many angles to examine how people excuse aggression, let alone how aggression is defined. For instance, whose aggression may be excused (the victim’s, the state’s, the ingroup member’s)? Against whom do we approve aggression (the guilty, the killer, the outgroup member)? On what grounds do we excuse aggression (for self-defense, with altruistic motives, to defend sacred values or honor, to punish people who don’t conform to group norms)? What kind of aggression may be approved (psychological, sexual, physical)? What is the maximum severity of aggression that can be excused (hitting, yelling, beating, torturing)? In short, these factors that enable (or obstruct) excusing aggression as an audience need to be constrained. Therefore, I limited my research question from various angles: In this dissertation, the aggression type was verbal aggression; there was a power asymmetry between the parties to the aggression; the context was formal that allows hierarchical positions.

At the same time, morality also shows a pluralistic structure in itself. In social psychology, many important moral theories have been developed in the last 50 years. However, moral monism has dominated the field for a long time since the early moral

theories (especially Kohlberg's (1969) Moral Development Theory and Turiel's (1979) Social Domain Theory) attempted to develop universal moral reasoning that applies to various situations in different societies. In this regard, Shweder's (1990) argument that existing moral approaches were limited to secular Western societies changed the moral studies dramatically and attracted new researchers to question the deficiencies of monistic cognitive-developmental tradition in morality (Graham et al., 2013). Besides, the idea of plural value systems provided a new source to explain different attitudes towards the cases that may have moral roots. Based on his ethnographical research in India, Shweder claimed that there are several moral discourses around the world. These discourses are not superior to each other, nor do they constitute hierarchical stages of a singular structure (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997). In this respect, we can claim that Shweder's (1990) criticism brought moral pluralism into the field and provided a basis for the Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) that includes six main moral foundations: Care-harm, fairness-deceit, ingroup-betrayal, authority-destruction, purity-corruption, and liberty-oppression dimensions. Moral Foundations Theory which I substantially benefited for the current dissertation will be examined in more detail under its own title on the following pages.

In brief, taking two sets of highly diversely defined and measured concepts (aggression and morality) into consideration, this dissertation examines the moral foundations of excusing aggression, assuming that the diversity in the cases of aggression that are excused may be the manifestation of the diversity in people's subjective morality. However, since there are various angles to examine excusing aggression along with morality, I would like to limit my research only to *excusing verbal aggression in formal relationships involving power asymmetry*. In other words,

the scope of this study is limited to excusing *verbal aggression* in relationships when one party is relatively *more powerful in terms of social status* in *hierarchical, formal, non-personal contexts* that do not include emotional connections or close relations. Thus, this dissertation asks the following questions:

(1) Which moral foundations would play a stronger role in excusing verbal aggression perpetrated by someone who has more authority (for example, a teacher against a student; a policeman against a citizen; an employer against an employee)?

(2) Which moral foundations would play a stronger role in excusing verbal aggression perpetrated by someone who has less authority (for example, a student against a teacher; a citizen against a policeman; an employee against an employer)?

(3) Considering moral foundations might also affect whom we identify with, and identification with the victim (or perpetrator) might affect our evaluations about an aggressive act, identification with the victim (or perpetrator) can be also expected to play a role in the anticipated relationship between the morality and excusing aggression. Would identification with a victim or a perpetrator based on the various causes for aggression or different relational contexts in which it occurs mediate this relationship?

First, I review the literature on aggression and morality and present two studies where the perpetrator's social status (power) varies in order to measure how much the audience excuses each different types of aggression, and how much identifies with the perpetrator in relation to the audience's subjective morality. Finally, I present a general

discussion about the findings of both studies and also discuss implications and limitations of both studies.

1.1. Aggression and Different Types of Aggression

Behaviors exhibited to physically or psychologically harm others are called aggression (American Psychological Association, *nd*). Thus, neither hostile attitudes and emotions nor unintentional harm cannot be regarded as aggression.

The idea that there are different types of aggression was first introduced by Feshbach (1964). Later, Buss (1966), and Rule (1974) also dealt with the issue by separating the types of aggression according to its function, instrumentality, and determinants. According to Feshbach (1964) there is a difference between instrumental aggressive acts (hostile aggression) and aggressive drive-mediated behavior (expressive aggression). He claims that the first one derives from "desire to hurt" whereas the latter derives from "desire to hit". Similarly, Buss (1966) also asserts that aggression can be instrumental or non-instrumental, and examines these types according to their effects. Rule (1974) tackles with aggression's determinants, and suggests that human aggression can be examined according to its functions which are hostile and instrumental.

More recent studies show that aggression can be classified in many ways in different contexts. For example, the studies focusing on aggression in more formal contexts (such as workplaces and organizations) usually focus on two categories: Physical and verbal aggression (Hamzaoglu & Turk, 2019; Kremic et al., 2017). It is also possible to classify aggression according to the level of its severity. For instance, Lagerspetz and Westman (1980) identified seven categories for varying levels of

aggression (e.g., hitting, killing, torturing) and examined in which situations these types of aggression are approved of by people.

Another taxonomy method frequently encountered in the literature categorizes aggression in terms of the aggressor's motivation. For example, Scott (1972) and Moyer (1976) distinguished aggression as proactive and reactive. According to this distinction, proactive aggression refers to unprovoked, instrumental aggressive behaviors aimed at obtaining tangible benefits, whereas reactive aggression is an aggressive, emotional response to provocation or disappointment. In some studies, this distinction is also named instrumental and reactive aggression (Turner & Ireland, 2011). On the other hand, some studies differentiate aggression into direct (e.g., smacking, hitting) and indirect (e.g., debasing someone's honor by gossiping) aggression by evaluating its visibility (Seddig & Davidov, 2018).

In short, studies on aggression have tried to classify them using many different criteria such as aggressor's motivations, level of harm, type of harm, and examined their reasons, results, and relations with other variables. Among these classifications, this dissertation tackles provoked (reactive) and verbal aggression because the parties to the aggression are in a formal (non-intimate interpersonal) relationship and encounter with each other either in a workplace, a high school, or on the street. Therefore provoked verbal aggression seems more likely to occur than other forms of aggression when conflict arises in such contexts. Additionally, since the focus of this dissertation is "excusing aggression", and severe forms of aggression are more difficult to excuse, in order to avoid a potential floor effect (no one excusing it), verbal aggression is more suitable for the current studies.

1.2. Excusing Aggression and Morality

The studies regarding the relationship between excusing aggression and morality indicate that Lagerspetz and Westman (1980) wondered what kinds of aggressive behavior are socially sanctioned and developed the Social Attitude Inventory (also called The Moral Approval of Aggression Inventory and The Social-Moral Approval of Interpersonal Aggression Inventory). The scale had seven types of aggressive acts that vary in severity (e.g., homicide, torture, pushing someone, threatening). In addition to these, Lagerspetz and Westman (1980) presented six motivations (e.g., for self-defense, to protect another, to protect property) in which the aggressive act in question was performed. Thus, the participants evaluated each act (a total of 7 acts) in different contexts and indicated to what extent these acts are permissible on the scale which is currently called the Socio-Moral Approval of Aggression Scale.

Lagerspetz and Westman's (1980) study pioneered many studies to be carried out afterward and led to a serious accumulation of cross-cultural data on which aggressive actions were approved under what conditions. First, Frazcek (1985) conducted a similar study in Poland using the same scale and compared the results of the Finnish sample in the original study with the Polish sample. Then, Ramirez (1993) added results from four cantonal regions in Spain to the existing findings by conducting a similar study. These studies were followed by Fujihara et al.'s (1999) research in America, Spain, and Japan; Ramirez et al.'s (2007) research in Finland, Poland, Spain, Japan, Iran, and India; and Fares et al.'s (2011) research in Uruguay.

The results of all these studies above show that although there are some minor differences from society to society, there are certain trends regarding the approval of aggression. Ramirez (2007) noted that, based on findings in Finland, Poland, Spain,

Japan, Iran, and India, severe forms of aggression, such as killing and torture, are the most disapproved forms compared to others. In addition, aggression is most attested when it is performed for self-defense or protecting somebody. On the other hand, aggression applied on grounds such as communication problems, feeling angry, or protecting property are the least approved grounds compared to other reasons.

In terms of cultural differences, it was seen that the Japanese sample is less approving of indirect verbal aggression compared to other countries, and the Polish sample is more approving of severe aggressive acts than Finns (Frazcek, 1985). Apart from these, the study of Fares and colleagues (2011) showed that Uruguayan adolescents give more approval to both emotional and instrumental aggression compared to their Spanish and Chinese peers. But still, the Uruguay sample showed the same trends as other countries in terms of the least approved types of aggression (killing, torturing) and the conditions in which aggression is considered the most acceptable (defense of self or other).

On the other hand, all of these studies surprisingly have a common flaw in their approach. Almost all of them reported the approval of aggressive actions across these different contexts as "socio-*moral approval* of aggression." However, the fact that there is a common pattern across cultures in approval of aggression is not sufficient to claim that a universal (or culturally distinct) morality lies behind their evaluations. As a matter of fact, Lagerspetz and Westman (1980), who conducted the original study, had used Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development (1969; 1976) which will be reviewed in detail in the next section. Moral Development Theory was the most promising moral theory of those years. However, Lagerspetz and Westman (1980) could not find a meaningful relationship between the approval of aggression and

Kohlberg's moral stages. Moreover, the later studies mentioned above either never used a moral measure in their research designs or did not report the results.

Although the idea that this approval is related to morality seems a fairly reasonable expectation, and the researchers probably assumed that some notion of morality was implied, these studies did not include a conceptualization or an operationalization of morality. Hence, to label this phenomenon as the socio-moral approval of aggression, we need the morality element in relation to these aggressive acts. In this regard, these findings speak to a cross-cultural mapping of the approval of aggression rather than its moral bases. Therefore, the relationship between morality and excusing aggression deserves further investigation, with more explicit links drawn between the two concepts.

1.3. Morality

Although the first written record of humanity's search for an answer to the questions of what is a virtue and what is good can be traced back to the ancient philosopher Aristotle's work entitled *Nicomachean Ethics*, written to his son in the 4th century BC (Pakaluk, 2005), social psychology's attempt to determine the values that guide life has a rather short history. In this respect, Kohlberg's (1969) cognitive-developmental approach paves the way for moral psychology as a distinct subfield of social psychology. Based on Piaget's (1932/1965) early studies that focused on children's comprehension of justice, Kohlberg claimed that moral progress is a process of role-taking; as people learn to take different perspectives, they decide better if an action is just or not. Therefore, the opportunity to experience different viewpoints in complex cultures and get on in years would help the moral development of people. For the rest of this section, I will review outstanding moral theories (specifically

Kohlberg's (1976) Moral Development Theory, Turiel's (1983) Social Domain Theory, Shweder et al.'s (1997), Big Three of Morality (1997), and Graham et al.'s (2013) Moral Foundations Theory) in social psychology. Then I will discuss their relationship with aggression by underlining how all of them defined attitudes towards harm-related and justice-related domains as moral dimensions or moral stages and assert that moral pluralism might help us understand the variation (or plurality) in reactions toward aggression.

1.3.1. The Moral Development Theory

According to Kohlberg (1976), morality progresses by following (one-way) developmental steps and consists of three stages. These stages are the pre-conventional stage, the conventional stage, and the post-conventional stage. Each stage is again divided into two separate steps within itself.

The first step of the pre-conventional stage is expressed with the orientation of "punishment and obedience"(Kohlberg, 1976). In other words, whether an action is good or bad is determined according to the physical consequences of the action. The tendency that defines the second step of the pre-conventional stage has an "instrumental-relative" character. At this step, the existence and needs of other people are acknowledged, but relationships are established on a principle of reciprocity.

In the conventional stage, Kohlberg (1976) states that people are loyal to their family and the society they belong to, and tend to maintain the existing order. In the first step of this stage, good behavior can be defined as behavior that receives the approval of others. In the second step of this stage, the correct behavior requires to fulfill the responsibilities, recognizing the authority, and protecting the social order. According to Kohlberg, the conventional stage has some risks if people overestimate

group loyalty or existing rules since the adherence to these two may prevent people from reaching the highest one, the post-conventional stage.

In the first step of the post-conventional stage, the "social contract" tendency comes to the fore. At this step, correct behavior is defined as behavior that complies with individual rights and standards agreed upon by the whole society. Finally, the last step of this stage represents the highest point that can be reached in terms of moral development, and the dominant tendency at this step is defined as the "universal moral principle". Individuals at this step form a system of values themselves based on the universal principles of justice, equality, and human dignity, and take these values as a guide in their behavior even if these values contradict the laws and customs (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977).

As can be seen, there is a hierarchical structure in the Moral Development Theory. According to Kohlberg's moral understanding, obeying the existing laws, respecting the norms of the community, or protecting the public order might be morally lower if they contradict the decisions that prioritize human life and dignity. The measurement method he developed examines how people deal with the issue in the face of various moral dilemmas and which moral reasoning people resort to. For example, if the individual calculates the pros and cons of the possible ways to deal with the dilemma, this shows that that person is in the first stage (pre-conventional stage). Or if the individual ignores the universal moral principles (human dignity, sense of justice) due to a tradition in the face of a dilemma, this shows that the person is in the second stage (conventional stage).

If we look at Kohlberg's theory in terms of the subject of this dissertation, it will be necessary to look at the motivation of the perpetrator when excusing a case of aggression and to decide to what extent the aggressive act is moral in terms of the

perpetrator's motivations. However, I believe that it would be much more impartial and useful to treat moral domains as a set of explanations rather than using them as a hierarchical rating tool. Moreover, we have no evidence that people judge an action based solely on the motivation of the perpetrator. As will be mentioned in the following sections, it is also possible that we make our moral decisions in a completely intuitive and instantaneous way, adding the justification for this decision later. For example, how much we identify the victim or perpetrator with ourselves and the values of the culture we live in (which also shape our moral values) may also play a role in this decision. Additionally, many criticisms have been made on Kohlberg's moral theory over the years.

For example, Snarey (1985) criticized Kohlberg for classifying the countries where the post-conventional phase was not observed (e.g., Mexico, Taiwan, Turkey) as morally "backward". According to Snarey (1985), Kohlberg's model is so pro-western, culturally exclusionist, and philosophically non-pluralistic that some countries are doomed to fail on the model's scale. Krebs et al. (1991), on the other hand, instead of using Kohlberg's original scale, developed new dilemmas that would correspond to the stages in the theory and showed that the participants could apply lower moral reasoning instead of the highest moral level they reached. This shows that moral regression, which the theory rejected, can be possible. Similarly, Lapsley (2006) criticized Kohlberg's theory for not leaving space for relativism and making biased measurements by glorifying Western norms. These criticisms led Kohlberg to make severe revisions to his theory, and other researchers to develop new theories.

1.3.2. The Social Domain Theory

The origin of the Social Domain Theory is Nucci and Turiel's (1978) study of moral violation classification. In this study, Nucci and Turiel (1978) defined moral

violations as behaviors that cause harm to a living entity and classified such behaviors as wrong even without the rules of the authority. On the other hand, the actions that contradict rules and traditions were classified as conventional violations. After these pre-classifications, they showed both types of violations to children and asked them to evaluate. Findings showed that even 3-year-olds take moral violations more seriously than conventional violations and demand harsher punishments.

According to Nucci and Turiel (1978), as people grow up, their feelings do not change. Instead, their moral reasoning evolves and changes. As time passes, emotional responses generated by moral judgments become increasingly complex. True-false labeling that was developed according to concrete harms in childhood, develops over time in a way that includes interpersonal equality. In adolescence, the simple equality understanding is replaced by a search for equivalence that takes into account differences.

Nucci and Turiel (1993) also wondered how children could distinguish between religious and moral rules. For this reason, they asked a group of Catholic, Calvinist, Protestant, and Jewish kids whether it would be legitimate to murder someone and steal someone’s property if God does not forbid it. The children predominantly stated that these acts would be wrong regardless of God's commands. Moreover, most of them denied the possibility that God could correct these wrongs by giving orders. Based on this, Nucci and Turiel claimed that they found support for the moral-conventional dichotomy they developed.

On the other hand, if we were to use the framework proposed by Social Domain Theory on excusing aggression, we should evaluate an act that has caused harm only in terms of its consequences and evaluate it as a moral violation. However, as can be seen from the examples mentioned in the introduction, very different types of

aggression can be excused by broad sections of society with various justifications. The knowledge that someone has been harmed is not enough to close the issue. Factors such as how close we feel to the identity of the perpetrator or victim, the conditions that prepare for aggression, the culture that shapes our moral values influence our decisions.

Although Nucci and Turiel stated that the distinction they proposed was not hierarchical but pointed only to distinct domains, Shweder et al. (1997) criticized their theory for presenting harm as the only universal morality. Shweder et al. (1997) stated that Social Domain Theory recognizes only the ethics of autonomy and ignores community and divinity. Similarly, Haidt (2001) noted that morality is intuition and is shaped by the effect of the culture surrounding it. In short, Nucci and Turiel have also been criticized for focusing on Western morals and not being pluralist. These criticisms were followed by new theories.

1.3.3. The Big Tree of Morality

The Big Three of Morality, developed by Shweder et al. (1997), can be considered as the product of both the ethnographic studies that became popular in those years and the post-modern relativism that began to influence social sciences. First, in 1980, Murdock published qualitative research on how diseases are explained in 139 different societies. Park (1992) also conducted studies on the same subject and compiled 753 illness episodes from 68 cultures. The ethnographic studies conducted by Shweder and his friends in India in the late 1990s also led researchers to think that the moral approach of the Western world is not universal. Finally, examining the ontological explanations of suffering, Shweder and his colleagues (2003) developed different cases that would constitute moral violations for Indians and asked them why these violations were wrong. By grouping the answers given, the researchers reached

16 themes and three basic moral discourses formed by these themes: Autonomy, Community, and Divinity.

Autonomy is a moral discourse that emphasizes personal boundaries, the value of life, and individual freedoms. Community code, on the other hand, focuses on the norms required by the individual's position in the community such as social rules, hierarchy, sense of duty, and belonging. Divinity code is related to spiritual discourses such as the sacred order, nature, world-soul relationship, the memory of the soul, and the individual's position in the universe. According to Shweder et al. (1997), these three codes exist in every society in different degrees. Any sort of supremacy should not be established among these codes. Therefore, it is possible to utilize these codes as a set of explanation while dealing with variety in people's reactions toward incidents including aggressive incidents. This theory has been a turning point in the field of morality. The idea that morality has a pluralistic nature has led to a severe change in the approach to the subject. The Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) can also be considered as an output of this transformation.

1.3.4. The Moral Foundations Theory

The Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) is based on Shweder and colleagues' (1997) understanding of morality as a multidimensional structure and Haidt's (2004) definition of morality as an intuition. According to the Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013), morality operates on six basic intuitions developed due to six evolutionary adaptations. These intuitions consist of care-harm, fairness-deceit, ingroup-betrayal, authority-destruction, purity-corruption, and liberty-oppression dimensions. (The liberty-oppression foundation was added to the theory later by Iyer and colleagues in 2012). The assumption that each moral basis corresponds to an evolutionary adaptation through basic intuitions indicates that these

adaptations exist and will continue to exist because they are functional in social life. In this regard, it both puts a distance between itself and the hierarchical moral stages approach, and the answer to the question of what is the function of moral foundations in our life. Thus, it is possible to approach more impartially both the fact that these foundations are observed at different levels in societies and the moral differentiation seen at the individual level, and to draw attention to the ancient origins of these moral intuitions.

Accordingly, the care-harm dimension derives from people's motives to protect their children in nature, and this dimension help people keep their offspring alive long enough to reproduce. Thus, the individuals who could care for others hold an evolutionary advantage and could pass their genetics to future generations. In this regard, the care-harm dimension is related to nurturance, empathy, and courtesy. The fairness-deceit dimension, derives from people's motives to expect reciprocity. In other words, this dimension helps people detect free-riders (or cheaters) and exclude them from their inner circles. Thus, the individuals who attached importance to justice and equality hold an evolutionary advantage in forming predictable and safer communities that provide reciprocity. The third foundations, ingroup-betrayal, derives from people's motives to live in tribes and ability to form groups. This dimension helps people build self-sufficient units. Thus, the individuals who care about belonging and being loyal to a coalition had an evolutionary advantage because their group provided help and protected them when they needed assistance.

The fourth one, authority-destruction, derives from the primate's need to live in hierarchical settings. This dimension helps people get the protection they need in times of crisis and provides a social order in exchange for recognition of authority. Thus, the individuals who value having a strong leader on top had an evolutionary

advantage when an external threat emerged. The fifth foundation, purity-corruption, derives from human avoidance of contamination, bad smell, or cloudy water. This dimension helps people detect harmful substances and behaviors. Thus, the individuals who seek purity had an evolutionary advantage in avoiding germs and parasites that cause diseases and could reproduce by living long enough. This dimension is also related to spiritual purity and includes some religious notions. However, it should be noted that avoiding degrading behavior and trying to have a pure "spirit" are not only peculiar to religious movements. The sixth one, the liberty-oppression foundation, derives from people's reactions towards tyrannical leaders. This dimension helps people overthrow autocratic leaders who limit their freedom. Thus, the individuals who care about liberty (especially negative freedom; "right to not do" if you do not want to do) had an evolutionary advantage in getting rid of restrictive and dysfunctional leaders and reallocating their resources as they wish (Graham et al., 2013).

Studies using MFT have shown that these moral foundations are not mutually exclusive, and that these six moral foundations can even be grouped as binding foundations (authority, in-group, purity) and individualizing foundations (fairness, care, liberty). Individualizing moral foundations show high correlation with each other, just as binding moral foundations do. The reason for this labeling is that while individualizing foundations prioritize the rights and freedoms of the individual, binding foundations prioritize attachment (or bond) to the group (family, society, etc.) (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt & Graham, 2007). There are several studies showing that this classification (individualizing vs. binding) is valid and functional. For example, it has been seen that liberals attach more importance to individualizing foundations and conservatives to binding foundations (Haidt & Graham, 2007). It has been observed

that the stimulation of abstract thinking moves people away from binding foundations and move them closer to individualizing foundations (Napier & Luguri, 2013). Van Leeuwen and Park (2009) investigated if the binding moral foundations have a mediating role between Belief in a Dangerous World and political conservatism, and found that higher scores on these foundations were indeed associated with conservatism. Additionally, they found that the expected relationship between Belief in a Dangerous World and political conservatism was partially mediated by the moral dimensions of ingroup, authority, and purity. In the light of all these findings, the mentioned classification will be considered in this study too.

Since Moral Foundations Theory emphasizes intuitions, it differs from the Moral Development Theory which defines morality as a process of reasoning, and the Big Three of Morality which says morality is a discourse. Rather, MFT claims that moral judgment arises intuitively and instantly. However, when justification is requested, reasoning is resorted to, and the stated moral preference is justified using available discourses. Moreover, MFT provides a more detailed/specialized moral map compared to the Big Three of Morality, Social Domain Theory, and Moral Development Theory. Thus, when investigating the role of subjective morality in excusing aggression, the repertoire that it offers (care-harm, fairness-deceit, ingroup-betrayal, authority-destruction, purity-corruption, and liberty-oppression) provide more opportunity to detect individual/societal differences. For this reason, Moral Foundations Theory was preferred in the current study.

Indeed, moral pluralism introduced a new set of explanatory variables into the field, and many researchers examined the moral foundations along with various constructs. For instance, Lewis and Bates (2011) examined the relationship between the Big Five personality traits and moral foundations. Their findings indicated that

high levels of care-harm dimension were related to high levels of openness, neuroticism, and agreeableness whereas high levels of ingroup-betrayal, authority-destruction, and purity-corruption dimensions were related to high levels of conscientiousness and extraversion.

Besides these constructs, some scholars also wondered whether our perceptions towards people are affected by the perceived moral foundations of those people. For instance, Graham et al. (2011) investigated to what extent positive attitudes participants would have towards groups predicted to be high in certain moral foundations (e.g. police officers and soldiers for authority moral foundation, virgins, and religious people for purity moral foundation). The results showed that to the extent that the participants adopted these moral foundations, they favored the groups they identified with these moral foundations. According to the researchers, this result indicated that our social evaluations were shaped by our moral evaluations.

In a similar vein, Koleva et al. (2012) wondered whether moral pluralism could play a predictive role in estimating attitudes towards certain politically divisive issues. Through a large-scale online study, the researchers examined the relationship between moral foundations and attitudes towards the most controversial issues, such as gay marriage, abortion, and torture. The results confirmed the initial hypotheses: Participants high in the care-harm dimension were more opposed to torture practices than others. Participants high in the purity-corruption dimension were more opposed to homosexuals' right to marry than others. Additionally, the MFT's pluralistic approach also provided a better understanding of divergence in attitudes towards apparently similar issues. For example, although topics such as abortion, euthanasia, and life sentence all stimulate attitudes towards the sanctity of life, it has been realized that the first two can be better predicted by the purity-corruption dimension and the

last one by the care-harm dimension (Haidt & Graham, 2007; Graham et al., 2009). Thus, it became possible to reveal more clearly why liberals and conservatives clashed on these topics.

Another field in which moral pluralism was examined was cross-cultural studies, which also gave birth to the Moral Foundations Theory. Particularly in Asian societies, the importance attached to the ingroup-betrayal and purity-corruption dimensions was higher than the societies in Northern Europe and the USA. On the other hand, Vauclair and Fischer's (2011) study showed that there was much less cross-country moral variation compared to variation within a country (e.g., liberals vs. conservative in the U.S.A). The relationship between a political stance and moral foundations has also consistently pointed to similar relationships in 12 different regions (Graham et al., 2011): While the liberals showed higher scores on the care-harm and fairness-deceit dimensions, the conservatives showed higher scores on the ingroup-betrayal, authority-destruction, and purity-corruption dimensions.

As the empirical findings above revealed, it is safe to claim that moral pluralism has the potential to explain many social divergences. Therefore, this dissertation aims to explain the variation in excusing aggression by benefiting from moral pluralism.

1.4. Identification and Favoritism

Since our social evaluations are under the effect of our moral evaluations (Graham et al., 2011), and since these moral evaluations are capable to shape our judgments about whether an aggressive act is excusable or not, and about which party is right/wrong, we might intuitively feel closer to one of the parties or we might instantly identify with one of the parties to the aggression.

Empirical findings regarding the relationship between identification and favoritism indicate that these two constructs are highly correlated. For instance, Levin and Sidanius's (1999) research which is based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) shows that as ingroup identification increases, so does ingroup favoritism, regardless of being a high or low-status group member. Moreover, in the 1970s, Henri Tajfel and colleagues (e.g., Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel et al., 1971) revealed that ingroup favoritism emerges even in minimal groups, in which group members randomly assigned to that particular group as independent individuals who have neither past memories nor a common future. Studies using the Minimal Group Paradigm have indicated that even when people are divided into groups based on an arbitrary criterion (such as which artist they like more or what color T-shirt they wear), they tend to prefer members of their assigned group over others.

Minimal group studies usually consist of two stages. In the first stage, participants who do not know and do not see each other are divided into two groups based on an unimportant criterion. In the second stage, participants who are divided into groups are asked to distribute a resource (such as money or points) to other participants. The only information the participants have about the other people to whom they will distribute the resource is which group they belong. These experiments aim to examine how fair participants tend to be in their allocation of resources and how much they tend to favor their group. The findings showed that the participants generally favor their group, even if they try to act fairly and even if they do not gain any personal benefits. Minimal group experiments prove that even minimal groups with no real-world strings attached can lead to an identification process that eventually creates ingroup favoritism.

Apart from Minimal Group Paradigm, there are six other procedures to examine intergroup behaviors in terms of favoritism. The oldest ones are Hardin's (1968) Public Good Dilemmas and Common Pool Dilemmas. Both of them typically include four players who have to decide either how many points they withdraw from a common pool or how many points they invest in a public goods project. In these games, players' preferences regarding sharing and receiving reflect their favoritism tendencies. Axelrod's (1980) Prisoner's Dilemma is another well-known game that provides players different options such as cooperating which makes both parties better off and cheating which makes the cheater better off if the other does not cheat and makes both parties worse off if they both cheat. For this reason, cheating and cooperation options represent a trade-off between personal interest versus group interests in this game.

Following Axelrod's (1980) Prisoner's Dilemma, Güth and colleagues (1982) developed Ultimatum Game which includes two players (offerer and answerer). In this game, the first player is given a certain amount of money and asked to offer some of the money to the other player. If the answerer accepts the offered amount, both take the money as the first player allocated. However, if the answerer does not accept the distribution of money, none of them receives the money. In this regard, Ultimatum Game is about personal interests in a dyadic context as well as equity concerns. By revising Ultimatum Game, Kahneman and colleagues (1986) developed a well-known Dictator Game in which only one player (the dictator) decides the money allocation with another player who has to accept whatever the offer is. Unlike the Ultimatum Game, the second player does not affect the results in the Dictator Game. Lastly, Berg and colleagues (1995) developed the Trust Game, which consists of an investor and a trustee. In this game, the investor has to give an amount of money to the trustee, and

the trustee has to give some of the amounts back to the investor. The investor and the trustee are free to decide on the amount they will send back to each other. Therefore, both parties' decisions are shaped by their equity tendencies and expectations from each other.

All these behavioral games indicate that people tend to favor their personal interests and in-group interests at the expense of others. Apart from these interdependent or unilateral decision processes over tangible or hypothetical benefits that show people's ingroup favoritism tendency, an ingroup tends to be perceived as more decent, stable, and faithful compared to the outgroup, according to Brewer's (1999) study. Therefore, the assumed moral superiority of the ingroup is also sufficient to stand with the one we identify with. Recent findings regarding the relationship between ingroup's perceived moral superiority and ingroup favoritism also support Brewer's research (Dooesje et al., 2012; Hadarics et al., 2020; Iyer et al., 2012; Szabo et al., 2017).

Thus, considering the positive correlation between identification and favoritism, the role of identification with the parties (perpetrator or victim) should also be examined in the expected relationship between excusing aggression and moral foundations. As demonstrated in the study of Graham et al. (2011) mentioned in the previous section, if assumed moral foundations lead to more identification with one of the parties, it would be easier to excuse the aggression of the identified party. For example, for a person who is high on care/harm foundation, the victim may always be the identified party and hence they may not find the aggressive act excusable. On the other hand, for someone high in authority foundation, the more powerful party and what they do may be excused more easily regardless of the misconduct that prepares the aggressive act. Perhaps, fairness foundation would lead to supporting (excusing)

the party that acted aggressively against a morally unexcusable transgression, hence excusing through the party that seems to have achieved some form of fairness with respect to a wrongdoing. These are all open to exploration, which this dissertation aims to undertake. In other words, identification with the perpetrator or victim may mediate the relationship between moral foundations and excusing aggression.

1.5. The Current Study

In order to begin addressing parts of this gap in the literature, this dissertation attempts to examine the role of moral foundations in excusing verbal aggression involving some sort of a power asymmetry. Through different scenarios presented to the participants, an aggressive behavior (shouting and insulting) between two figures who hold relatively unbalanced social power were described.

There were three pairs: Employer and employee; teacher and student; and police and citizen. The context was a workplace for employer and employee; a high school for teacher and student; and a street for police and citizen. The aggression was verbal aggression (insulting and yelling) for each case.

In the first study, the operational definition of excusing aggression was the extent to which the verbal aggression (yelling and insulting) of a more powerful figure against the less powerful figure was seen as excusable or understandable. Being more powerful party means having the right to a legitimate sanction and the capacity to exercise authority over the other. Thus, the perpetrator was teacher, police officer or employer and the victim was student, citizen, or employee.

Each case was depicting that the more powerful party (employer, teacher, police) insulted and yelled at their less powerful counterparts (employee, student, citizen) upon some misconducts perpetrated by the less powerful party. There were

four misconducts for each context. These misconducts were swearing, damaging (the firm, class, and public property), stealing (embezzlement, cheating in the exam, stealing), and verbal harassment.

In the second study, the operational definition of excusing aggression was the extent to which the verbal aggression (yelling and insulting) of a less powerful figure against the more powerful figure was seen as excusable or understandable. Being less powerful means not having a legitimate right to sanction and no capacity to exercise authority over the other. Thus, in this case, the perpetrator was student, citizen, or employee and the victim was teacher, police officer or employer.

This time, each case was depicting that less powerful party (employee, student, citizen) insulted and yelled at their more powerful counterparts (employer, teacher, police) upon some misconducts perpetrated by the more powerful party. There were four misconducts for each context. These misconducts were swearing, damaging (reducing employee bonuses, not following the curriculum, and misuse of one's authority), corruption (embezzlement, forbidden private lessons, accepting bribe), and verbal harassment.

Based on the operationalization of excusing aggression that was mentioned above, although this research is exploratory, it can be speculated that some of the moral foundations might be more prominent in excusing aggression of some parties in some situations.

For instance, the authority moral foundation might have a role in excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power. According to the Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013), people who are high in authority foundation feel more secure under an authoritarian leader and have an evolutionary advantage in times of crisis. For this reason, it might be expected that people who

attach more importance to the authority might be more inclined to excuse the aggression of those in powerful positions.

On the other hand, since the operationalization of excusing aggression in this dissertation involves certain misconducts committed by the other party beforehand the aggressive act targets them, the fairness moral foundation might have a role in excusing verbal aggression because its retributive and reactive character in the course of events. According to the Moral Foundations Theory, the fairness-deceit dimension arises from people's reciprocity tendencies. In other words, this dimension helps people to identify people who disrupt order and functioning, and exclude them from the group. For this reason, it might be expected that people who attach more importance to the fairness foundation might be more inclined to excuse the aggression that shows a reciprocal nature.

Additionally, regardless of the context or content, since an aggressive act includes a perpetrator and a victim, the care-harm moral foundation might have a role in *not* excusing verbal aggression. According to the Moral Foundations Theory, the care-harm dimension derives from people's motives to protect the vulnerable in nature. Thus, individuals who are able to care for others have an evolutionary advantage and can pass on their genetics to future generations. In this regard, the care-harm dimension is related to care giving, empathy and kindness. For this reason, it might be expected that people who are high in care-harm foundation might be less inclined to excuse the aggression.

In addition to these foundations, the liberty moral foundation might have a role in excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has less social power. According to the Moral Foundations Theory, this dimension derives from people's reactions towards autocratic/corrupt leaders and helps them unite and get rid of tyrannical

leaders. Thus, this foundation provides an evolutionary advantage in changing the dysfunctional leaders. For this reason, it might be expected that people who are high in liberty foundation might be more inclined to excuse the aggression if the aggressive act was committed against the more powerful figure who had already exhibited some misconducts.

To sum up, some of the moral foundations might have a stronger role in excusing verbal aggression due to their specific roots related to the subject. Also, beyond all these particular foundations, due to their relations with each other, we might expect that binding and individualizing foundations would show correlations within themselves.

Considering that moral foundations can also affect whom one will identify with, and the identification to be experienced may be effective in the evaluation of the aggressive act, it is reasonable to expect that identification with the victim (or perpetrator) would also act as a mediator in the anticipated relationship between moral foundations and excusing aggression.

Considering the relationships that the literature remotely touches upon, this dissertation explores the role of moral foundations play through identification with the perpetrator in excusing verbal aggression occurring in formal relationships involving power asymmetry.

In the upcoming chapters, I present findings from two studies that examine the relationship between moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression in formal relationships involving power asymmetry (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). Finally, I overview the results and implications of these two studies (Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

This study aims to explore which moral foundations might play a more effective role in excusing verbal aggression perpetrated by someone who has more power (for example, a teacher against a student; a policeman against a citizen; an employer against an employee). Being more powerful means having the right to a legitimate sanction and the capacity to exercise authority over the other.

The operational definition of excusing aggression was the degree to which a more powerful figure's verbal aggression (yelling and insulting) against the less powerful could be excused by the audience (participants).

In this context, a few moral foundations were expected to come to the forefront. Firstly, the authority moral foundation was expected to have a role in excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power. Since the Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) suggested that people who are high in authority foundation prefer being under an authoritarian leader and resort more importance to the authority, this moral foundation is expected to make people high in authority more inclined to excuse the aggression of those in powerful positions.

Secondly, the fairness moral foundation might have a role in excusing verbal aggression because the aggression in this study happens in a way to react a misconduct committed beforehand.

Since the Moral Foundations Theory suggest that the fairness foundation arises from people's reciprocity tendencies, it might be expected that people who attach more

importance to the fairness foundation might be more inclined to excuse the aggression that emerges reactively.

Thirdly, since there are a perpetrator and a victim in the scenarios, the care-harm moral foundation might have a role in *not* excusing verbal aggression. According to the Moral Foundations Theory, the care-harm dimension derives from people's motives to protect the weak in nature. Hence, it might be expected that people who are high in care-harm foundation might be less inclined to excuse the aggression regardless of the course of events or reasons.

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Participants and Procedure

Participants were 177 people (91 women and 86 men) who voluntarily agreed to take part in an online survey. Their age ranged from 18 to 76 (M =38.25, SD =13.8). Of these participants, 14.1% had graduate degrees, 43.5% had Bachelor's degrees, 23.2% had vocational school of higher education associate diplomas, 17.5% had high school diplomas and 1.7% had secondary school diplomas. Although the majority of the participants (113 participants out of 177) defined themselves as Muslims, their level of religiosity was moderate (M =5.01, SD =3.8) and they defined themselves close to the midpoint of conservatism (M =4.3, SD =3.3). Regarding political views, they were leaning slightly towards the left (M =4.42, SD =3.07). All three scales were rated between 1 and 11 where higher scores imply more religiosity, conservatism and being politically right-wing.

All participants in the study first read and approved the Informed Consent Form. In this form, the purpose of the study was briefly stated as "to investigate people's attitudes towards aggression". The participants were also informed that they

could leave the study anytime they wished without any explanation and given an e-mail address where they could reach the researcher if they wanted to get more information. Upon their approval, the participants were first asked to answer demographic questions. Then they completed the Moral Foundations Questionnaire and excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire- Version 1 which was developed for this study. Additionally, after each excusing aggression item, the participants were also asked to indicate which of the parties they felt closer to. In the block that followed the questionnaires, the purpose and scope of the study were clearly and fully debriefed to the participants.

2.1.2. Measures

2.1.2.1. Demographic and Background Variables

The participants were requested to specify their gender, age, birthplace, education level, socio-economic status, religious beliefs, conservatism level, two-tailed (left-right) ideological self-placement, ethnicity, and violence experience (as a victim, witness, and perpetrator) (See Appendix A4).

2.1.2.2. Ideological Views

Using three items from demographic questions (religiosity level, conservatism level and two-tailed ideological self-placement), I created a new variable under the title of ideological view. The reason for doing this was so that we can examine the correlation of these variables with the study measures in a more comprehensive and unified manner. Accordingly, higher scores on this variable indicate more religiosity, conservatism and right-wing political views. The responses were on an 11-point Likert scale. The items were (e.g., “How much do you think your religious beliefs affect your daily life?”, “How conservative do you find yourself?”, “Where would you position

yourself politically on the following scale (from left to right)?") Smaller scores referred to less religiosity, less conservatism and left-wing political views. The Cronbach's Alpha was found .82 for this variable.

2.1.2.3. Moral Foundations Questionnaire

The Turkish version of Moral Foundations Questionnaire (Graham, Nosek, Haidt, Iyer, Koleva, & Ditto, 2011; Turkish adaptation: Yalçındağ, 2015) was used to measure the moral foundations of the participants (See Appendix A5). In addition to the commonly used five foundations, items belonging to the Liberty foundation were also presented in the questionnaire (Iyer et al., 2012; Turkish adaptation: Yalçındağ, 2015).

The final questionnaire had 41 items that were designed to assess to what degree the participant agreed with the items belonging to six moral dimensions (Harm, Fairness, In-group, Authority, Purity, and Liberty). The questionnaire had two parts: Moral relevance (18 items) and moral judgments (23 items).

Both parts included 6-step Likert-type answers ranging from 1 (absolutely do not care / completely disagree) to 6 (absolutely care / completely agree). In the relevance part, the participants were asked to rate the importance of each of the criteria when they make moral decisions (e.g., "Whether or not some people were treated differently from others").

In the part of the judgments, the participants were asked to rate to what extent they agree with each of the moral judgments (e.g., "If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer's orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty"). Regarding the internal consistencies, the Cronbach's alpha was .71 for harm foundation, .63 for fairness foundation, .67 for ingroup foundation, .79 for authority foundation, .82 for purity foundation and .50 for liberty foundation in this study.

2.1.2.4. Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire- Version 1

This 12-item scale, which aims to measure the extent to which the verbal aggression of more powerful party against less powerful party will be excused in different contexts, was developed to answer the questions put forward by this thesis. Considering that describing a power asymmetry in an official context will make it easier to stay away from confounding components, the parties to the power relationship are determined as employer-employee, teacher-student, and police-citizen. The type of aggression was determined as verbal aggression (yelling and insulting) throughout the scale since more vulgar forms of aggression would make the items non-excusable under any circumstances for many people and would end up in a floor effect.

In each pair, more powerful party (employer, teacher, and police) in terms of social power balance, yells and insults the less powerful party (employee, student, and citizen). The grounds that prepare this conclusion are the misconducts committed by the less powerful party. These misconducts were swearing, damaging (the firm, class, and public property), stealing (embezzlement, cheating in the exam, stealing), and verbal harassment. Each misconduct is tailored to suit the context in which the relationship takes place. For example, while the employee embezzled money at work, the student cheated in the exam. The participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = I totally disagree, 5 = I totally agree) how much they excuse the verbal aggression of the perpetrator (e.g., “In a workplace, a disagreement between the employee and the employer turns into an argument. The employer shouts and insults the employee at the end of the argument. If the reason for this disagreement is the employee's embezzlement, it can be excused for the employer to shout and insult the employee", "The disagreement between a teacher and a student in a high school turns

into an argument. The teacher shouts and insults the student at the end of the argument. If the reason for this disagreement is that the student cheated in the exam, it can be excused for the teacher to shout and insult the student"). This 12-item scale with four misconducts and three pairs (4 x 3) is presented in Appendix A6. Some items of the questionnaire are below:

Table 1. Sample Items from Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire

(Employer / Employee)
In a workplace, the disagreement between the employee and the employer turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the employer shouts and insults the employee. If this happened because the employee had embezzled money, the employer shouting and insulting the employee can be excused. I totally disagree I totally agree 1 5
(Teacher / Student)
In a high school, the disagreement between the teacher and the student turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the teacher shouts and insults the student. If this happened because the student had cheated in the exam, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused. I totally disagree I totally agree 1 5
(Police / Citizen)
In a city, the disagreement between the police and the citizen turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the police shouts and insults citizen. If this happened because the citizen had stolen something, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused. I totally disagree I totally agree 1 5

2.1.2.5. Identification with the Perpetrator

Considering that moral grounds can also affect the extent to which an observer identifies with the parties and that the identification to be experienced may be effective in the evaluation of the aggressive act, it is expected that the degree of identification with the victim (or perpetrator) will also have a mediating effect in the relationship between moral foundations and excusing aggression. For this reason, after each item asking about excusing, the participants were asked which of the characters in the

question they felt closer to. The question “Which party is closer to you?” was asked on a two-tailed scale ranging from -5 to +5 to measure the party with which the participants identified. They were asked to move the slider towards the side they felt closer. If they do not have a preference, it was suggested to keep the indicator in the middle. During the analyses, the answers were re-coded between 1 to 11, and high scores indicated high identification with the perpetrator (that have higher social power).

2.2. Results

Reliability analyses were run for the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire Version 1, and Identification with the Perpetrator scale. Principal Component Analysis and Exploratory Factor Analysis were conducted to detect the factor structures of excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire. Before testing the proposed model, inter-correlations among the variables were checked. In the last step, Path Analysis using AMOS 23.0 was conducted to test the expected relationships among variables that the current thesis proposed.

2.2.1. Excusing Verbal Aggression: Scale Construction and Descriptive Statistics

Regarding the scale construction, Principal Axis Factoring with Direct Oblimin rotation, Principal Component Analysis based on Parallel Analysis and Eigenvalue were conducted.

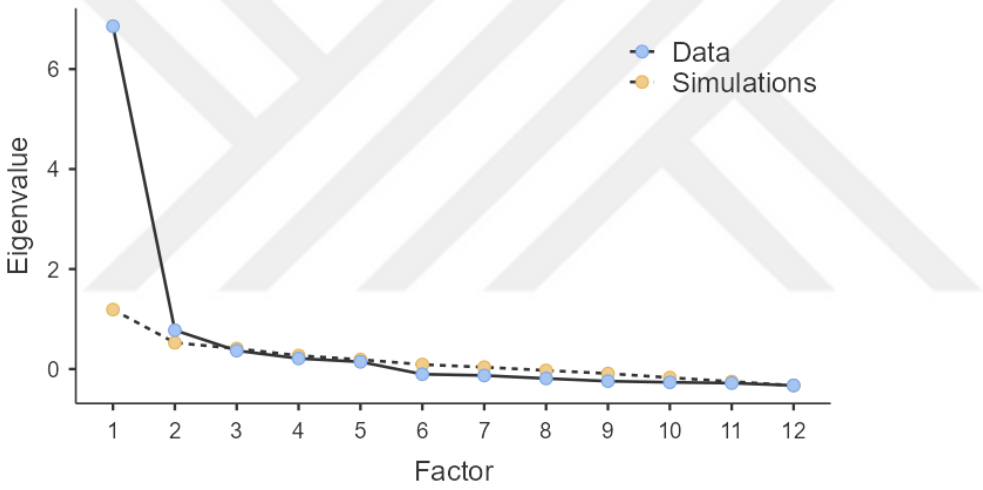
Although Principal Axis Factoring showed 2 factors with Eigenvalues over 1.00 that explain 71.01% of the total variance, the scree plot did not support the 2-factor solution.

Moreover, the 1-factor solution seemed more suitable to continue with since the 1-factor solution already accounted for 60.62% of the variance and the items that constitute the second factor also loaded in the first factor with even higher factor coefficients (See Table 2 for an overview of the items).

The Exploratory Factor Analysis based on Parallel Analysis and Eigenvalue also supported the 1-factor solution, and scree plot showed that there is only 1 factor with Eigenvalue's over 1.00.

The scree plot is below:

Figure 1. Factor structure of Excusing Verbal Aggression Scale based on Parallel Analysis



2.2.2. Internal Consistency Coefficients of Study Variables

For the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, the reliability scores for each foundation were calculated. The means, standard deviations and Cronbach alpha scores may be found in Table 3. These values reflected that some of them were not sufficiently reliable. Similarly, in Yalçındağ's study, the Cronbach Alpha was .64 for the harm foundation; .70 for the fairness foundation; .66 for the in-group foundation; .78 for the authority foundation; .79 for the purity foundation, and .61 for the liberty foundation (Yalçındağ, 2015: 29-38).

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings of Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire

Items	M	SD	Factor Loadings
Employer – Employee Dyad			
(If) the employee had sworn at the employer, the employer's shouting, and insulting the employee can be excused.	2.64	1.37	.66
(If) the employee intentionally had harmed the business, the employer's shouting, and insulting the employee can be excused.	3.06	1.42	.75
(If) the employee had embezzled money, the employer's shouting, and insulting the employee can be excused.	3.28	1.47	.78
(If) the employee had verbally harassed a colleague, the employer's shouting, and insulting the employee can be excused	3.35	1.44	.73
Teacher – Student Dyad			
(If) the student had sworn at the teacher, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	3.02	1.49	.77
(If) the student had deliberately made noise in the classroom and caused the lesson to be missed, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	2.69	1.42	.72
(If) the student had cheated in the exam, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	2.29	1.30	.69
(If) the student had verbally harassed a classmate, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	3.17	1.45	.79
Police – Citizen Dyad			
(If) the citizen had sworn at the police, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	2.69	1.40	79
(If) the citizen had deliberately damaged public property, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	2.77	1.43	.87
(If) the citizen had stolen something, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	2.65	1.39	.80
(If) the citizen had verbally harassed someone on the street, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused	3.04	1.50	.75

(N= 177, rated between 1 and 5),
Factor loadings were taken from the Factor Matrix tables.

The original scales' reliability coefficients were .69 for the harm foundation; .65 for the fairness foundation; .71 for the in-group foundation; .74 for the authority foundation; .84 for the purity foundation (Graham et al., 2011: 372); .81 for the economic liberty and .60 for the lifestyle liberty (Iyer et al., 2012: 9), indicating that the original scale's alpha coefficients were not much higher than the adaptation study.

Table 3. Mean, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of the Moral Foundations

Foundations	M	SD	α
Harm	5.21	.67	.71
Fairness	5.26	60	.63
In-group	3.91	.94	.67
Authority	3.78	1.05	.79
Purity	4.05	1.15	.82
Liberty	4.64	.61	.50

(N= 177, rated between 1 and 6)

The reliability analysis indicated that Cronbach Alpha was .82 for identification with the perpetrator measure, which consisted of the same question repeated across the 12 situations in which different dyads with different causes for aggression occurred. The factor analysis was not conducted for identification with the perpetrator since this questionnaire included only one item (e.g., "Which party appears closer to you?") that asked repeatedly after each excusing aggression.

The reliability analysis indicated that Cronbach Alpha was .94 for excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire and the score of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy test was found to be .89 with a significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, χ^2 (66) = 1113.826, $p < .000$.

2.2.3. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among the Study Variables

The mean of excusing verbal aggression scale was 2.87 (*SD* = 1.13), that was slightly lower than the middle point of the scale which is 3. This result revealed that

participants found the aggressive acts of the more powerful party excusable to only some degree. Regarding identification with the perpetrator, the mean of the scale was 6.64 (*SD* = 2.04), implying that the participants felt some degree identification with the perpetrator (rated between -5 and +5 and recoded into 1 and 11). Regarding the other variables, most of the moral foundations were found to be significantly correlated with each other as would be expected considering the literature.

Table 4. Summary of Means, Correlations, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Coefficients of Variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Harm		-	.66*	.36*	.23*	.33*	.33*	.00	.11
2. Fairness			-	.23*	.98	.23*	.33*	-.05	.02
3. In-group				-	.76*	.79*	.01	.26*	.22*
4. Authority					-	.80*	-.10	.34*	.27*
5. Purity						-	-.03	.26*	.29*
6. Liberty							-	.07	.14
7. Excusing								-	.39*
8. Ident.									-
	M	5.21	5.26	3.91	3.78	4.05	4.63	2.87	6.64
	SD	0.66	0.59	.93	1.05	1.15	0.60	1.13	2.04
	α	.71	.63	.67	.79	.82	.50	.94	.82

*$p < .01$.

(N= 177, moral foundations rated from 1 to 6; excusing powerful rated from 1 to 5; identification with the powerful rated from 1 to 11)

The correlations between demographic variables and excusing verbal aggression were also checked (See Table 5). The findings indicated that neither being the victim nor being the perpetrator of aggression was related to excusing verbal aggression. On the other hand; religiosity ($r(161) = .25$, $p = .001$), conservatism ($r(162) = .29$, $p = .000$), placing oneself on the right of the ideological spectrum ($r(157) = .21$, $p = .008$), being high in the binding foundations (for ingroup $r(175) = .26$, $p = .001$; for authority $r(175) = .34$, $p = .000$; for purity $r(175) = .26$, $p = .001$), identification with the perpetrator ($r(175) = .39$, $p = .000$) and excusing verbal aggression were found to be weakly positively correlated. Additionally, age and excusing verbal aggression

were found to be weakly negatively correlated, $r(175) = -.25$, $p = .001$). Since none of the demographic variables show strong correlation with excusing verbal aggression, they were not included in the tested models as distinct variables.

Table 5. Summary of Correlations among Demographic Variables, Moral Foundations and Excusing Verbal Aggression (when the perpetrator has more social power)

	Gender	Age	Ideology	Victimhood	Perpetration
Harm	-.01	.15	.09	.03	.12
Fairness	-.04	.02	.07	-.03	.02
In-grou	.16*	-.01	.48**	.28**	.17*
Authority	.19*	-.16*	.58**	.36**	.16*
Purity	.19*	-.05	.62**	.29**	.07
Liberty	-.04	-.06	-.16*	-.03	.09
Identification	.16*	.09	.21**	.15	.02
Excusing agg.	.17*	-25*	.30*	.13	.01

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

2.2.4. Path Analysis of the Proposed Model

In order to test the direct effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power, and its indirect effects through identification with the perpetrator, a path analysis was conducted using AMOS 23.0.

The path analysis results indicated that there were several non-significant paths. There were also several modification suggestions such as correlating the moral foundations across individualizing and binding domains (e.g., fairness and authority, harm and liberty, authority and liberty). Since none of those suggestions offer improvement greater than 10.00 and they seemed somewhat contradictory to the theory, they were not implemented.

After eliminating the non-significant paths in the initial model ($\chi^2(10) = 40.900$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .133; TLI = .85; CFI= .95), the fit statistics of the trimmed model improved (χ^2 (18) =48.064, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .097; TLI = .92; CFI= .95). However, the fit statistics of the trimmed model were still not adequate.

The trimmed model is presented in Figure 2, along with standardized regression coefficients and covariance estimates among moral foundations.

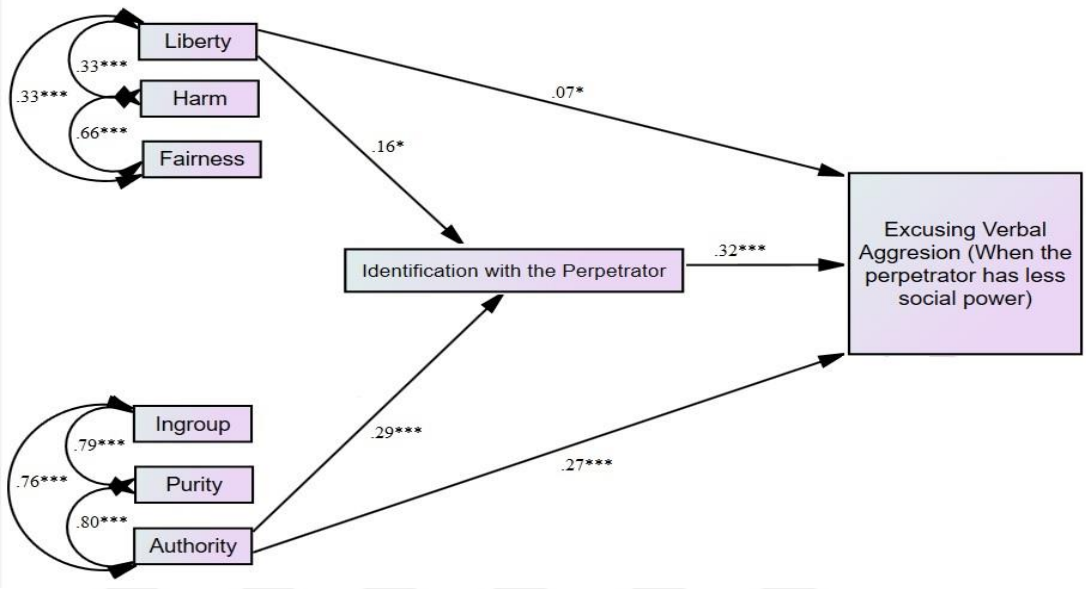


Figure 2. Standardized regression coefficients for the tested model. Non-significant paths were trimmed. *$p < .05$, ***$p < .001$

Accordingly, the direct effects of liberty and authority foundations on excusing verbal aggression were significant. The direct effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant. The indirect effects of liberty and authority foundations on excusing verbal aggression through identification were also both significant.

The indirect effect of the liberty foundation on excusing verbal aggression through identification with the perpetrator was significant (*b*=052, *SE*=.03 (95% *CI* [.001, .199], *p*=.047), and the indirect effect of the authority foundation through identification was also significant (*b*=091, *SE*=.037 (95% *CI* [.033, .189], *p*=.005).

To sum up, both direct and indirect effects of the authority moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power were significant.

On the other hand, the significant relationship between liberty moral foundation and excusing the aggression of the powerful was not only surprising but

also contrary to our initial expectations. In order to unpack and explain this result, the liberty moral foundation was closely scrutinized, both theoretically and operationally in an exploratory manner.

2.2.5. Unpacking the Liberty Moral Foundation

Theoretical background of the foundation and possible explanations of this unexpected result can be seen in Chapter 4, under the discussion title. Regarding the operational scrutinizing, exploratory factor analysis of the liberty foundation revealed two main factors which can be classified as economic liberty and lifestyle (or social) liberty. The Cronbach's alphas for these subscales were reported as .81 for economic liberty, and .60 for lifestyle liberty in the original paper (Iyer et al., 2012). In this dissertation, Cronbach's alphas for these subscales were found as .39 for economic liberty, and .58 for lifestyle liberty. The liberty foundation's overall reliability coefficient was .50.

Yalçındağ's (2015) findings also supported the idea that the liberty subscale of MFQ failed to yield promising reliability coefficients with Turkish samples. In Yalçındağ's study, Cronbach's alpha was .61 for the overall liberty scale and the score of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy test was found to be .75 with a significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. Yalçındağ also reported the subscales' reliability coefficients distinctively. Accordingly, the economic liberty subscale's reliability coefficient was .35, and the lifestyle liberty subscale's reliability coefficient was .56 (Yalçındağ, 2015: 38-39).

Considering that social segments cluster differently in Turkey compared to those in America or Western Europe, it can be said that the liberty moral foundation might not correspond exactly to any group in Turkey. Given the socio-political factors

(mentioned in Chapter 4) pointing out that the libertarians do not exist as a solid group in Turkey, it was decided to repeat the path analysis by using only the lifestyle liberty subscale of the liberty moral foundation.

Thus, the new path analysis would help to examine to what extent the absence of libertarians in the Turkish sample is a valid explanation for the significant relationship between liberty moral foundation and excusing aggression of the powerful. For this reason, liberty moral foundation was examined with exploratory factor analysis. The items that constituted the first factor in the exploratory factor analysis of this study were the following items:

Table 6. Lifestyle Liberty Items from Exploratory Factor Analysis

MFQ2.18: Society works best when it lets individuals take responsibility for their own lives without telling them what to do
MFQ2.19: The government interferes far too much in our everyday lives.
MFQ2.22: I think everyone should be free to do as they choose, so long as they don't infringe upon the equal freedom of others.
MFQ2.23: People should be free to decide what group norms or traditions they themselves want to follow

After creating a new variable labelled as Lifestyle Liberty (Cronbach's α= .58) the path analysis in the previous section was repeated with this variable instead of the overall Liberty foundation.

The Goodness-of-fit of the model to the data was not as good as the previous model (χ^2 (18) =68.486, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .126; TLI = .87; CFI= .92), yet the unexpected significant relationship between the liberty moral foundation and excusing verbal aggression was somehow clarified as these paths, along with the path leading to identification with the perpetrator, were no longer significant. The standardized path coefficients of the model were presented in Figure 3.

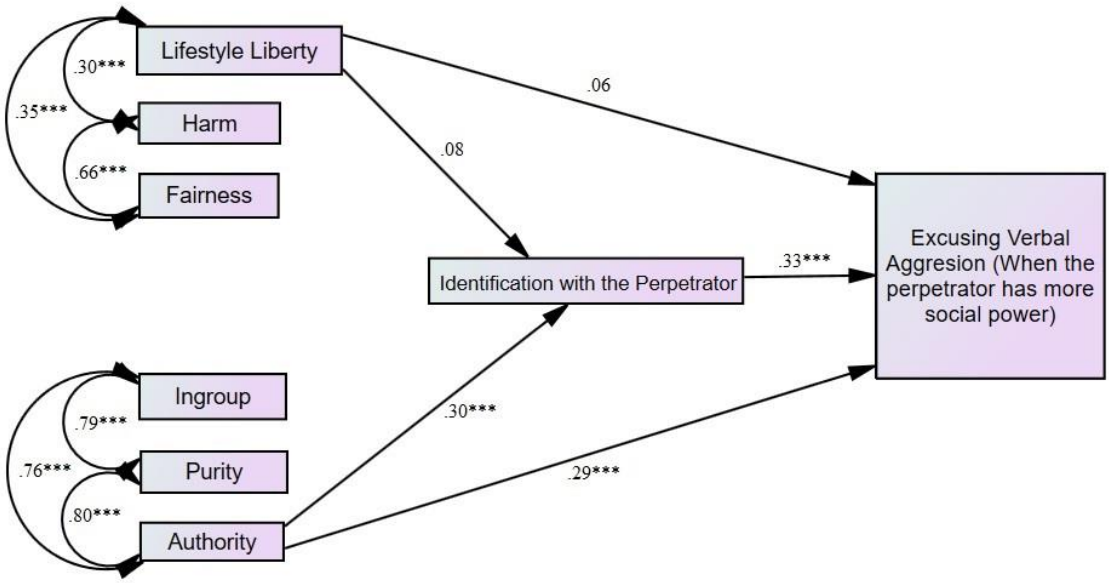


Figure 3. Standardized regression coefficients for the model with lifestyle liberty. ***$p < .001$

2.2.6. Additional Exploratory Analyses Based on Misconducts and Relational Settings

For further exploration, the question of whether there would be a difference in excusing the aggression of the perpetrator as a function of misconduct type or setting seemed reasonable. Therefore, some supplementary exploratory analyses were carried out (See Appendix B1 and B2) that frame the settings and misconducts as indicators of a latent dependent variable.

The first additional analysis that takes the settings (workplace, school, street) as indicators of excusing verbal aggression indicated that only the authority foundation's direct effect on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party was significant. However, regarding the indirect effects, all binding foundations' (ingroup, authority, purity) indirect effects on the dependent variable were significant (See Appendix B1). The second additional analysis that takes the misconducts (swearing, damaging, stealing, verbal harassment) as indicators of excusing verbal aggression

indicated that only the authority foundation's direct effect on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party was significant. However, regarding the indirect effects, none of the moral foundations' indirect effects on the dependent variable was significant (See Appendix B2).

2.3. Discussion

The first study of this dissertation examined the relationship between moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression in formal relationships involving power asymmetry when the perpetrator has more social power. The findings indicated that the direct effects of liberty and authority foundations on excusing verbal aggression were significant. The effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant. The indirect effects of liberty and authority foundations on excusing verbal aggression through identification with the perpetrator were also significant. However, the significant relationship between liberty moral foundation and excusing the verbal aggression (when the perpetrator has more social power) was quite contrary to our initial expectations. For this reason, additional analysis with liberty moral foundation was carried out and exploratory factor analysis of the liberty foundation revealed two main factors which can be classified as economic liberty and lifestyle liberty. Taking the socio-political factors (see Chapter 4) into consideration, the path analysis was repeated by using only the lifestyle liberty subscale. The new model showed that both the relationship between lifestyle liberty and identification with the perpetrator, and the relationship between lifestyle liberty and excusing verbal aggression were no longer significant.

Additionally, both direct and indirect effects of the authority moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression were significant. The findings also indicated that

identification with the perpetrator significantly predicted excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power. Thus, the expectation that people who are high in authority foundation might be more inclined to excuse the aggression if the aggressive act was committed by the more powerful party was confirmed.

However, it should be emphasized that the internal consistencies of some moral foundations (especially liberty and fairness foundations) were below the desired threshold in this study. Moreover, even after eliminating the non-significant paths in both models, the fit statistics of the models were still not sufficient.

It was also seen that care-harm moral foundation has no role in excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has more social power. As mentioned before, since an aggressive act includes a perpetrator and a victim, the care-harm moral foundation was considered to have a role in not excusing aggression. In a similar vein, the fairness moral foundation was considered in the model since the study's operationalization of aggression shows a reciprocal/reactive character. The reason why care-harm moral foundation did not show a significant relationship in this study might be that a mild type of aggressive act such as verbal aggression was chosen and the damage inflicted was not enough to create an image of a proper "victim" for participants. Likewise, the fairness foundation did not show any significant relationship with excusing verbal aggression. Additionally, other binding foundations (other than authority moral foundation) did not show significant relationships with the mediator or the outcome variable.

The results of the supplementary analyses that examined the outcome based on settings (the different relationships of employer/employee, teacher/student and police/citizen) show that the findings might vary depending on the research design and how the outcome is operationalized. In the light of the main study and additional

analyzes included in the appendices, although we are able to say that the authority foundation is an important direct and indirect predictor of excusing verbal aggression in a formal setting (where there is no emotional involvement) when the perpetrator has more social power, the results might change if the operationalization changes. In the next section, I examine the same model by changing the perpetrator to the less powerful in these relationships and explore the moral foundations in relation to excusing the verbal aggression.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

Study 2 examined the other side of the coin. This time it is aimed to investigate which moral foundations might play a more effective role in excusing verbal aggression perpetrated by someone who has less power (for example, a student against a teacher; a citizen against a policeman; an employee against an employer). Being less powerful means not having the right to a legitimate sanction and the capacity to exercise authority over the other.

The operational definition of excusing aggression was the degree to which a less powerful figure's verbal aggression (yelling and insulting) against the more powerful could be excused by the audience (participants).

In this context, a few moral foundations were expected to come to the forefront. Firstly, the liberty moral foundation was expected to have a role in excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has less social power. Since the Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) suggested that people who are high in liberty foundation are inclined to react against autocratic leaders, this moral foundation is expected to make people high in liberty excuse the aggression against those in powerful positions more easily.

Secondly, the fairness moral foundation might have a role in excusing verbal aggression because the aggression in this study happens in a way to react a misconduct committed beforehand. Since the Moral Foundations Theory suggest that the fairness foundation arises from people's reciprocity tendencies, it might be expected that people

who attach more importance to the fairness foundation might be more inclined to excuse the aggression that emerges reactively.

Thirdly, since there are a perpetrator and a victim in the scenarios, the care-harm moral foundation might have a role in *not* excusing verbal aggression. According to the Moral Foundations Theory, the care-harm dimension derives from people's motives to protect the weak in nature.

Hence, it might be expected that people who are high in care-harm foundation might be less inclined to excuse the aggression regardless of the course of events or reasons.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants and Procedure

Participants were 188 people (102 women, 85 men, and 1 did not specify the gender) who accepted to take place in an online survey voluntarily.

Their age ranged from 18 to 77 (M =38.71, SD =13.07). Of these participants, 20.7 % had graduate degrees, 47.9 % had Bachelor's degrees, 16 % had the vocational school of higher education associate diplomas, 13.8 % had high school diplomas, 0.5 % had secondary school diplomas, and 1.1 % had primary school diplomas.

Although the majority of the participants (122 participants out of 188) defined themselves as Muslims, their level of religiosity was moderate (M =4.66, SD =3.67) and they defined themselves close to the midpoint of conservatism (M =3.87, SD =3.21).

Regarding political views, they were leaning slightly towards the left (M =3.87, SD =3.21). All three scales were rated between 1 and 11 where higher scores imply more religiosity, conservatism and being politically right-wing.

All participants first read and approved the Informed Consent Form. In this form, the purpose of the study was briefly stated as “to investigate people's attitudes towards aggression”. The participants were also informed that they could leave the study anytime they wished without any explanation and given an e-mail address where they could reach the researcher if they wanted to get more information.

Upon their approval, the participants were first asked to answer demographic questions. Then they completed the Moral Foundations Questionnaire and excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire Version 2 which was developed for this study. Additionally, for each excusing aggression question they answered, they were also asked to indicate which of the two characters in the question they felt closer to. In the block that followed the questionnaires, the purpose and scope of the study were clearly debriefed to the participants.

3.1.2. Measures

3.1.2.1. Demographic and Background Variables

As in the first study, the participants were requested to specify their gender, age, birthplace, education level, socio-economic status, religious beliefs, conservatism level, two-tailed (left-right) ideological self-placement, ethnicity, and violence experience (as a victim, witness, and perpetrator) (See Appendix A4).

3.1.2.2. Ideological View

As in the first study, the same three items from demographic questions (religiosity level, conservatism level and two-tailed ideological self-placement) were used to create a new variable under the title of ideological view. Accordingly, higher scores on this variable indicate more religiosity, conservatism and right-wing political views. The responses were on an 11-point Likert scale. The items were (e.g., “How

much do you think your religious beliefs affect your daily life?", "How conservative do you find yourself?", "Where would you position yourself politically on the following scale (from left to right)?").

Smaller scores referred to less religiosity, less conservatism and left-wing political views. The Cronbach's Alpha was found .86 for this variable in Study 2.

3.1.2.3. Moral Foundations Questionnaire

The same questionnaire was used as in the Study 1 (See Appendix A5). Regarding the internal consistencies, the Cronbach's alpha was .58 for harm foundation, .47 for fairness foundation, .62 for ingroup foundation, .79 for authority foundation, .73 for purity foundation and .51 for liberty foundation.

3.1.2.4. Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire- Version 2

This 12-item scale, which aims to measure the extent to which verbal aggression of less powerful party against more powerful would be excused in different contexts, was developed to answer the questions put forward by this thesis.

Considering that describing a power asymmetry in an official context will make it easier to stay away from confounding components, the parties to the power relationship are determined as employer-employee, teacher-student, and police-citizen.

The type of aggression was determined as verbal aggression (yelling and insulting) throughout the scale since more vulgar forms of aggression would make the items non-excusable under any circumstances for many people and would end up in a floor effect.

In each pair, the less powerful party (employee, student, and citizen) in terms of social power balance, yells and insults the more powerful party (employer, teacher, and police).

The grounds that prepare this conclusion are the misconducts committed by more powerful party. These misconducts include swearing, damaging, corruption, and verbally harassing another person. Each misconduct is tailored to suit the context in which the relationship takes place. For example, while the police were accepting bribe, the teacher was depicted as giving private lessons to his students (although it was prohibited).

The participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = I totally disagree, 5 = I totally agree) how much they would excuse the verbal aggression of the less powerful against the more powerful party (e.g., “In a workplace, a disagreement between the employer and the employee turns into an argument. The employee shouts and insults the employer at the end of the argument. If the reason for this disagreement is the employer's embezzlement, it can be excused for the employee to shout and insult the employer", "The disagreement between a student and a teacher in a high school turns into an argument. The student shouts and insults the teacher at the end of the argument. If the reason for this disagreement is that the teacher is deliberately late to class, and causes the curriculum not to be followed, it can be excused for the student to shout and insult the teacher”, “In a city, the disagreement between the citizen and the police turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the citizen shouts and insults the police. If this happened because the police had accepted bribe, the citizen shouting and insulting the police can be excused”). This 12-item scale with four misconducts and three pairs (4 x 3) is included in Appendix A7 (Also see Table 7).

3.1.2.5. Identification with the Perpetrator

The same questionnaire was used as in the Study 1. During the analyses, the answers were re-coded between 1 to 11, and this time high scores indicated high identification with the perpetrator (that have less social power).

Table 7. Sample Items from Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire

(Employee / Employer)
In a workplace, the disagreement between the employee and the employer turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the employee shouts and insults the employer. If this happened because the employer had embezzled money, the employee shouting and insulting the employer can be excused. I totally disagree I totally agree 1 5
(Student / Teacher)
In a high school, the disagreement between the student and the teacher turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the student shouts and insults the teacher. If this happened because the teacher gave private lessons to his students although it was forbidden, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused. I totally disagree I totally agree 1 5
(Citizen / Police)
In a city, the disagreement between the citizen and the police turns into a discussion. At the end of the discussion, the citizen shouts and insults the police. If this happened because the police had accepted bribe, the citizen shouting and insulting the police can be excused. I totally disagree I totally agree 1 5

3.2. Results

Reliability analyses were run for the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire Version 2, and Identification with the Perpetrator scale.

Principal Component Analysis and Exploratory Factor Analysis based on Parallel Analysis and Eigenvalue were conducted to detect the factor structures of Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire.

Before testing the proposed model, inter-correlations among the variables were checked. In the last step, Path Analysis using AMOS 23.0 was conducted to test the expected relationships among variables that the current thesis proposed. Additionally, some supplementary analysis was carried out in the light of the findings from previous study.

3.2.1. Excusing Verbal Aggression: Scale Construction and Descriptive Statistics

Regarding the scale construction, Principal Axis Factoring with Direct Oblimin rotation, Principal Component Analysis based on Parallel Analysis and Eigenvalue were conducted. Although Principal Axis Factoring showed 3 factors with Eigenvalues over 1.00 that explain 69 % of the total variance, the scree plot supported the 1-factor solution (See Table 8 for an overview of the items). The Exploratory Factor Analysis based on Parallel Analysis and Eigenvalue also supported the 1-factor solution. The scree plot can be seen below:

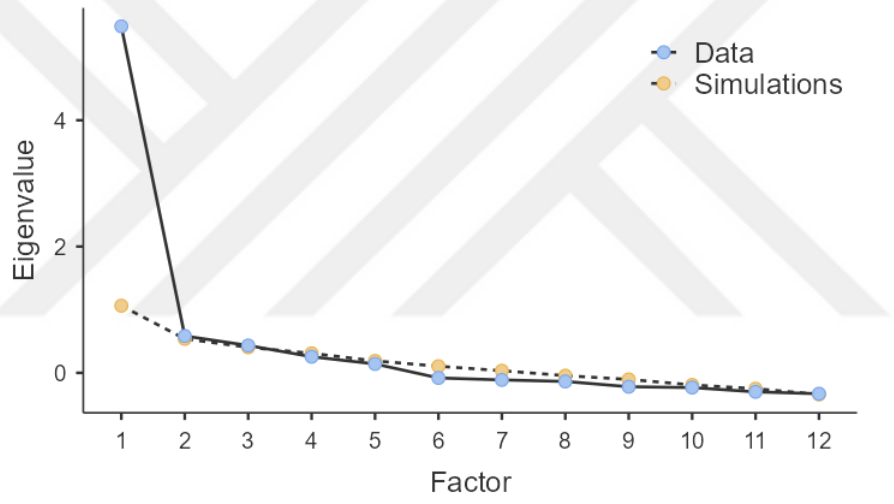


Figure 4. Factor structure of Excusing Verbal Aggression Scale based on Parallel Analysis

3.2.2. Internal Consistency Coefficients of Study Variables

For the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, the reliability scores for each foundation were calculated. The means, standard deviations and Cronbach alpha scores may be found in Table 9.

Unfortunately, the reliability coefficients of harm, fairness, ingroup and liberty moral foundations were below the desired threshold. The limitations related to the low coefficients of moral foundations will be discussed in the last chapter.

Table 8. Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings of excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire

Items	M	SD	Factor Loadings
Employer – Employee Dyad			
(If) the employer had sworn at the employee, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	3.55	1.31	.71
(If) the employer had intentionally reduced the employee bonuses, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	2.72	1.24	.63
(If) the employer had embezzled money, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	3.54	1.36	.44
(If) the employer had verbally harassed a colleague, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	3.92	1.24	.57
Teacher – Student Dyad			
(If) the teacher had sworn at the student, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused.	3.47	1.32	.54
(If) the teacher is deliberately late to class, and causes the curriculum not to be followed, it can be excused for the student to shout and insult the teacher.	2.70	1.28	.79
(If) the teacher gave private lessons to his students although it was forbidden, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused.	2.66	1.24	.44
(If) the teacher had verbally harassed another student, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused.	3.78	1.32	.62
Police – Citizen Dyad			
(If) the police had sworn at the citizen, the citizen shouting and insulting the police can be excused.	3.71	1.31	67
(If) the police had deliberately misused his/her authority, the citizen’s shouting and insulting the police can be excused.	3.76	1.39	.71
(If) the police had accepted bribe, the citizen’s shouting and insulting the polis can be excused.	3.83	1.34	.85
(If) the police had verbally harassed someone on the street, the citizen’s shouting and insulting the police can be excused.	3.98	1.27	.96

(N= 188, rated between 1 and 5),
Factor loadings were taken from the Factor Matrix tables.

Table 9. Mean, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of the Moral Foundations

Foundations	M	SD	α
Harm	5.22	.63	.58
Fairness	5.27	.52	.47
In-group	3.92	.89	.62
Authority	3.61	1.1	.79
Purity	4.01	1	.73
Liberty	4.70	.58	.51

(N= 188, rated between 1 and 6)

The factor analysis was not conducted for identification with the perpetrator since this questionnaire included only one item (e.g., "Which party appears closer to you?") that asked repeatedly after each excusing aggression.

The reliability analysis indicated that Cronbach Alpha was .90 for excusing verbal aggression Questionnaire Version 2 and the score of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy test was found to be .87 with a significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, χ^2 (66) = 731.972, $p < .000$.

3.2.3. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among the Study Variables

The mean of excusing verbal aggression questionnaire was 3.47 (*SD* = 1.30), that was higher than the middle point of the scale (which is 3) and higher than the mean of excusing verbal aggression questionnaire in the first study (version 1) which was 2.87 (*SD* = 1.13).

Regarding identification with the perpetrator, the mean of the scale was 6.99 (*SD* = 1.44), implying that the participants felt identification with the less powerful party to some extent.

Regarding the other variables, most of the moral foundations were found to be significantly correlated with each other as would be expected considering the literature.

Table 10. Summary of Means, Correlations, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Coefficients of Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Harm	-	.57**	.27**	.18*	.38**	.19**	-.02	.07
2. Fairness		-	.12*	-.06	.22*	.17*	.04	.15*
3. In-group			-	.73**	.71**	-.03	-.01	-.09
4. Authority				-	.70**	-.07	-.1*	.-.08
5. Purity					-	-.09	-.09	.-.08
6. Liberty						-	.12	.11
7. Excusing							-	.15
8. Ident.								-
M	5.21	5.27	3.91	3.60	4.01	4.70	3.47	6.99
SD	0.63	0.52	.89	1.09	1.00	0.58	1.30	1.44
α	.58	.47	.62	.79	.73	.51	.90	.61

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

(N= 188, moral foundations rated from 1 to 6; excusing powerful rated from 1 to 5; identification with the powerful rated from 1 to 11)

The correlations between demographic variables and excusing verbal aggression of the less powerful party were also checked (See Table 11). The findings indicated that neither being the victim nor being the perpetrator of aggression was related to excusing verbal aggression of the less powerful party. On the other hand; lifestyle liberty ($r(186)= .15$, $p =.045$) and identification with the perpetrator ($r(186) = .15$, $p =.039$) were found to be weakly positively correlated with excusing verbal aggression.

Table 11. Summary of Correlations among Demographic Variables, Moral Foundations and Excusing Verbal Aggression (when the perpetrator has less social power)

	Gender	Age	Ideology	Victimhood	Perpetration
Harm	-.30**	.17*	- .00	.01	.07
Fairness	-.15*	.09	-.14	-.17*	-.11
In-group	.09	-.07	.47**	.25**	19*
Authority	.13	-.15*	.59**	.27**	.30**
Purity	.05	-.04	.49**	.15*	.22**
Liberty	-.11	-.08	-.23**	.04	-.12
Identification	-.01	-.06	-.12	-.18*	-.03
Excusing agg.	.08	-17*	.01	-.06	-.07

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

Additionally, authority moral foundation and excusing verbal aggression were found to be weakly negatively correlated, $r(186) = -.16$, $p = .033$). Since none of the demographic variables show strong correlation with excusing verbal aggression, they were not included in the tested models as distinct variables.

3.2.4. Path Analysis of the Proposed Model

In order to test the direct effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has less social power, and its indirect effects through identification with the perpetrator, a path analysis was conducted using AMOS 23.0.

The path analysis results indicated that direct effect of liberty moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression and the direct effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing aggression were significant but the rest of the direct paths among variables were non-significant. There were also several modification indices suggesting adding covariance between the moral foundations (e.g., fairness and authority, purity and liberty, purity and harm, and fairness and purity). Since only one of them (fairness and authority) offers improvement greater than 10.00, this suggestion was implemented. Additionally, the non-significant direct paths between moral foundations and excusing aggression of the less powerful party were trimmed one by one.

After eliminating each non-significant path, the model was checked repeatedly. The modification indices offering improvement greater than 10.00 were also checked and another covariance was added between harm and purity. The trimmed model is presented in Figure 5, along with standardized regression coefficients and covariance estimates among moral foundations.

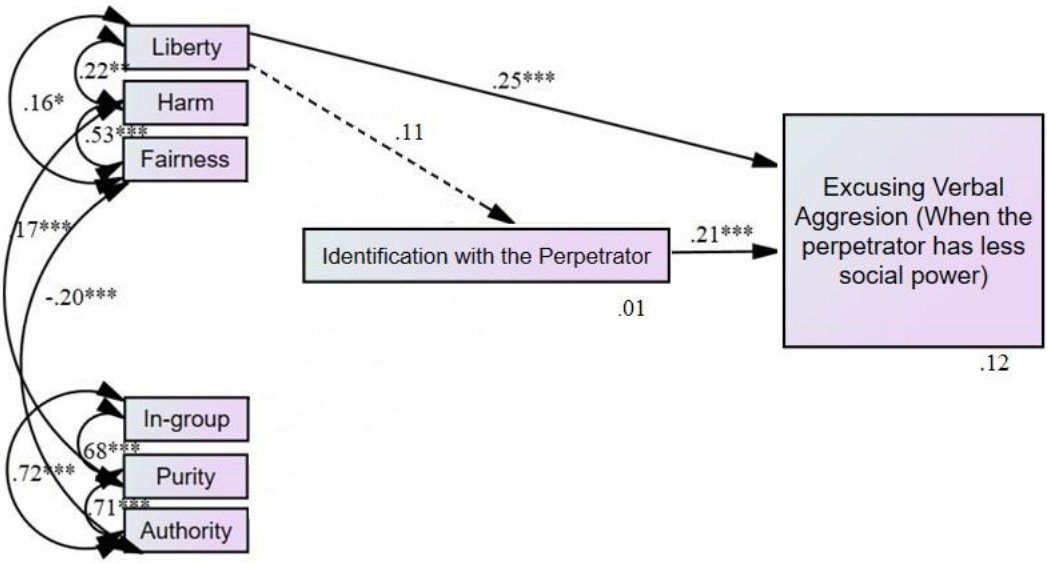


Figure 5. Standardized regression coefficients for the tested model. Non-significant paths were trimmed except the one between liberty and identification.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Accordingly, the direct effect of liberty foundation on excusing verbal aggression of the less powerful party was significant. The effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant. On the other hand, none of the indirect effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression through identification with the perpetrator was significant.

After adding covariances and eliminating the non-significant paths in the initial model (χ^2 (10) =64.347, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .170; TLI = .65; CFI= .88), the fit statistics of the trimmed model improved (χ^2 (18) =44.647, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .09; TLI = .90; CFI= .94).

The indirect effect of the liberty foundation on excusing verbal aggression through identification with the perpetrator was also calculated. Nonetheless, all the indirect effects of the moral foundations (including liberty foundation) on excusing verbal aggression were non-significant.

3.2.5. Unpacking the Liberty Moral Foundation

Taking the results of the previous study into consideration, the dual construct of the liberty foundation was decomposed again to reveal the relationships among the moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression of the less powerful party. For this reason, the items that belong to lifestyle liberty subscale that exploratory factor analysis had indicated were selected and used to compute a new variable. These items are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. Lifestyle Liberty Items from Exploratory Factor Analysis

MFQ1.18: Whether or not everyone was free to do as they wanted
MFQ2.18: Society works best when it lets individuals take responsibility for their own lives without telling them what to do
MFQ2.19: The government interferes far too much in our everyday lives.
MFQ2.22: I think everyone should be free to do as they choose, so long as they don't infringe upon the equal freedom of others.
MFQ2.23: People should be free to decide what group norms or traditions they themselves want to follow

After creating a new variable labelled as Lifestyle Liberty (Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$) the path analysis in the previous section was repeated with this variable instead of the overall Liberty foundation. The standardized regression coefficients were presented in Figure 6.

Non-significant direct paths between moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression were deleted (except the one between lifestyle liberty and identification) and the modification indices offering improvement greater than 10.00 were implemented.

Accordingly, the direct effect of lifestyle liberty foundation on excusing verbal aggression was significant. The effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant.

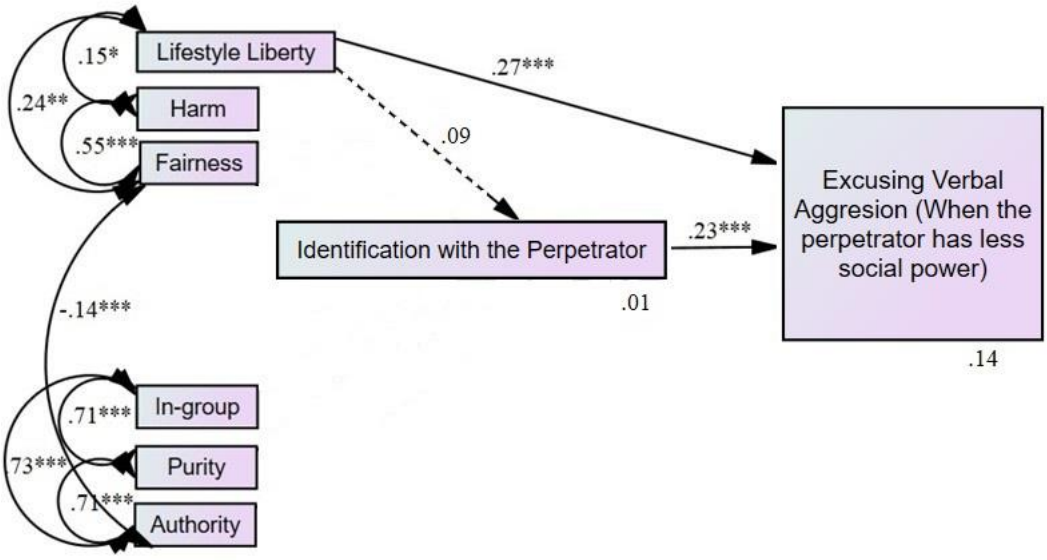


Figure 6. Standardized regression coefficients for the model with lifestyle liberty. Non-significant paths were trimmed except the one between liberty and identification.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

On the other hand, none of the indirect effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression through identification with the perpetrator was significant. The Goodness-of-fit of the model to the data was not as good as the previous model (χ^2 (19) =80.489, p < .001; RMSEA = .132; TLI = .80; CFI= .87).

3.2.6. Additional Exploratory Analyses Based on Misconducts and Relational Settings

For further exploration, the question of whether there would be a difference in excusing the aggression of the perpetrator as a function of misconduct type or setting seemed reasonable.

Therefore, some supplementary exploratory analyses were carried out (See Appendix B3 and B4) that frame the settings and misconducts as indicators of a latent dependent variable.

The first additional analysis that takes the settings (workplace, school, street) as indicators of excusing verbal aggression indicated that neither the direct effects nor the indirect effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression of less powerful party was significant. The fit statistics of the model were not sufficient either (See Appendix B3).

The second additional analysis that takes the misconducts (swearing, damaging, stealing, verbal harassment) as indicators of excusing verbal aggression indicated that only the fairness foundation's indirect effect on the dependent variable was significant. The effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant. However, none of the direct effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression less powerful party was significant (See Appendix B4).

3.3. Discussion

The second study of this dissertation examined the relationship between moral foundations and excusing verbal aggression in formal relationships involving power asymmetry when the perpetrator has less social power. The findings indicated that the direct effect of liberty moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression and the direct effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression were significant but the rest of the direct paths among variables were non-significant.

Considering the findings of the first study, the path analysis was repeated with using lifestyle liberty subscale instead of liberty moral foundation. The results indicated that the direct effect of lifestyle liberty on excusing verbal aggression was significant. The effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant. On the other hand, none of the indirect effects of moral

foundations on excusing verbal aggression through identification with the perpetrator was significant. Thus, the expectation that people who are high in liberty foundation might be more inclined to excuse the aggression if the aggressive act was committed against the more powerful party was confirmed.

On the other hand, the reliabilities of four moral foundations (out of six) were below .70 in this study and even after eliminating the non-significant paths in both models, the fit statistics of the models could not be brought to the ideal level.

It was also seen that care-harm moral foundation has no role in excusing verbal aggression when the perpetrator has less social power. As it was mentioned before, since an aggressive act includes a perpetrator and a victim, the care-harm moral foundation might have a role in not excusing aggression. In a similar vein, the fairness moral foundation was taken into consideration for the model since the study's operationalization of aggression has a reciprocal/reactive character. The reason why care-harm moral foundation did not show a significant relationship in this study might be that a mild type of aggressive act such as verbal aggression was chosen and the damage inflicted was not enough to create a "victim" for participants. Likewise, the fairness foundation did not show any significant relationship with excusing verbal aggression. Additionally, other individualizing foundations (other than liberty moral foundation) did not show significant relationships with the mediator or the outcome variable.

The results of the supplementary analyses that examined the outcome based on settings (the different relationships of employer/employee, teacher/student and police/citizen) show that the findings might vary depending on the research design and how the outcome is operationalized. In the light of the main study and additional analyzes included in the appendices, although we are able to say that the liberty

foundation is significantly related to excusing verbal aggression in a formal setting (where there is no emotional involvement) when the perpetrator has more social power, the results might change if the operationalization changes.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Two studies have been conducted to investigate the moral foundations of excusing aggression, supposing that the variety in the incidents of aggression that are excused might reflect the variety in people's subjective morality. Nonetheless, excusing aggression is too broad phenomenon to scrutinize with a single attempt. Not only the aggression's severity (hitting, yelling, beating, torturing) but also its types (psychological, sexual, physical) should be taken into consideration before framing the research question. Moreover, the identity of the parties to the aggression (both the perpetrator and the victim), and motivations behind aggression (for self-defense, with altruistic motives, to defend sacred values etc.) are also capable of adding new taxonomical diffractions and these diffractions might transform the inexcusable to excusable for some people.

For example, the intersection set of those who say "absolutely yes" to the statement "killing someone is inexcusable under any circumstances" and those who say "maybe" to the statement that "the state should execute child-molesters" is not zero. In other words, as new details are added to an aggression case, people may begin to excuse aggression that they were categorically against in the first place. Even the most extreme cases of aggression can find their advocates if these cases are structured with well-directed elaboration.

For these reasons, I constrained my research questions from various angles: In this dissertation, the aggression type was *verbal* aggression (yelling and insulting); there was a *power asymmetry* between the parties to the aggression; the context was formal that allows for hierarchical positions (and there were no emotional connections or close relationships between parties); the motivations were *punishing a misconduct* (that were tailored according to the context).

The first study was conducted to investigate whether certain foundations of morality would play a role in evaluating an act of verbal aggression in which the perpetrator has more social power compared to the other party. The path analysis indicated that the direct and indirect effects of liberty and authority foundations on excusing verbal aggression were significant. The direct effect of identification with the perpetrator on the excusing verbal aggression was also significant.

The fact that the authority moral foundation is significant in excusing the aggression of the party with more social power is also in line with the expectations stated at the beginning. Both the measurement tool we developed that involves an obvious power asymmetry between parties to the aggression, and the tendency that individuals who attach more importance to this moral foundation in excusing those in power as the theory suggested, seems to have made this result possible.

However, the significant relationship between liberty moral foundation and excusing the aggression (when the perpetrator has more social power) was quite contrary to our initial expectations. In order to understand that unanticipated finding, the liberty moral foundation has been examined in detail. A closer look at the original study (Iyer et al., 2012) that first coined the liberty moral foundation as an independent moral body revealed that the liberty moral foundation was developed due to the complaints of libertarians, whose central values were not included in moral

foundations. Iyer and colleagues (2012) defined liberty foundation as follows on their website; MoralFoundations.org:

> *"This (liberty) foundation is about the feelings of reactance and resentment people feel toward those who dominate them and restrict their liberty. Its intuitions are often in tension with those of the authority foundation. The hatred of bullies and dominators motivates people to come together, in solidarity, to oppose or take down the oppressor"*

For this reason, the liberty moral foundation has been twofold from the very beginning and covers economic and social realms simultaneously. On the other hand, social segments cluster differently in Turkey compared to those in America or Western Europe and it can be said that the liberty moral foundation might not correspond exactly to any group in Turkey. In other words, the sub-dimensions of the liberty moral foundation are almost mutually exclusive in Turkey; the intersection of those who embrace liberal economics and those who advocate lifestyle liberty is almost non-existent.

Many political scientists have already stated that Turkey's 20-year-old government (and its supporters) has been economically neoliberal and socially conservative **(**Çelik, 2015; Kalaycıoğlu, 2018; Lüküslü, 2016**).** The remaining large social segments are secularists, ethnic political parties, and socialists. Although the political agendas prioritized by these groups are different, it can be easily said that none of them are in favor of privatization. Quite the contrary, they are against the neoliberal economic policies pursued by the government. The only point on which these dissident groups with different focuses agree might be the criticism of the state's move away from being a social welfare state, and their demands for the state to act as a welfare provider and a regulatory body. In this respect, it would be difficult to talk

about a libertarian section who demands economic liberalism exclusively in Turkey similar to the one in the USA or Europe.

On the other hand, we can talk about a broad opposition that defends lifestyle liberty against the imposed conservatism of 20 years. Different social segments such as secular Turkish nationalists, secular Kemalists, Kurdish nationalists, and socialists can be included in this group. As many will remember, these groups, which were the components of the Gezi resistance, in which 3.6 million people participated in Turkey 10 years ago ("Gezi'ye kaç kişi", 2013), took to the streets at a time when the pressures on the lifestyles were increasing, and their common demands were interpreted as freedom by the researchers who analyzed the movement (Bilgiç & Kafkaslı, 2013; Konda, 2014). However, economic liberalism was not among the demands of this broad opposition. In this respect, it may make more sense that the lifestyle subscale of the liberty foundation be used as a more meaningful measurement tool for the Turkish context.

Regarding the reasons mentioned above, when only the lifestyle liberty foundation was used in a new analysis, the results indicated that neither of the previous paths were significant anymore. Hence, the economic aspect of liberty seems to have been driving this significant positive direct and indirect effect of excusing aggression on behalf of the more powerful party.

On the other hand, the fit indices of the second model were not as good as the previous model. The reason behind this setback might be the Moral Foundations Questionnaire's low reliability coefficients for some subscales. Especially the liberty moral foundation (even after using only the lifestyle liberty subscale) has not been a reliable measure for either of the two studies.

The second study was conducted to investigate whether certain foundations of morality would be effective in evaluating an act of verbal aggression in which the perpetrator has less social power compared to the other party. The path analysis indicated that the direct effect of liberty moral foundation on excusing verbal aggression and the direct effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression were significant but the rest of the direct paths among variables were non-significant.

Considering the results of the first study, the liberty foundation was decomposed again, and the model re-tested with the lifestyle liberty subscale along with other moral foundations. The results indicated that the relationship between lifestyle liberty and excusing verbal aggression strengthened. However, the fit statistics worsened and the non-significant relationship between the (lifestyle) liberty and identification remain unchanged.

In sum, the direct effect of the liberty moral foundation on the excusing verbal aggression of less powerful party was significant whereas the indirect effect of the liberty moral foundation on the excusing verbal aggression of less powerful party was not significant. Other moral foundations were not related to excusing verbal aggression of less powerful party. Also, the relationship between the identification with the perpetrator and excusing verbal aggression of less powerful party was significant.

Considering the results of these two studies, we can say that using power asymmetry in excusing of verbal aggression might have played an active role in significance of authority moral foundation in the first study, and in significance of the liberty moral foundation in the second study. Because the aggression emerges as a reaction towards some misconducts, excusing verbal aggression may have been related to the fairness moral foundation too. Or the care/harm foundation could have shown a

negative and significant relationship with excusing aggression in both studies. Since after an aggressive act, a victim and a perpetrator emerged, the participants with high care/harm morality may not have excused this situation. However, it seems that the identities presented by the measurement tool and using a mild level of aggression (that perhaps did not trigger the care/harm foundation) may have led the participants to evaluate the aggression through power asymmetry, as it was intended, and in two studies that mirror each other, two moral foundations that mirror each other stepped forward than other foundations.

Regarding the severity of the aggression, the preference for the term "aggression" instead of "violence" may also be a matter of debate. Even though the words of violence and aggression are often articulated instead of each other, social psychologists portray violence as a severe form of aggression that causes physical damage (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010; Huesmann & Taylor, 2006). In this regard, it might be safer to treat aggression as a spectrum and prefer "aggression" for its types of low severity.

4.1. Limitations

Regarding the limitations of this research, there are a few points that need to be emphasized. Firstly, the Moral Foundations Questionnaire had unacceptable reliability coefficients for some of its dimensions, as were found in previous studies in the Turkish sample (Sayılan, Türkoğlu, & Cingöz-Ulu, 2020; Yalçındağ, 2015; Yılmaz, Harma, Bahçekapılı, & Cesur, 2016) and in different cultures (Bobbio, Nencini, & Sarrica, 2011; Bowman, 2010; Kim, Kang, & Yun, 2012; Nilsson & Erlandsson, 2015). For this reason, it might have been more useful to prefer

measurement tools whose reliability and validity studies show locally more promising results in order to examine moral foundations.

Another limitation that should be mentioned may be related to the fact that the identification variable follows the items of excusing aggression scale in the research design. Theoretically, since participants cannot be expected to approach the perpetrator and victim identities with an impartial identity in a study investigating the excusing of the perpetrator, it makes sense to include the identification variable in the model. However, the identification measurement in this dissertation was carried out in a contextual manner. In other words, since the level of identification is measured in a way that were embedded in the scale questions based on an incident of verbal aggression, and the design had provided some additional information (e.g., misconducts) about these identities to the participant, the identification measurement might have gone beyond the participants' spontaneous identification levels that they already felt towards presented identities.

Additionally, although the fit statistics showed improvement after non-significant paths were eliminated, the fit values of the trimmed models could not be brought to the ideal level. Alternatively, better models can be obtained by adding other variables that might play a role in excusing verbal aggression to the model and removing the moral foundations that are seen to have no significant explanatory power.

4.2. Future Directions

For future directions, this study can be seen as a first attempt to examine excusing aggression along with the moral foundations. Many other types of aggression that are widely excused can be examined with a similar approach. For example, excusing aggression against an unfaithful spouse might be related with being high in

the purity-corruption foundation, while excusing aggression against those who criticize national values might be related with being high in ingroup-betrayal foundation. Therefore, changing the victim's identity, the severity of aggression, or the misconduct perpetrated by the other party that provoke aggression can alter the moral foundation that would evoke. For instance, as a future study, more severe aggression types can be tested along with a similar design that this dissertation used and care/harm foundation can be expected to be show negatively significant relationship with excusing aggression.

Undoubtedly, different variables (other than moral foundations) that would make excusing aggression easier can also be added to these models. For instance, the variables like social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism and collective narcissism might intensify excusing aggressive acts perpetrated by powerful figures. Similarly, future studies that may investigate the relationship between excusing intimate partner violence and morality might also include sexist beliefs, victim blaming or conservatism as mediators and can check the direct and indirect effects of morality on the outcome variable.

Besides mediator role of the identification variable, moderator role of identification might also be considered. As it was mentioned before, according to the minimal group paradigm literature, we know that even assigning people to a group based on a random criterion make them favor their group members over others. For this reason, we might expect people would excuse or tolerate some aggressive acts more if the perpetrators' identities are similar to theirs. Therefore, we might expect that identification with the perpetrator might increase or decrease the level of excusing an aggressive act. Depending on the level of identification with the perpetrator, excusing attitude based on subjective morality of people can strengthen or weaken.

For further exploration, the question of whether there would be a difference in excusing the aggression of the perpetrator as a function of misconduct type or setting also seemed reasonable. Therefore, some supplementary exploratory analyses were carried out that frame the settings and misconducts as indicators of a latent dependent variable and their findings led to new questions for future studies.

For instance, the first additional analysis that takes the settings (workplace, school, street) as indicators of excusing verbal aggression (when the perpetrator has more social power) indicated that only the authority foundation's direct effect on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party was significant. However, regarding the indirect effects, all binding foundations' (ingroup, authority, purity) indirect effects on the dependent variable were significant. This result implies that, as a future study, binding and individualizing foundations might be examined (instead of examining particular foundations) in their relation to excusing aggression.

Similarly, the fourth additional analysis that takes the misconducts (swearing, damaging, stealing, verbal harassment) as indicators of excusing verbal aggression (when the perpetrator has less social power) indicated that only the fairness foundation's indirect effect on the dependent variable was significant. In other words, the additional analyses showed that the foundations that show significant relationships with excusing verbal aggression might change, if the model is modified. Although these supplementary analyses provided some consistent results with the main studies, it is remarkable that as model was modified, another individualizing foundation (fairness) showed indirect significant relationship with excusing aggression when the perpetrator has less social power, and binding foundations showed indirect significant relationships with excusing aggression when the perpetrator has more social power. Therefore, evaluating moral foundations as two moral embodiments that have sub-

dimensions in themselves and scrutinizing these structures' relationships with excusing aggression stands as a concrete next step.

4.3. Implications and Conclusion

This dissertation, which only explores the excusing verbal aggression in formal relationships involving power asymmetry, tried to illuminate only one aspect of the only one layer of this multi-layered and multifaceted problem. If understanding is the beginning of producing solutions, I hope that this dissertation will be evaluated as a beneficial step on this path and inspires new research to be conducted in the field.

Considering that excusing some types of aggression or tolerating motivations behind it would enable aggressive acts, it can be expected that making aggression a taboo will also contribute to the reduction of calls for impunity or applauded attacks. For this reason, I think it is vital to explore the antecedents of excusing aggression and to marginalize these root causes instead of embracing them as a characteristic.

REFERENCES

American Psychological Association.(n.d.). Aggression. In *APA dictionary of psychology* Retrieved April 30, 2023, https://dictionary.apa.org/aggression

Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2002). Human aggression. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *53*, 27–51.

Axelrod, R. (1980). More effective choice in the Prisoner's Dilemma. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 24*, 379–403.

Berg, J., Dickhaut, J., & McCabe, K. (1995). Trust, reciprocity, and social history. *Games and Economic Behavior*, *10*(1), 122-142.

Bilgiç, E. E., & Kafkaslı, Z. (2013). *Gencim, özgürlükçüyüm, ne istiyorum? Direngeziparkı anketi sonuç raporu*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları. https://www.academia.edu/3990413/Gencim_Özgürlükçüyüm_Ne_İstiyorum_direngeziparkı_Anketi_Sonuç_Raporu

Bobbio, A., Nencini, A., & Sarrica, M. (2011). Moral Foundation Questionnaire: Analisi della struttura fattoriale della versione italiana [The Moral Foundations Questionnaire: Analysis of the factor structure of the Italian version]. *Giornale di Psicologia*, *5*, 7–18.

Bowman, N. (2010). German translation of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire. http://onmediatheory.blogspot.com/2010/07/german-translation-of-moral-foundations.html.

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, *55*, 429-444.

Bushman, B. J., & Huesmann, L. R. (2010). Aggression. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (5th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 833–863). John Wiley & Sons.

Buss, A. H. (1966). Instrumentality of aggression, feedback, and frustration as determinants of physical aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3,* 153-162.

Çelik, A. (2015). Turkey's new labour regime under the Justice and Development Party in the first decade of the twenty-first century: Authoritarian flexibilization. *Middle Eastern Studies*, *51*(4), 618-635.

Doosje, B., Van den Bos, K., Loseman, A., Feddes, A. R., & Mann, L. (2012). "My in-group is superior!": Susceptibility for radical right-wing attitudes and

behaviors in dutch youth. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research*, *5*(3), 253-268.

Eşini yatak odasında başkasıyla basmıştı! Alkışlarla uğurlandı. (2017, Aralık 24). *Mynet.* https://www.mynet.com/esini-yatak-odasinda-baskasiyla-basmisti-alkislarla-ugurlandi-110103579055

Etik ve milli hesaplardan kadınlara tehdit ve taciz. (2020, Mayıs 18). *Eşitlik, Adalet, Kadın Platformu.* https://esitlikadaletkadin.org/etik-ve-milli-hesaplardan-kadinlara-kufur-tehdit-ve-taciz/

Fares, N. E., Ramirez, J. M., Cabrera, J. M., Lozano, F., & Salas, F. (2011). Justification of physical and verbal aggression in Uruguayan children and adolescents. *The Open Psychology Journal*, *4*(1), 45-54.

Feshbach, S. (1964). The function of aggression and the regulation of aggressive drive. *Psychological Review, 71*, 257-272.

Fraczek, A. (1985). Moral approval of aggressive acts: A Polish-Finnish comparative study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *16*(1), 41-54.

Fujihara, T., Kohyama, T., Andreu, J. M., & Ramirez, J. M. (1999). Justification of interpersonal aggression in Japanese, American, and Spanish students. *Aggressive Behavior: Official Journal of the International Society for Research on Aggression, 25*(3), 185-195.

Gezi'ye kaç kişi katıldı? (2013, Kasım 25). *CNN Turk. Retrieved from:* https://www.cnnturk.com/guncel/geziye-kac-kisi-katildi

Graham, J., Nosek, B. A., Haidt, J., Iyer, R., Koleva, S., & Ditto, P. H. (2011). Mapping the moral domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 101*, 366-385.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B.A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96,* 1029-1046.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., Koleva, S., Motyl, M., Iyer, R., Wojcik, S. P., & Ditto, P. H. (2013). Moral foundations theory: The pragmatic validity of moral pluralism. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 47, pp. 55-130). Academic Press.

Gültekin Alan serbest kalsın! (2016, Nisan 14). *Change.org*. Retrieved from: https://www.change.org/p/özgecan-arslan-ın-katilini-öldüren-gültekin-alan-serbest-kalsın

Güth, W., Schmittberger, R., & Schwarze, B. (1982). An experimental analysis of ultimatum bargaining. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, 3*, 367–388.

Hadarics, M., Szabó, Z. P., & Kende, A. (2020). The relationship between collective narcissism and group-based moral exclusion: The mediating role of intergroup threat and social distance. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *8*(2), 788-804.

Haidt, J. (2001). The emotional dog and its rational tail: a social intuitionist approach to moral judgment. *Psychological Review*, *108*(4), 814.

Haidt, J., & Graham, J. (2007). When morality opposes justice: Conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize. *Social Justice Research*, *20*, 98-116.

Haidt, J., & Joseph, C. (2004). Intuitive ethics: How innately prepared intuitions generate culturally variable virtues. *Daedalus*, *133*(4), 55-66.

Hamzaoglu, N., & Türk, B. (2019). Prevalence of physical and verbal violence against health care workers in Turkey. *International Journal of Health Services*, *49*(4), 844-861.

Hardin, G. (1968). The tragedy of the commons. The population problem has no technical solution; it requires a fundamental extension in morality. *Science*, *162***,** 1243–1248.

Heene, M., Hilbert, S., Freudenthaler, H. H., & Bühner, M. (2012). Sensitivity of SEM fit indexes with respect to violations of uncorrelated errors. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *19*, 36-50. doi:10.1080/10705511. 2012.634710

Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *6*(1), 1-55.

Huesmann, L. R., & Taylor, L. D. (2006). The role of the mass media in violent behavior. In R. C. Brownson (Ed.), *Annual review of public health* (Vol. 26). Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Iyer, A., Jetten, J., & Haslam, S. A. (2012). Sugaring o'er the devil: Moral superiority and group identification help individuals downplay the implications of ingroup rule-breaking. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *42*(2), 141-149.

Iyer, R., Koleva, S., Graham, J., Ditto, P., & Haidt, J. (2012) Understanding libertarian morality: The psychological dispositions of self-identified libertarians. PLoS ONE *7*(8): e42366. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0042366.

Kahneman, D., Knetsch, J. L., & Thaler, R. H. (1986). Fairness and the assumptions of economics. *The Journal of Business*, *59*(4), S285–S300.

Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2018). Two elections and a political regime in crisis: Turkish politics at the crossroads. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 18*(1), 21-51.

Kim, K. R., Kang, J. S., & Yun, S. (2012). Moral intuitions and political orientation: Similarities and differences between South Korea and the United States. *Psychological Reports*, *111*(1), 173-185.

Kline, R. B. (2015). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. Guilford publications.

Kohlberg, L. (1969). Stage and sequence: The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization. In D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp 347-480). Rand McNally.

Kohlberg, L. (1976). Moral stages and moralization. T. Lickona (Ed.) *Moral development and behavior*. NY: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.

Kohlberg, L., & Hersh, R. H. (1977). Moral development: A review of the theory. *Theory into Practice*, *16*(2), 53-59.

Koleva, S., Graham, J., Iyer, Y., Ditto, P.H., & Haidt, J. (2012) Tracing the threads: How five moral concerns (especially Purity) help explain culture war attitudes. *Journal of Research in Personality, 46(2),* 184-194.

Konda. (2014). *Gezi raporu.* https://konda.com.tr/rapor/67/gezi-raporu

Krebs, D., Vermuelen, S. C. A., Carpendale, J. I., & Denton, K. (1991). Structural and situational influences on moral judgment: An interaction between stage and dilemma. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Handbook of moral behavior and development: Vol. 2. Research* (pp. 139–170). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kremic, M. B. F., Terzic-Supic, Z. J., Santric-Milicevic, M. M., & Trajkovic, G. Z. (2017). Encouraging employees to report verbal violence in primary health care in Serbia: A cross-sectional study. *Slovenian Journal of Public Health*, *56*(1), 11-17.

Lagerspetz, K. M., & Westman, M. (1980). Moral approval of aggressive acts: A preliminary investigation. *Aggressive Behavior, 6*(2), 119-130.

Lapsley, D. K. (2006). Moral stage theory. In M. Killen & J. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (pp. 37–66). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (1999). Social dominance and social identity in the United States and Israel: Ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation? *Political Psychology*, *20*(1), 99-126.

Lewis, G. J., & Bates, T. C. (2011). From left to right: How the personality system allows basic traits to influence politics via characteristic moral adaptations. *British Journal of Psychology, 102,* 1-13.

Lüküslü, D. (2016). Creating a pious generation: Youth and education policies of the AKP in Turkey. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, *16*(4), 637-649.

Moyer, K. (1976). *The psychobiology of aggression.* Harper & Row.

Murdock, G. P. (1980). *Theories of illness: A world survey*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Napier, J. L., & Luguri, J. B. (2013). Moral mind-sets: Abstract thinking increases a preference for "individualizing" over "binding" moral foundations. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 4*(6), 754-759.

Nilsson, A., & Erlandsson, A. (2015). The Moral Foundations taxonomy: Structural validity and relation to political ideology in Sweden. *Personality and Individual Differences, 76*, 28-32.

Nucci, L. P., & Turiel, E. (1978). Social interactions and the development of social concepts in preschool children. *Child Development, 49*(2), 400-407.

Nucci, L., & Turiel, E. (1993). God's word, religious rules, and their relation to Christian and Jewish children's concepts of morality. *Child Development, 64*(5), 1475-1491.

Pakaluk, M. (2005). *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.

Park, L. (1992). *Cross-cultural explanations of illness: Murdock revisited.* University of Chicago Press.

Piaget, J. (1932/1965). *The Moral Judgment of the Child*. (M. Gabain, Trans.). New York: Free Press.

Ramirez, J. M. (1993). Acceptability of aggression in four Spanish regions and a comparison with other European countries. *Aggressive Behavior, 19*(3), 185-197.

Ramirez, J. M., Andreu, J. M., Fujihara, T., Musazadeh, Z., & Saini, S. (2007). Justification of aggression in several Asian and European countries with different religious and cultural backgrounds. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 31*(1), 9-15.

Rule, B. G. (1974). The hostile and instrumental functions of human aggression. In J. de Wit & W. W. Hartup (Eds.), *Determinants and origins of aggressive behaviors.* Mouton Press.

Scott, J. P. (1972). Hostility and aggression. In B. Wolman (Ed.), *Handbook of genetic psychology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Seddig, D., & Davidov, E. (2018). Values, attitudes toward interpersonal violence, and interpersonal violent behavior. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*, Article 604.

Shweder, R. A. (1990). In defense of moral realism: Reply to Gabennesch. *Child Development, 61*, 2060-2067.

Shweder, R. A., Much, N. C., Mahapatra, M., & Park, L. (1997). The "big three" of morality (autonomy, community, and divinity) and the "big three" explanations of suffering. *Morality and Health, 81,* 119-169.

Shweder, R. A., Much, N. C., Mahapatra, M., & Park, L. (2003). The "big three" of (autonomy community, and divinity) morality and the "big three" explanations of suffering. *Why do men barbeque? Recipes for cultural psychology*. Harvard University Press.

Snarey, J. (1985). The cross-cultural universality of social-moral development: A critical review of Kohlbergian research. *Psychological Bulletin, 97***,** 202–232.

Sosyal medya yok etmenin aracı oluyor. (2016, Haziran 7). *Mynet.* https://www.mynet.com/sosyal-medya-yok-etmenin-araci-oluyor 110102487049

Szabó, Z. P., Mészáros, N. Z., & Csertő, I. (2017). The role of perceived in-group moral superiority in reparative intentions and approach motivation. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8,* Article 912.

Tajfel, H. (1970). Experiments in intergroup discrimination. *Scientific American, 223,* 96–102.

Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1,* 149–178. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), The social psychology of intergroup relations (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Turiel, E. (1979). Distinct conceptual and developmental domains: Social-convention and morality. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Turiel, E. (1983). *The development of social knowledge: Morality and convention*. Cambridge University Press.

Turner, P., & Ireland, J. L. (2011). Officer attitudes towards intra-group aggression in young people and young adults: Does the reported motivation of an aggressor impact on intervention and support? *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 34*(5), 309-316.

Van Leeuwen, F. & Park, J.H. (2009). Perceptions of social dangers, moral foundations, and political orientation. *Personality and Individual Differences, 47,* 169–173.

Vauclair, C., & Fischer, R. (2011). Do cultural values predict individuals' moral attitudes? A cross-cultural multilevel approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41(5),* 645-657.

Yalçındağ, B. (2015). Searching for the content and scope of morality: With a framework of moral foundations theory (unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ankara: Middle East Technical University.

Yılmaz, O., Harma, M., Bahçekapılı, H. G., & Cesur, S. (2016). Validation of the moral foundations questionnaire in Turkey and its relation to cultural schemas of individualism and collectivism. *Personality and Individual Differences, 99,* 149-154.

APPENDICES

A. STUDY MATERIALS

Appendix A1: Approval of the Metu Human Subjects Ethics Committee

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816 /

14 NİSAN 2022 |

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Banu CİNGÖZ ULU

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Çağdan ERDOĞAN'ın "Saldırganlığın Mazur Görülmesinde Ahlaki Temellerin Rolü" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **0188-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

Appendix A2: Informed Consent Form

Sayın katılımcı,

Araştırmamıza katılmadan önce lütfen alttaki katılımcı bilgi formunu dikkatlice okuyunuz. Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Banu Cingöz Ulu danışmanlığında, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Çağdan Erdoğan tarafından doktora tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir.Bu çalışma ile, insanların şiddete yönelik tutumları araştırılmaktadır.

Araştırma kapsamında sizlerden öncelikle ahlaki tercihlerinizi bildiren bir ölçeğe cevap vermeniz istenecektir. Ardından ise çeşitli kurgusal şiddet hikayeleri okumanız ve bunlara dair düşüncelerinizi bildirmeniz istenecektir.

Araştırmaya katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalı olup, ortalama 20 dakika sürmesi beklenmektedir.Araştırmaya katılım anonim olacak, toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, ve katılımcılardan herhangi bir kimlik bilgisi istenmeyecektir.Dilerseniz araştırmaya katılmayabilir ya da herhangi bir zamanda hiçbir açıklama sunmaksızın araştırmadan çekilebilirsiniz. Bunun için tarayıcınızın penceresini kapatmanız yeterli olacaktır. Bu durumda vermiş olduğunuz cevaplar otomatik olarak silinecek ve sunduğunuz veriler analize dahil edilmeyecektir.

Araştırmanın öngörülen ciddi bir riski yoktur. Günlük hayattaki karşılaştığınız (gazete/haber sayfaları, vb.) şiddet haberlerinden daha fazla stres unsuru barındırmamaktadır. Araştırmanın size doğrudan bir fayda sağlamasını da beklemiyoruz. Ancak katılımınız şiddet olgusunu ve buna dair tutumları belirleyen ahlaki faktörleri ortaya çıkarmamız açısından sosyal psikoloji bilimine katkı ve fayda sağlayacaktır.Araştırmamıza katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız lütfen aşağıdaki kutucukları işaretleyerek onayınızı bildiriniz.

Katılımcı bilgi ve onam formunu okudum ve anladım. ☐
Dilediğim zaman araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi biliyorum. ☐
Bu çalışmaya katılmayı tamamen gönüllü olarak onaylıyorum. ☐

Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz aşağıdaki elektronik posta adresinden araştırmacıya ulaşabilirsiniz:

Çağdan Erdoğan:

İlginiz için teşekkür ederiz. Bu çalışmaya ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından 14 Nisan 2022 tarihinde 0188-ODTUİAEK-2022 protokol numarası ile etik onayı verilmiştir. Daha fazla bilgi için ueam@metu.edu.tr e-posta adresinden iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

Appendix A3: Debrief Form

Araştırmamıza katıldığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Araştırmamız ile ilgili daha çok bilgi sahibi olmak isterseniz, lütfen 1-2 dakikanızı ayırarak katılımcı bilgilendirme formunu da okuyunuz.

Bu çalışma aracılığıyla, sosyal güç asimetrisi içeren durumlarda saldırganlığı mazur görmenin ahlaki kodlarını araştırmayı amaçlamaktayız. Saldırgan bir hareketin taraflarından biri otorite figürü olduğunda (ör., vatandaşa karşı polis), bir taraf daha çok sosyal güce sahip olduğunda (ör., çalışana karşı işveren), ya da bir taraf sosyal olarak baskın grup olduğunda (ör., öğrenciye karşı), belli ahlaki temeller faile ya da kurbana karşı tutumları etkiliyor olabilir.

Özellikle, otorite ahlaki kodunun (Graham et al., 2013) daha güçlünün daha az güçlüye gösterdiği saldırganlığın mazur görülmesinde etkili olması mümkündür. Benzer şekilde, özgürlük ahlaki kodunun (Graham et al., 2013) da daha az güçlünün daha güçlüye yönelttiği saldırganlığın mazur görülmesinde bir rolü olması mümkündür. Ahlaki kodların kiminle özdeşleşeceğimizi de etkileyebileceği ve fail ya da kurbanla yaşanacak özdeşleşimin saldırgan hareketin değerlendirilmesinde etkili olabileceği göz önüne alındığında, kurbanla (ya da faille) özdeşleşimin ahlaki kodlar ve saldırganlığı mazur görme arasındaki ilişkide aracılık etmesi beklenmektedir.

Araştırmamıza sunduğunuz değerli katkıdan dolayı çok teşekkür ederiz.

Saygılarımla,

Çağdan Erdoğan

Graham, J., Haidt, J., Koleva, S., Motyl, M., Iyer, R., Wojcik, S. P. ve Ditto, P. H. (2013). Moral Foundations Theory: The Pragmatic Validity of Moral Pluralism. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *47*, 55–130. doi:10.1016/B978-0-12-407236-7.00002-4

Appendix A4: Demographic Questions

Cinsiyetiniz / *Gender*:
Yaşınız / *Age*:
Doğum yeriniz / *Birth Place*:
Yaşamınızın büyük bölümünü geçirdiğiniz yer / *The place where you have spent most of your life*:
Büyükşehir / İl / İlçe / Belde / Köy // *Metropolis / City / County / Town / Village*
Eğitim düzeyiniz (En son tamamladığınız okul):
The level of education (The last institution you graduated):
İlkokul / Ortaokul / Lise / Ön Lisans-Yüksekokul / Lisans / Lisansüstü
Primary school / Middle school / High school / Associate School / Undergraduate / Postgraduate
Sosyo-ekonomik açıdan kendinizi hangi sınıfa ait görmektesiniz?
Socio-economically, which class do you see yourself as belonging to?
Üst / Orta Üst / Orta / Orta Alt / Alt
Upper class / Middle Upper class / Middle class / Middle Lower class / Lower class
Herhangi bir dini inancınız varsa hangi dine inanmaktasınız?
If you have any religious beliefs, which religion do you believe in?
Size göre dini inancınız gündelik yaşantınızı ne kadar etkiliyor?
How much do you think your religious beliefs affect your daily life?
Hiç (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) Oldukça Fazla
None (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) Very Much
Kendinizi ne kadar muhafazakar bulursunuz?
How conservative do you find yourself?
Hiç (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) Oldukça Fazla
None (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) Very Much
Kendinizi siyasi olarak aşağıdaki ölçek üzerinde nerede konumlandırırsınız?
Where would you position yourself politically on the following scale?
Sol (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) Sağ
Left (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) Right
Kendinizi etnik olarak nasıl tanımlarsınız? :
How would you describe yourself ethnically? :
Daha önce şiddete maruz kaldınız mı? Cevabınız evet ise faille bağlantınız ne idi?:
Have you been exposed to aggression before? If yes, what was your connection with the perpetrator?:
Daha önce şiddete tanık oldunuz mu? Cevabınız evet ise faille bağlantınız ne idi?:
Have you witnessed aggression before? If yes, what was your connection with the perpetrator?:
Daha önce kimseye şiddet uyguladınız mı? Cevabınız evet ise mağdurla bağlantınız ne idi?:
Have you shown aggression towards anyone before? If yes, what was your connection with the victim?:

Appendix A5: Moral Foundations Questionnaire

Instruction and Scale	Turkish
Part 1. When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Please rate each statement using this scale: [0] = not at all relevant [1] = not very relevant [2] = slightly relevant [3] = somewhat relevant [4] = very relevant [5] = extremely relevant	1. Kısım: *Bir şeyin doğru veya yanlış olup olmadığına karar verirken aşağıdaki her bir maddeyi ne kadar önemsersiniz? Lütfen cevaplarınızı aşağıdaki derecelendirmeyi kullanarak işaretleyiniz.* [0] = *hiç bir şekilde önemsemem* [1] = *pek önemsemem* [2] = *biraz önemserim* [3] = *orta derece önemserim* [4] = *çok önemserim* [5] = *kesinlikle önemserim*

Coding	Nr.	Item	Turkish
C	1.	Whether or not someone suffered emotionally	Birinin duygusal olarak acı çekip çekmediği
F	2.	Whether or not some people were treated differently than others	Bazı insanların diğerlerine göre farklı muamele görüp görmediği
L	3.	Whether or not someone's action showed love for his or her country	Birinin davranışlarının ülkesine olan sevgisini yansıtıp yansıtmadığı
A	4.	Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority	Birinin otoriteye saygısızlık gösterip göstermediği
S	5.	Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency	Birinin saflık, namus ve dürüstlük konusundaki normları bozup bozmadığı
Filler	6.	Whether or not someone was good at math	Birinin matematikte iyi olup olmadığı
C	7.	Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable	Birinin güçsüz veya savunmasız bir kişiyi önemseyip önemsemediği
F	8.	Whether or not someone acted unfairly	Birinin adaletsiz (haksız) davranıp davranmadığı
L	9.	Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group	Birinin mensubu olduğu bir gruba ihanet edip etmediği
A	10.	Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society	Birinin toplumun geleneklerine uyup uymadığı

S	11.	Whether or not someone did something disgusting	Birinin tiksindirici bir şey yapıp yapmadığı
C	12.	Whether or not someone was cruel	Birinin gaddar olup olmadığı
F	13.	Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights	Birinin hakkının yenip yenmediği
L	14.	Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty	Birinin sadakatsizlik gösterip göstermediği
A	15.	Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder	Bir davranışın kaosa veya karışıklığa sebep olup olmadığı
S	16.	Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of	Birinin Tanrının onayladığı şekilde davranıp davranmadığı

Instruction and Scale	Turkish
Part 2. Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement: [0] Strongly disagree [1] Moderately disagree [2] slightly diasgree [3] slightly agree [4] Moderately agree [5] Strongly agree	2. Kısım: *Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadeleri okuyunuz. Bu ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne kadar katılıyor veya karşı çıkıyorsunuz?* [0] *Kesinlikle katılmıyorum* [1] K*atılmıyorum* [2] P*ek katılmıyorum* [3] B*iraz katılıyorum* [4] *Katılıyorum* [5] *Kesinlikle katılıyorum*

C	1	Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.	Acı ve ıstırap çekenlere merhamet göstermek en önemli erdemdir.
F	1	When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.	Hükümet kanunları koyarken, ilk teminat altına alınması gereken ilke herkese adil davranılmasıdır.
L	1	I am proud of my country's history.	Ülkemin tarihiyle gurur duyarım.
A	2	Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.	Otoriteye saygı duymak bütün çocukların öğrenmesi gereken bir şeydir.
S	2	People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.	Hiç kimseye zarar vermese de insanlar tiksindirici şeyler yapmamalıdırlar.

Filler	2	It is better to do good than to do bad.	İyi olanı yapmak kötü olanı yapmaktan daha iyidir.
C	2	One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.	Bir insanın yapabileceği en kötü şeylerden biri savunmasız bir hayvana eziyet etmektir (zarar vermektir.).
F	2	Justice is the most important requirement for a society.	Bir toplumun en önemli gereksinimi adalettir.
L	2	People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.	İnsanlar, aile üyeleri yanlış bir şey yapmış olsa da onlara bağlı olmalıdır.
A	2	Men and women each have different roles to play in society.	Erkek ve kadınların toplum içinde yerine getirmeleri gereken farklı rolleri vardır.
S	2	I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.	Bazı hareketler doğal değilse yanlış diye nitelerim.
C	2	It can never be right to kill a human being.	Bir insanı öldürmek asla doğru olamaz.
F	2	I think it's morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.	Zengin çocuklara bolca para miras kalırken fakir çocuklara hiç bir şeyin miras olarak kalmamasının ahlaki olarak yanlış olduğunu düşünüyorum.
L	3	It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.	Kendini ifade etmektense bir takım oyuncusu olmak daha önemlidir.
A	3	If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer's orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.	Bir asker olup komutanımın emirleri ile aynı görüşte olmasaydım yine de görevim olması sebebiyle bu emirlere uyardım.
S	3	Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.	İffet önemli ve değerli bir erdemdir.

Instruction and Scale	Turkish
Part 1. When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Please rate each statement using this scale: [0] = not at all relevant [1] = not very relevant [2] = slightly relevant [3] = somewhat relevant [4] = very relevant [5] = extremely relevant	1. Kısım: *Bir şeyin doğru veya yanlış olup olmadığına karar verirken aşağıdaki her bir maddeyi ne kadar önemsersiniz? Lütfen cevaplarınızı aşağıdaki derecelendirmeyi kullanarak işaretleyiniz* [0] = *hiç bir şekilde önemsemem* [1] = *pek önemsemem* [2] = *biraz önemserim* [3] = *orta derece önemserim* [4] = *çok önemserim* [5] = *kesinlikle önemserim*

E L	1.	Whether or not private property was respected	Özel mülkiyete saygı gösterilip gösterilmediği
L L	2.	Whether or not everyone was free to do as they wanted.	Herkesin isteğini yapma konusunda özgür olup olmadığı

Instruction and Scale	Turkish
Part 2. Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement: [0] Strongly disagree [1] Moderately disagree [2] slightly diasgree [3] slightly agree [4] Moderately agree [5] Strongly agree	2. Kısım: *Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadeleri okuyunuz. Bu ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz.* [0] *Kesinlikle katılmıyorum* [1] K*atılmıyorum* [2] P*ek katılmıyorum* [3] B*iraz katılıyorum* [4] *Katılıyorum* [5] *Kesinlikle katılıyorum*

L L	3.	I think everyone should be free to do as they choose, so long as they don't infringe upon the equal freedom of others.	Bence herkes, başkalarının da sahip olduğu özgürlüğün sınırlarını ihlal etmediği sürece, seçtiği şekilde davranmakta özgür olmalıdır.
E L	4.	People who are succesful in business have a right to enjoy their wealth as they see fit.	İşinde başarılı olan insanlar zenginliklerinin keyfini istedikleri şekilde sürme hakkına sahiptirler.
E L	5.	Society works best when it lets individuals take responsibility for their own lives without telling them what to do.	Toplum, bireylerin kendi hayatlarının sorumluluğunu almalarına ortam sağlayıp nasıl yaşamaları gerektiğini dikte etmediğinde en iyi şekilde işler.
L L	6.	People should be free to decide what group norms or traditions they themselves want to follow.	İnsanlar hangi grup normlarına veya geleneklere uyacaklarına karar vermek konusunda özgür olmalılardır.
E L	7.	The government interferes far too much in our everyday lives.	Hükümet günlük hayatımıza fazlasıyla karışıyor.
E L - R	8.	The government should do more to advance the common good, even if that means limiting the freedom and choices of individuals.	Hükümet halkın yararına daha fazla çalışmalıdır, bu bireylerin özgürlük ve seçimlerini kısıtlasa bile.
E L	9.	Property owners should be allowed to develop their land or build their homes in any way they choose, as long as they don't endanger their neighbors.	Mülkiyet sahiplerinin, komşularına zarar vermemeleri koşuluyla, sahip oldukları toprakları istedikleri gibi işlemelerine ya da evlerini istedikleri gibi inşa etmelerine izin verilmelidir.

C: Care, F: Fairness, L: Loyalty, A: Authority, S: Purity, E L: Economic / Government Liberty, L L: Lifestyle Liberty.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*(5), 1029-1046.

Iyer, R., Koleva, S., Graham, J., Ditto, P., & Haidt, J. (2012). Understanding libertarian morality: The psychological dispositions of self-identified libertarians. *PloS ONE, 7*(8), 1-23.

Translation: Yalçındağ, B. & Özkan, T. (2013).

Appendix A6: Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire Version 1

INSTRUCTION Please read the short paragraph below and indicate to what extent you agree with the statements below. 1=I totally disagree 5=I totally agree	YÖNERGE Lütfen aşağıdaki kısa paragrafı okuyunuz ve altında yer alan ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtiniz. 1=Hiç katılmıyorum 5=Tamamen katılıyorum
Employee – Employer *The disagreement between the employee and the employer in a workplace turns into a discussion. The employee shouts and insults the employer at the end of the discussion. If the reason for this dispute is;*	*Çalışan - İşveren* *Bir iş yerinde çalışan ile işveren arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Çalışan, tartışma sonunda işverene bağırır ve hakaret eder. Eğer bu anlaşmazlığın çıkma sebebi;*
(If) the employer had sworn at the employee, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin çalışana küfür etmesi ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the employer had intentionally reduced the employee bonuses, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin çalışanların primlerini düşürmesi ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the employer had embezzled money, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin yolsuzluk yapması ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the employer had verbally harassed a colleague, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin bir başka çalışanı sözel şekilde taciz etmesi ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.

Teacher – Student *The disagreement between the teacher and the student in a high school turns into a discussion. The teacher shouts and insults the student at the end of the discussion. If the reason for this dispute is;*	*Öğretmen – Öğrenci* *Bir lisede öğretmen ile öğrenci arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Öğretmen, tartışma sonunda öğrenciye bağırır ve hakaret eder. Eğer bu anlaşmazlığın çıkma sebebi;*
(If) the student had sworn at the teacher, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	Öğrencinin öğretmene küfür etmesi ise, öğretmenin öğrenciye bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the student had deliberately made noise in the classroom and caused the lesson to be missed, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	Öğrencinin kasten sınıfta gürültü yaparak dersin işlenememesine yol açması ise, öğretmenin öğrenciye bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the student had cheated in the exam, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	Öğrencinin sınavda kopya çekmesi ise, öğretmenin öğrenciye bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the student had verbally harassed a classmate, the teacher's shouting and insulting the student can be excused.	Öğrencinin bir sınıf arkadaşını sözel şekilde taciz etmesi ise, öğretmenin öğrenciye bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
Police – Citizen *The disagreement between the police and the citizen in a city turns into a discussion. The police shouts and insults the citizen at the end of the discussion. If the reason for this dispute is;*	*Polis – Vatandaş* *Bir şehirde polis ile vatandaş arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Polis, tartışma sonunda vatandaşa bağırır ve hakaret eder. Eğer bu anlaşmazlığın çıkma sebebi;*
(If) the citizen had sworn at the police, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	Vatandaşın polise küfür etmesi ise, polisin vatandaşa bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the citizen had deliberately damaged public property, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	Vatandaşın kasten kamu malına zarar vermesi ise, polisin vatandaşa bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the citizen had stolen something, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	Vatandaşın hırsızlık yaparken yakalanması ise, polisin vatandaşa bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the citizen had verbally harassed someone on the street, the police shouting and insulting the citizen can be excused.	Vatandaşın sokakta birini sözel şekilde taciz etmesi ise, polisin vatandaşa bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.

Appendix A7: Excusing Verbal Aggression Questionnaire Version 2

INSTRUCTION Please read the short paragraph below and indicate to what extent you agree with the statements below.	YÖNERGE Lütfen aşağıdaki kısa paragrafı okuyunuz ve altında yer alan ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtiniz.
Employee – Employer *The disagreement between the employee and the employer in a workplace turns into a discussion. The employee shouts and insults the employer at the end of the discussion. <u>If the reason for this dispute is;</u>*	*Çalışan - İşveren* *Bir iş yerinde çalışan ile işveren arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Çalışan, tartışma sonunda işverene bağırır ve hakaret eder. <u>Eğer bu anlaşmazlığın çıkma sebebi;</u>*
(If) the employer had sworn at the employee, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin çalışana küfür etmesi ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the employer had intentionally reduced the employee bonuses, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin çalışanların primlerini düşürmesi ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the employer had embezzled money, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin yolsuzluk yapması ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the employer had verbally harassed a colleague, the employee's shouting, and insulting the employer can be excused.	İşverenin bir başka çalışanı sözel şekilde taciz etmesi ise, çalışanın işverene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.

Student - Teacher *The disagreement between the student and the teacher in a high school turns into a discussion. The student shouts and insults the teacher at the end of the discussion. <u>If the reason for this dispute is;</u>*	*Öğretmen – Öğrenci* *Bir lisede öğrenci ile öğretmen arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Öğrenci, tartışma sonunda öğretmene bağırır ve hakaret eder. <u>Eğer bu anlaşmazlığın çıkma sebebi;</u>*
(If) the teacher had sworn at the student, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused.	Öğretmenin öğrenciye küfür etmesi ise, öğrencinin öğretmene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.

(If) the teacher is deliberately late to class, and causes the curriculum not to be followed, it can be excused for the student to shout and insult the teacher.	Öğretmenin kasten derslere geç gelerek müfredatın işlenememesine yol açması ise, öğrencinin öğretmene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
((If) the teacher gave private lessons to his students although it was forbidden, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused.	Öğretmenin, yasak olmasına rağmen, kendi öğrencilerine özel ders vermesi ise, öğrencinin öğretmene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the teacher had verbally harassed another student, the student's shouting and insulting the teacher can be excused.	Öğretmenin bir başka öğrenciyi sözel şekilde taciz etmesi ise, öğrencinin öğretmene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.

Citizen - Police *The disagreement between the citizen and the police in a city turns into a discussion. The citizen shouts and insults the police at the end of the discussion. <u>If the reason for this dispute is;</u>*	*Vatandaş - Polis* *Bir şehirde polis ile vatandaş arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Vatandaş, tartışma sonunda polise bağırır ve hakaret eder. <u>Eğer bu anlaşmazlığın çıkma sebebi;</u>*
(If) the police had sworn at the citizen, the citizen shouting and insulting the police can be excused.	Polisin vatandaşa küfür etmesi ise, vatandaşın polise bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the police had deliberately misused his/her authority, the citizen's shouting and insulting the police can be excused.	Polisin yetkilerini kötüye kullanması ise, vatandaşın polise bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the police had accepted bribe, the citizen's shouting and insulting the polis can be excused.	Polisin rüşvet alması ise, vatandaşın polise bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.
(If) the police had verbally harassed someone on the street, the citizen's shouting and insulting the police can be excused.	Polisin sokakta birini sözel şekilde taciz etmesi ise, vatandaşın polise bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir.

B. SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES FOR STUDIES

Excusing verbal aggression had constituted the dependent variable of the models in Study 1 and Study 2. This dependent variable was about verbal aggression between two individuals in three different settings (workplace, school and street) and these individuals had relatively different social power (high social power / low social power).

Each aggression was committed after four different misconducts committed by the other party (swearing, damaging, stealing, verbal harassment) and adapted according to the context.

For this reason, I wanted to examine the models with additional exploratory analyses whether there would be a difference in the excuse of the perpetrator if the dependent variable is examined separately, both according to the settings and according to the misconducts that the other party committed, with a latent modeling. Accordingly, two new analyzes were conducted for each study, which considered the settings and misconducts as indicators of the dependent variable:

1) Modelling with a Latent DV regarding Different Settings (Study 1)

2) Modelling with a Latent DV regarding Different Misconducts (Study 1)

3) Modelling with a Latent DV regarding Different Settings (Study 2)

4) Modelling with a Latent DV regarding Different Misconducts (Study 2)

Appendix B1: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Settings (Study1)

Path analysis results indicated that only the authority foundation's direct effect on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party was significant ($b=.31$, $p<.05$). Additionally, the effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal

aggression was also significant (b=.35, p<.001). Regarding the indirect effects, all binding foundations' (ingroup, authority, purity) indirect effects on the dependent variable were significant. The indirect effect of the authority foundation on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party through identification with the perpetrator was found significant (b=.035, SE=.017 (95% CI [.010, .080], p=.008). The indirect effect of the purity foundation on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party through identification with the perpetrator was found significant (b=.156, SE=.044 (95% CI [.08, .257], p=.009). The indirect effect of the ingroup foundation on excusing verbal aggression of the powerful through identification with the perpetrator was found significant (b=-.066, SE=.038 (95% CI [-.143, -.012], p=.03). The fit statistics of the model were following: (χ^2 (25) =89.627, p < .001; RMSEA = .121; TLI = .87; CFI= .93). After eliminating the non-significant paths in the model, the fit statistics of the trimmed model improved (χ^2 (33) =95.772, p < .001; RMSEA = .104; TLI = .91; CFI= .93). However, the fit statistics of the trimmed model were still not adequate.

All standardized regression coefficients belong to the model can be seen below:

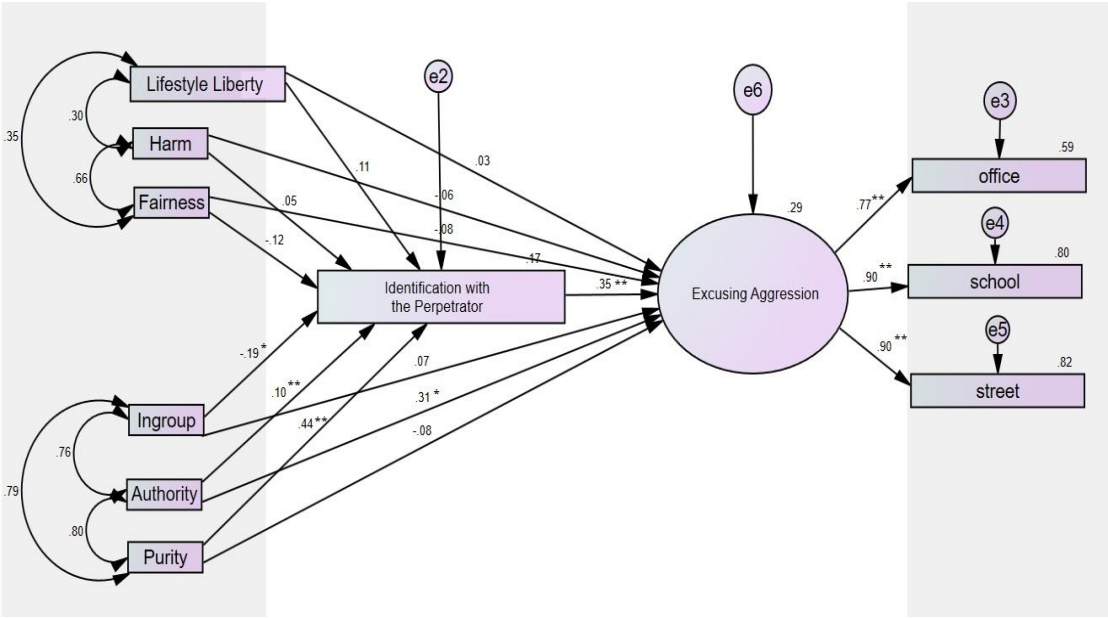


Figure 7. Standardized regression coefficients for Study 1: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Settings, *p < .05, **p < .001

Appendix B2: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Misconducts (Study1)

Path analysis results indicated that only the authority foundation's direct effect on excusing verbal aggression of more powerful party was significant (b=.33, p<.01). Additionally, the effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant (b=.35, p<.001). Regarding the indirect effects, none of the moral foundations' indirect effects on the dependent variable was significant. The fit statistics of the model were following: (χ^2 (32) =91.470, p < .001; RMSEA = .103; TLI = .92; CFI= .95). After eliminating the non-significant paths in the model, the fit statistics of the trimmed model improved (χ^2 (43) =113.705, p < .001; RMSEA = .097; TLI = .93; CFI= .94). However, the fit statistics of the trimmed model were still not adequate.

All standardized regression coefficients belong to the model can be seen below:



Figure 8. Standardized regression coefficients for Study 1: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Misconducts, *p < .01, **p < .001

Appendix B3: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Settings (Study2)

Path analysis results indicated that neither the direct effects nor the indirect effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression of less powerful party was significant. The fit statistics of the model were following: (χ^2 (23) =103.124, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .136; TLI = .81; CFI= .90).

All standardized regression coefficients belong to the model can be seen below:

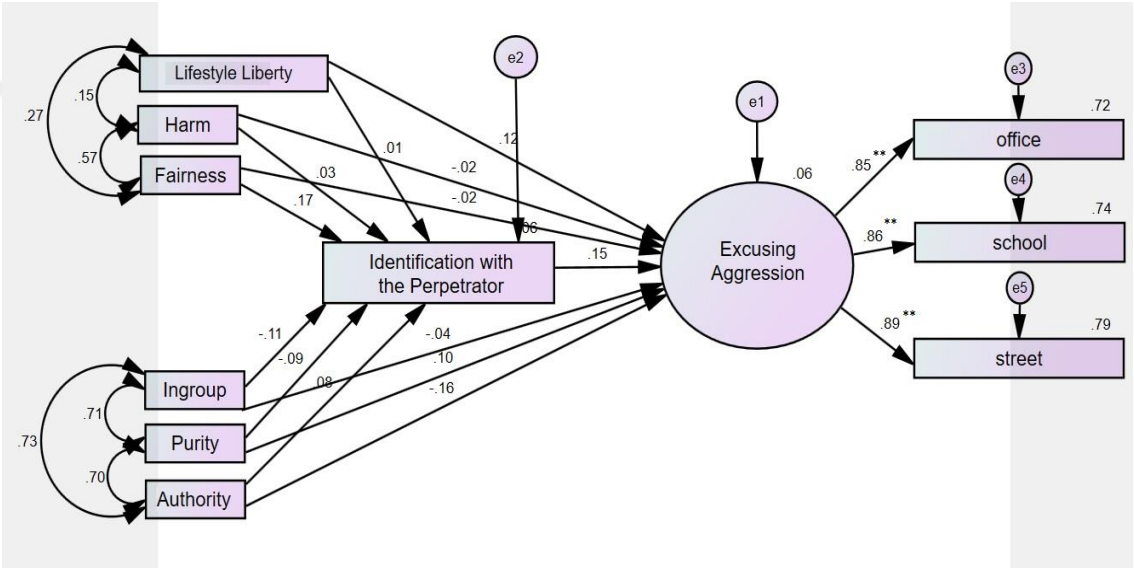


Figure 9. Standardized regression coefficients for Study 2: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Settings, $^{**}p < .001$

Appendix B4: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Misconducts (Study2)

Path analysis results indicated that none of the direct effects of moral foundations on excusing verbal aggression less powerful party was significant. On the other hand, the effect of identification with the perpetrator on excusing verbal aggression was also significant (b=.16, p<.05). Regarding the indirect effects, only the fairness foundation's indirect effect on the dependent variable was significant (b=.027,

SE=.018 (95% CI [.004, .213], p=.025). The fit statistics of the model were following:

(χ^2 (32) =116.246, p < .001; RMSEA = .119; TLI = .85; CFI= .92).

All standardized regression coefficients belong to the model can be seen below:

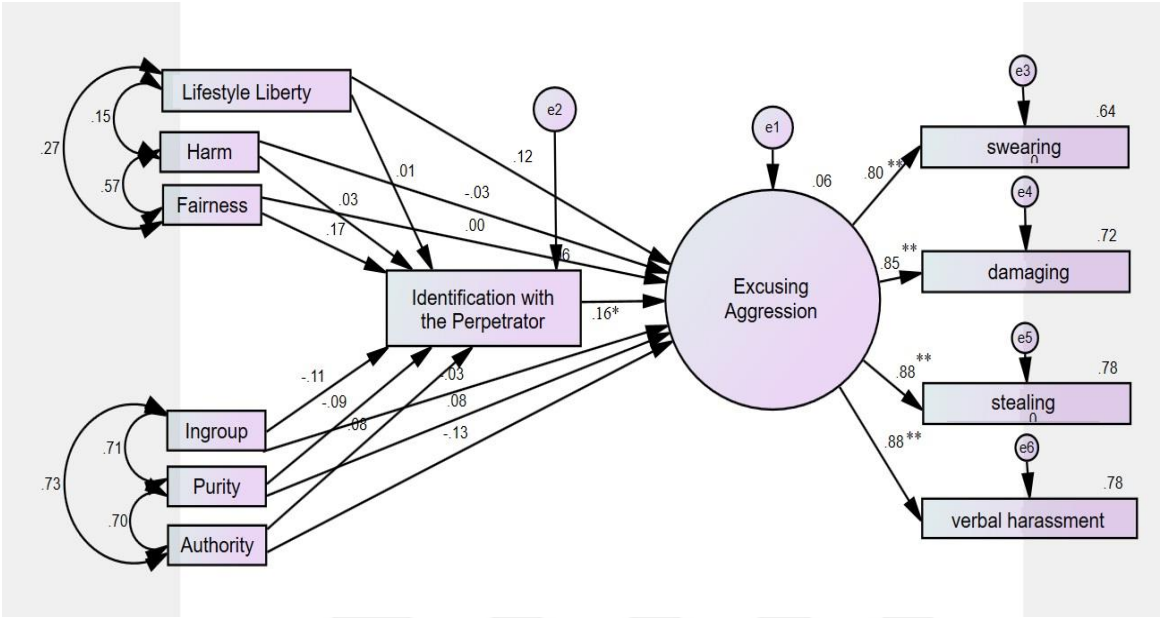


Figure 10. Standardized regression coefficients for Study 2: Modelling with a Latent DV Regarding Different Misconducts, *p < .05, **p < .001

C. CURRICULUM VITAE

ÇAĞDAN ERDOĞAN

CONTACT INFORMATION

E-mail:
Telephone:
Address:

EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION

2019 – 2023 Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey
Department of Psychology
PhD in Social Psychology
CGPA: 3.63 /4.00
Passed the PhD Qualifying Exam in November 2020

2013 – 2014 University of Kent, Canterbury, UK
Department of Psychology
MSc in Applied Social Psychology
CGPA: 3.00 /4.00
MSc Thesis title: "Effects of Cooperation among Different Groups on Out-Group Evaluation", supervised by Prof. Alexandra Cichocka

2006 – 2012 Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey
Department of Political Science and International Relations
BA in Political Science and International Relations
CGPA: 2.83 /4.00

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2012 Dec. - 2013 May: Turkish Economy Bank
Recruitment and Career Planning Supervisor
2015 Feb. - 2015 Sep. : Boğaziçi University- Social Policy Forum
Research Assistant
2018 Jun. - 2018 Sep. : Nisantasi University
Department of Psychology/Lecturer
2019 Apr. - 2019 Jun. : MEF University
Department of Psychology/Part-time Instructor
2015 Oct. - 2019 Sept. : Boğaziçi University-TUSIAD Foreign Policy Forum
Executive Assistant

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES (BOOK CHAPTERS)

Yılmaz, H., & **Erdoğan, Ç**. (2018). Turkey: Minorities, othering and discrimination, citizenship claims. In F. Cheneval & M. Ferrín, (Eds.) *Citizenship in segmented societies: Lessons for the EU.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. ISBN: 978 1 78811 268 0.

Erdoğan, Ç. (2017). Respect scale. In S. Cesur, **Ç. Erdoğan**, B. Tepe, A. Bayad & O. Yılmaz, (Eds.) *Values and morality in social psychology: Theories and scales*, İstanbul: Nobel. ISBN: 6053206965

Erdoğan, Ç. (2017). Moral maturity scale. In S. Cesur, **Ç. Erdoğan**, B. Tepe, A. Bayad & O. Yılmaz, (Eds.) *Values and morality in social psychology: Theories and scales*, İstanbul: Nobel. ISBN: 6053206965

Erdoğan, Ç. (2017). Ethical perception scale. In S. Cesur, **Ç. Erdoğan**, B. Tepe, A. Bayad & O. Yılmaz, (Eds.) *Values and morality in social psychology: Theories and scales*, İstanbul: Nobel. ISBN: 6053206965

Erdoğan, Ç. (2017). Informatics ethics scale. In S. Cesur, **Ç. Erdoğan**, B. Tepe, A. Bayad & O. Yılmaz, (Eds.) *Values and morality in social psychology: Theories and scales*, İstanbul: Nobel. ISBN: 6053206965

Erdoğan, Ç. (2017). Deontic justice scale. In S. Cesur, **Ç. Erdoğan**, B. Tepe, A. Bayad & O. Yılmaz, (Eds.) *Values and morality in social psychology: Theories and scales*, İstanbul: Nobel. ISBN: 6053206965

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES (ARTICLES)

Çakar, T., Girişken, Y., & **Erdoğan, Ç.** (2021). Siyasal parti liderlerine ilişkin seçmen algısının beyin görüntüleme yöntemiyle ölçülmesi üzerine pilot bir araştırma. *Nesne*, 9(20), 261-273. DOI: 10.7816/nesne-09- 20-03

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES (TRANSLATIONS)

de Houwer, J., & Moors, A. (2018). Levels of analysis in social psychology (**Ç. Erdoğan**, Trans.). In G. Tekdemir-Yurtdaş, Ç. Çoker, S. Cesur (Eds.) *Theory and explanation in social psychology.* İstanbul: Nobel. (Original work published 2015) ISBN: 6053207832

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES (PRESENATIONS)

"Effects of Cooperation among Different Groups on Out-Group Evaluation",

(presented as an oral presentation at Ist Social Psychology Conference hosted by Başkent University, November 2016).

(For the full-text booklet:http://psksosyal.net/docs/SPKProceeding.pdf)

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES (UNDERGRADUATE COURSE TAUGHT)

Spring Term 2019- **MEF University** / Department of Psychology
PSYC342: Political Psychology (Undergraduate elective course)

Summer Term 2018- **Nişantaşı University** / Department of Psychology
PSK403: Interpersonal Relations (4^{th} grade elective course)

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Political Psychology, Voting Behavior, Social Mobilization, Inter-Group Relations, Morality, Applied Social Psychology, Research Designs

AWARDS & FINANCIAL SUPPORTS

TÜBİTAK Doctorate Scholarship (2020-2024)
480^{th} place in nation-wide University Entrance Examination (2006)

PROGRAM SKILLS

SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences)
AMOS (Analysis of Moment Structures)
Jamovi (Statistical Software)
LISREL (Statistical Program for Structural Equation Modeling)

LANGUAGES

English: Advanced (IELTS: 7.5/9 YDS: 91.25/100)
Turkish: Native

CERTIFICATES

2009 Aug. - 2009 Nov.: Kusdili Education Center / Diction & Speaker Certificate
2009 Sept. - 2011 Dec.: Bogazici University / Sculpture Atelier Plastic Arts Certificate

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez konusu, insanların mazur gördüğü saldırganlık vakalarının ve bu vakaları mazur görürken başvurulan meşrulaştırıcı yaklaşımların çeşitliliğini sorunsallaştırmam üzerine ortaya çıkmıştır. Örneğin toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine göre hareket etmeyen kadınlara yönelik tehditler, geniş kesimlerce "hak edilmiş" addedilirken ("Etik ve milli", 2020), bir tecavüz failinin hapishanede bir başka mahkum tarafından öldürülmesi, cinayet suçlusu lehine cezasızlık çağrısı yapan kampanyalara ("Gültekin Alan serbest", 2016) yol açabilmektedir. Ya da "namus" gerekçesiyle eşini öldüren bir erkek karakola mahallelinin alkışları eşliğinde uğurlanırken ("Eşini yatak odasında", 2017), kutsal değerlere hakaret ettiği iddia edilen bir sosyal medya kullanıcısına gelen tehdit mesajları geniş kesimlerce ("Sosyal medya yok", 2016) onaylanabilmektedir. Kısacası, belli koşullar altında bazı saldırganlık türlerini mazur görmek, belli saldırganlık vakalarını "adaletin yerini bulması" olarak nitelendirmek ve hatta fail lehine cezasızlık çağrıları yapmak şiddetle mesafelenme konusunda seçici olduğumuzu göstermektedir.

Bu örneklerin yanı sıra toplumun daha geniş kesimlerinin mazur gördüğü saldırganlık durumlarından da bahsedebiliriz. Nefsi müdafaa, savaş zamanında seferberlik çağrısına katılma veya özgeci saiklerle sergilenen saldırganlığa yönelik tepkiler bize bu eylemlerin belirli gerekçeler eşliğinde geniş kesimlerce onaylandığını hatırlatacaktır. Tüm bu örnekler, saldırganlığı mazur görmede bir çeşitlilik olduğunu göstermektedir.

Dahası, mazur görülen saldırganlık türlerinin çeşitliliği ve bu vakaların "adalet", "namus" veya öncelikli önemi haiz olduğu varsayılan bir tür daha yüksek

“ilke” adına mazur görülmesi, saldırganlığı mazur görmenin izleyicinin öznel ahlakını ne ölçüde içerdiği sorusunu gündeme getirmektedir.

Saldırganlık ve ahlak ilişkisi incelendiğinde, saldırganlığın hem nedenleri hem de sonuçları açısından ahlak ile çok katmanlı bir şekilde ilişkili olduğu görülmektedir. Örneğin, saldırganlık bir cezalandırma motivasyonuna veya adalet arayışına dayalı olarak ortaya çıkabilir. Ya da saldırganlık, kurbanı koruma motivasyonunu harekete geçirebilir ve saldırganı toplumdan uzaklaştırma isteğini tetikleyebilir. Bu açıdan hem saldırganlığın ortaya çıkışını oluşturan nedenler, hem de yol açtığı sonuçlar ahlaki alanlar (adalet, zarar, kutsallık vb. gibi) olarak tanımlanan alanlarla ister istemez temas etmektedir. Bu nedenle saldırganlığa yönelik tutumların ahlaki temellerle ilişkilendirilmesini beklemek makul görünmektedir.

Ancak, saldırganlığı mazur görme ile ahlak arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanan ilk çalışmanın bu çalışma olmadığı açıkça vurgulanmalıdır. Lagerspetz ve Westman (1980) yaklaşık 40 yıl önce, hangi saldırgan davranışların sosyal olarak onaylandığını merak etmişler ve *Saldırganlığın Ahlaki Onay Envanteri* olarak adlandırılan bir ölçek geliştirmişlerdir. Bu araştırma, alanda yeni çalışmalara yol açmış ve çok sayıda kültürlerarası psikoloğu, hangi koşullar altında saldırgan eylemlerin onaylandığı konusunda yeni araştırmalar yapmaya sevk etmiştir. Bu sayede, *Saldırganlığın Ahlaki Onay Envanterinin* kullanıldığı, ciddi bir kültürlerarası veri oluşmuştur. Ne var ki, tüm bu çalışmalarda ortak bir eksiklik göze çarpmaktadır. Lagerspetz ve Westman’ın (1980) saldırganlığın onaylanması ile Kohlberg'in ahlaki aşamaları arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulamadıkları ilk çalışmanın ardından, sonraki çalışmalar ya hiç ahlaki bir ölçüm aracı kullanmamış ya da sonuçları raporlamamıştır. Haliyle, bu çalışmaların “ahlaki onay” ayağı eksik kalmıştır. Bu çalışmalar 1.2.’de "Saldırganlığı Mazur Görmek ve Ahlak" başlığı altında ayrıntılı olarak sunulmuştur.

Kuşkusuz, *saldırganlığı mazur görme* çeşitli şekillerde işlemselleştirilebilir ve ele alması karmaşık bir olgudur. Saldırganlığı mazur görmenin incelenebileceği birçok açı vardır. Örneğin, kimin saldırganlığı mazur görülebilir (kurbanın, devletin, iç-grup üyesinin)? Saldırganlık kime karşı gösterildiğinde mazur görülebilir (suçluya, katile, dış grup üyesine)? Saldırganlık hangi gerekçelerle ortaya çıktıysa mazur görülebilir (kendini savunmak için, özgeci saiklerle, kutsal değerleri veya namusu korumak için, grup normlarına uymayan insanları cezalandırmak için)? Ne tür bir saldırganlık mazur görülebilir (psikolojik, cinsel, fiziksel)? Mazur görülebilecek maksimum saldırganlık düzeyi nedir (bağırmak, dövmek, işkence etmek)? Kısacası, saldırganlığı mazur görmeyi kolaylaştıran (veya engelleyen) faktörlerin, onları ahlakla ilişkisi bakımından araştırabilmek için sınırlandırılması gerekir. Dahası ahlak da kendi içinde çoğulcu bir yapı göstermektedir.

Sosyal psikolojide son 50 yılda birçok önemli ahlaki kuram geliştirilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, ahlaki monizm, ilk ahlaki teorilerin -özellikle Kohlberg'in (1969) Ahlaki Gelişim Teorisi ve Turiel'in (1979) Sosyal Alan Teorisi- farklı toplumlarda geçerli olacak evrensel ahlaki akıl yürütmeyi geliştirmeye çalışmasından bu yana uzun yıllar alana hakim olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Shweder'in (1990) mevcut ahlaki yaklaşımların seküler Batı toplumlarıyla sınırlı olduğu eleştirisi, ahlaki çalışmaları çarpıcı bir biçimde değiştirmiş ve yeni araştırmacıların bilişsel-gelişimsel geleneğin ahlak alanındaki eksikliklerini sorgulamasına vesile olmuştur (Graham ve ark., 2013). Ayrıca, çoğul değer sistemleri fikri, ahlaki temelleri olabilecek durumlara karşı farklı tutumları açıklamak için yeni bir kaynak haline gelmiştir. Bu itirazı ilk dile getiren Shweder, Hindistan'da uzun yıllar boyunca yürütmüş olduğu etnografik araştırmaya dayanarak, dünya çapında birkaç ahlaki söylem olduğunu iddia etmiştir. Shweder'e göre bu söylemler birbirinden üstün değildir ve tekil bir yapının hiyerarşik aşamalarını

oluşturmazlar (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra ve Park, 1997). Bu bakımdan, Shweder'in (1990) eleştirisinin ahlaki çoğulculuğu alana getirdiğini ve Ahlaki Temeller Kuramı'na temel oluşturduğunu iddia edebiliriz (Graham ve ark., 2013).

Bu kuram altı ana ahlaki temeli içerir: Bakım-zarar, adalet-hilekarlık, sadakat-ihanet, otorite-yıkım, kutsallık-yozlaşma ve özgürlük-baskı boyutları. Bu tez çalışmasında da önemli ölçüde yararlandığım Ahlaki Temeller Kuramı, 1.3.4. kısmında, kendi başlığı altında daha ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir.

Kısacası, iki çoğulculuğu (saldırganlığı mazur görme ve ahlak) birlikte ele alan bu çalışma, mazur görülen saldırganlık durumlarındaki çeşitliliğin, insanların öznel ahlakındaki çeşitliliğin tezahürü olabileceğini varsayarak, saldırganlığı mazur görmenin ahlaki temellerini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir.

Bununla birlikte, saldırganlığı ahlakla birlikte mazur görmeyi incelemek için çeşitli açılar olduğundan, araştırmamı yalnızca resmi bir düzlemde (herhangi bir duygusal yakınlık ya da yakın akrabalık bağı içermeyen), tarafların güç asimetrisi gösterdiği bir ilişki içinde iken, sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmekle sınırlamak ve bu keşifsel tezin temel sorularını burada sunmak istiyorum:

(1) Failin diğer tarafa göre daha fazla sosyal güce sahip olduğu sözel saldırganlık eyleminin değerlendirilmesinde ahlaki temeller etkili olur mu (örneğin, öğrenciye karşı öğretmen; vatandaşa karşı polis; çalışana karşı işveren)? Eğer öyleyse, bu ahlaki temeller nelerdir?

(2) Failin diğer tarafa göre daha az sosyal güce sahip olduğu sözel saldırganlık eyleminin değerlendirilmesinde ahlaki temeller etkili olur mu (örneğin, öğretmene karşı öğrenci; polise karşı vatandaş; işverene karşı çalışan)? Eğer öyleyse, bu ahlaki temeller nelerdir?

(3) Ahlaki temellerin kiminle özdeşleceğimizi de belirleyebileceği ve mağdur (veya fail) ile özdeşleşmenin saldırgan bir eylem hakkındaki değerlendirmelerimizi etkileyebileceği göz önüne alındığında, mağdur (veya fail) ile özdeşleşmenin de ahlaki temeller ile saldırganlığı mazur görme arasında beklenen ilişkide rol oynaması beklenebilir. Öyle ise, ahlak ile saldırganlığı mazur görme arasındaki ilişkide mağdur (veya fail) ile özdeşleşmenin rolü nedir?

Çalışma 1 – Failin Daha Fazla Sosyal Güce Sahip Olduğu Durumda Sözel Saldırganlığın Mazur Görülmesinde Özdeşleşmenin ve Ahlaki Temellerin Rolü

Çalışma 1'de katılımcılar önce demografik soruları (cinsiyet, yaş, doğum yeri, eğitim düzeyi, sosyo-ekonomik durum gibi), ardından Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeğini yanıtladılar (Graham ve ark., 2013). Bu ölçümlerden sonra ise Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeğine cevap verdiler.

Bu çalışmada, saldırganlığı mazur görmenin işevuruk tanımı, daha fazla sosyal güce sahip figürün (fail) daha az sosyal güce sahip figüre (mağdur) karşı sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme olarak belirlendi. Sunulan hikayelerde üç çift vardı: İşveren ve çalışan; öğretmen ve öğrenci; polis ve vatandaş. Saldırganlığın gerçekleştiği ortam, işveren ve çalışan için bir işyeri; öğretmen ve öğrenci için bir lise; polis ve vatandaş için ise bir sokaktı. Saldırganlık, her vaka için sözel saldırganlık (hakaret ve bağırma) olarak belirlendi.

Her durum, daha az güçlü tarafın bazı hatalı davranışları üzerine, daha güçlü tarafın (işveren, öğretmen, polis) daha az güçlü tarafa (çalışan, öğrenci, vatandaş) hakaret ettiğini ve bağırdığını tasvir ediyordu. Her ortam için daha az güçlü tarafın sergilediği dört tür hatalı davranış vardı. Bu hatalı davranışlar, küfür etmek, zarar vermek (firmaya, sınıfa veya kamu malına), çalmak (zimmete para geçirme, sınavda

kopya çekmek, hırsızlık) ve sözel tacizdi. Bu sebeple ankette (3 çift x 4 hata =) 12 madde vardı. Katılımcılardan, daha güçlü tarafın daha az güçlü tarafa karşı sözel saldırganlığını ne kadar mazur gördüklerini 5 puanlık Likert ölçeğinde belirtmeleri istendi. Saldırganlığı mazur görmeyi ölçen her bir maddeden sonra da katılımcılardan taraflardan hangisine daha yakın hissettiklerini belirtmeleri istendi.

Yöntem

Çalışmanın verileri, gönüllü olarak çevrimiçi bir ankete katılmayı kabul eden, yaşları 18 ile 76 arasında değişen 177 kişiden (91 kadın ve 86 erkek) toplandı. Çalışmada kullanılan ölçüm araçları şu şekildeydi:

1. *Demografik sorular*. Katılımcılardan cinsiyetlerini, yaşlarını, doğum yerlerini, eğitim düzeylerini, sosyo-ekonomik durumlarını, dini inançlarını, muhafazakarlık düzeylerini, ideolojik kişisel yerleşimlerini ve etnik kökenlerini belirtmeleri istenmiştir (Bkz. Ek A4).
2. *İdeolojik Görüş*. Demografik sorulardan üç maddeyi (dindarlık düzeyi, muhafazakarlık düzeyi ve iki uçlu siyasi görüş) kullanarak ideolojik bakış başlığı altında yeni bir değişken oluşturulmuştur. Buna göre, bu değişken üzerindeki daha yüksek puanlar daha fazla dindarlığa, muhafazakarlığa ve sağcı fikirleri benimsemeye işaret etmektedir. Tüm maddeler 11 adımlı Likert tipi cevaplar içermektedir. Örnek sorular: "Dini inançlarınızın günlük yaşamınızı ne kadar etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?", "Kendinizi ne kadar muhafazakar buluyorsunuz?", "Kendinizi aşağıdaki ölçekte politik olarak nereye konumlandırırsınız?"). Bu değişkenin ilk çalışmadaki güvenirlik düzeyi .82 bulunmuştur.
3. *Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği.* Bu ölçeğin Türkçe versiyonu (Graham, Nosek, Haidt, Iyer, Koleva ve Ditto, 2011; Türkçe uyarlama: Yalçındağ, 2015) kullanılmıştır

(Bkz. Ek A5). Yaygın olarak kullanılan beş ahlaki temele ek olarak, özgürlük ahlaki temeline ait maddeler de sunulmuştur (Iyer ve ark., 2012; Türkçe uyarlama: Yalçındağ, 2015). Katılımcıların altı ahlaki temeli (bakım-zarar, adalet-hilekarlık, sadakat- ihanet, otorite-yıkım, kutsallık-yozlaşma ve özgürlük-baskı) ne ölçüde önemli bulduğunu değerlendirmek için tasarlanmış 41 madde bulunmaktadır. Anket iki bölümden (Ahlaki uygunluk- 18 madde ve Ahlaki yargılar- 23 madde) oluşmaktadır. Her iki bölüm de 6'lı Likert tipi ölçek ile cevaplanmaktadır. Uygunluk kısmında katılımcılardan, ahlaki kararlar alırken her bir kriterin önemini derecelendirmeleri istenmiştir (örn., "Bazı insanlara diğerlerinden farklı davranılıp davranılmadığı"). Ahlaki yargılar bölümünde ise katılımcılardan verilen ahlaki yargıların her birine ne ölçüde katıldıklarını değerlendirmeleri istenmiştir (örn., "Asker olsaydım ve komutanımın emirlerine katılmasaydım, yine de itaat ederdim çünkü bu benim görevim").

Her ahlaki temel için güvenirlik kat sayısı ayrı ayrı kontrol edilmiştir. Buna göre Cronbach alfa katsayısı, bakım-zarar boyutu için .71, adalet-hilekarlık için .63 , sadakat- ihanet için .67, otorite-yıkım için .79, kutsallık-yozlaşma için .82 ve özgürlük-baskı için .50 bulunmuştur.

4. Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeği Versiyon 1. Daha güçlü tarafın daha az güçlü tarafa karşı sözel saldırganlığının farklı bağlamlarda ne ölçüde mazur görüleceğini ölçmeyi amaçlayan bu 12 maddelik ölçek, bu tezin çerçevelediği soruları test etmek için geliştirilmiştir. Bir güç asimetrisinin görece resmi bağlamlarda (okul, işyeri gibi) sunulmasının, kişilerarası ilişkiler ve yakınlığa dair karıştırıcı değişkenlerden uzak durmayı kolaylaştıracağı düşünüldüğünden, güç ilişkisinin tarafları işveren-çalışan, öğretmen-öğrenci ve polis-vatandaş olarak belirlenmiştir.

Saldırganlığın türü, ölçek boyunca sözel saldırganlık (bağırma ve hakaret etme) olarak belirlenmiştir.

Ölçekteki her bir madde, daha az güçlü tarafın bazı hatalı davranışları üzerine, daha güçlü tarafın (işveren, öğretmen, polis) daha az güçlü tarafa (çalışan, öğrenci, vatandaş) hakaret ettiğini ve bağırdığını tasvir etmektedir. Bu hatalı davranışlar, küfür etmek, zarar vermek (firmaya, sınıfa veya kamu malına), çalmak (zimmete para geçirmek, sınavda kopya çekmek, hırsızlık) ve sözel tacizdir. Bu sebeple ankette (3 çift x 4 hata =) 12 madde vardır. Her hata, tarafların bir arada olduğu bağlama uyacak şekilde uyarlanmıştır.

Örneğin, çalışan işyerinde zimmetine para geçirirken, öğrenci sınavda kopya çekmiştir. Katılımcılardan 5 maddelik Likert ölçeğinde (1 = asla katılmıyorum, 5 = tamamen katılıyorum) söz konusu sözel saldırganlığı ne kadar mazur gördüklerini belirtmeleri istenmiştir (örn., “Bir işyerinde çalışan ile işveren arasındaki anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. İşveren, tartışmanın sonunda çalışana bağırır ve hakaret eder. Bu anlaşmazlığın nedeni çalışanın zimmetine para geçirmesi ise işverenin çalışana bağırıp hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir", "Lisede öğretmen ile öğrenci arasındaki anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Öğretmen tartışmanın sonunda öğrenciye bağırır ve hakaret eder. Bu anlaşmazlığın nedeni öğrencinin sınavda kopya çekmiş olması ise öğretmenin öğrenciye bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir”). On iki maddelik bu ölçek Ek A6’da bulunabilir.

5. *Fail ile özdeşleşim.* Ahlaki temellerin, katılımcının hangi tarafla ne ölçüde özdeşleşeceğini de etkileyebileceği ve yaşanacak özdeşleşmenin saldırgan eylemin değerlendirilmesinde etkili olabileceği düşünüldüğünde, mağdur (veya fail) ile özdeşleşme derecesinin de ahlaki temeller ve saldırganlığı mazur görmek arasındaki ilişkide aracılık etkisi göstermesi beklenmektedir.

Bu nedenle Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeğinin her bir maddesinin ardından katılımcılara “Hangi taraf size daha yakın?" diye sorulmuş ve -5 ile +5 arasında değişen iki uçlu bir ölçekte yanıtlamaları istenmiştir. Analizler sırasında cevaplar 1 ile 11 arasında yeniden kodlanmış ve yüksek puanlar faille yüksek özdeşleşmeyi göstermiştir.

Bulgular

Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği, Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeği ve Fail ile Özdeşleşme için güvenirlik analizleri yapılmıştır. Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeğinin faktör yapısını saptamak için Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizi (Doğrudan Oblimin Rotasyonlu Ana Eksen Analizi ve Paralel Analiz) yapılmıştır.

Önerilen modeli test etmeden önce değişkenler arasındaki korelasyonlar kontrol edilmiş ve son adımda, mevcut tezin önerdiği modeli test etmek için AMOS 23.0 kullanılarak Yol Analizi yapılmıştır.

Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeğinin Güvenirliği, Faktör Analizi ve Madde Korelasyonları

Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeğinin güvenirliği .94 bulunmuştur. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterlilik testi ise .89 bulunmuştur **(**χ^2 (66) = 1113.826, $p < .000$**).**

Faktör analizi sırasında Eigenvalue değeri 1.00'ın üzerinde olan 2 faktör bulunmuş ve toplam varyansın %71.01'inin bu 2 faktörle açıklandığı görülmüştür. Bununla birlikte, paralel analiz ve kayşat grafiği (scree plot) 2 faktörlü çözüm yerine 1 faktörlü çözümü desteklediği ve tek faktörlü çözüm varyansın %60,62'sini oluşturduğu için tek faktörlü çözüm esas alınmıştır.

Ölçeğin madde korelasyonları ise tüm maddelerin birbirleriyle anlamlı şekilde ilişkili olduğunu ve .32-.80 arasında değiştiğini göstermiştir.

Fail ile Özdeşleşim Ölçeği

Fail ile Özdeşleşim Ölçeğinin güvenirliği .82 bulunmuştur. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterlilik testi ise .71 bulunmuştur (χ^2 (66) = 211.800, p < .000**).**

Bu anket yalnızca bir maddeyi içerdiğinden ("Hangi taraf size daha yakın?") bu ölçüm aracının faktör yapısı analiz edilmemiştir.

Önerilen Modelin Yol Analizi

Ahlaki temellerin, sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkilerini ve fail ile özdeşleşim üzerinden dolaylı etkilerini, test etmek için AMOS 23.0 kullanılarak bir yol analizi yapılmıştır.

Yol analizi sonuçları, ahlaki temeller ile mazur görme arasında bir dizi anlamsız yol olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, ahlaki temeller arasına (örneğin, adalet ve otorite, zarar ve özgürlük, otorite ve özgürlük temelleri arasına) kovaryans eklemeyi öneren birkaç değişiklik endeksi görülmüştür. Bu önerilerin hiçbiri 10.00'dan daha büyük bir iyileştirme sunmadığından uygulanmamış, ancak istatiksel olarak anlamlı olmayan yollar silinmiştir.

Bulgulara göre, özgürlük ve otorite temellerinin, sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkileri anlamlı bulunmuştur. Fail ile özdeşleşmenin, sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki etkisi de anlamlıdır. Özgürlük ve otorite temellerinin, fail ile özdeşleşme yoluyla sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkileri de yine anlamlı bulunmuştur.

İlk modeldeki ($\chi2$ (10) = 40.900, p < .001; RMSEA = .133; TLI = .85; CFI = .95) anlamlı olmayan yollar silindikten sonra, elde edilen nihai modelin uyum istatistikleri iyileşmiştir ($\chi2$ (18) = 48.064, p < .001; RMSEA = .097; TLI = .92; CFI = .95). Bununla birlikte, nihai modelin uyum istatistikleri de hala yeterli değildir. AMOS aynı zamanda kullanıcı tanımlı tahminlerin hesaplanmasına da izin verdiği

için, özgürlük temelinin fail ile özdeşleşme yoluyla sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi (b = 052, SE =.03 (% 95 CI [.001, .199], s=.47) ve otorite temelinin, fail ile özdeşleşme yoluyla sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi (b=091, SE=.037 (% 95 CI [.033, .189], s=.005) hesaplanmış ve her ikisi de anlamlı çıkmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, otorite ahlaki temelinin güçlünün saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı etkileri anlamlı çıkmıştır. Benzer şekilde, güçlü ile özdeşleşmenin, güçlünün saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki etkisi de öngörülmüştür. Öte yandan, özgürlük ahlaki temeli ile güçlünün saldırganlığını mazur görme arasındaki anlamlı ilişki şaşırtıcı olmuştur.

Yaşam Tarzı Özgürlüğü Alt Ölçeği ile Yapılan Ek Analiz Bulguları

Bu beklenmedik sonucu yorumlamak için özgürlük ahlaki temeli hem teorik hem de operasyonel olarak yakından incelenmiştir. Bu ahlaki temelin kuramsal arka planı ve bu beklenmeyen sonucun olası açıklamaları tartışma başlığı altında detaylı şekilde görülebilir.

Operasyonel incelemeye ilişkin olarak, özgürlük temelinin açımlayıcı faktör analizi, ekonomik özgürlük ve yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü olarak sınıflandırılabilecek iki ana faktörü ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Bu alt ölçekler için orijinal çalışmada Cronbach alfa katsayıları sırasıyla .81 (ekonomik özgürlük) ve .60 (yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü) olarak raporlanmıştır (Iyer ve ark., 2012). Bu çalışmada ise, bu alt ölçekler için ekonomik özgürlük güvenirlik katsayısı .39 ve yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü katsayısı .58 olarak bulunmuştur. Özgürlük ahlaki temelinin genel güvenirlik katsayısı ise mevcut çalışma için .50 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

Uyarlama çalışmasını yürütmüş olan Yalçındağ'ın (2015) bulguları da Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeğinin özgürlük boyutunun Türkiye örneklemlerinde tatmin edici güvenirlik katsayıları sunmadığını desteklemektedir. Uyarlama çalışmasında ekonomik özgürlük alt ölçeğinin güvenirlik katsayısı .35 ve yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü alt ölçeğinin güvenirlik katsayısı ise .56 olarak bulgulanmıştır (Yalçındağ, 2015: 38-39).

Türkiye'de toplumsal kesimlerin Amerika ya da Batı Avrupa'dakilere göre farklı kümelendiği düşünüldüğünde, özgürlük ahlaki temelinin Türkiye'deki hiçbir gruba tam olarak karşılık gelmeyeceği söylenebilir. Zira Türkiye'de liberal ekonomik politikaları savunan kesim ile yaşam tarzı özgürlüğünü savunan kesimin kesişim kümesi anlamlı bir gruba işaret etmemektedir.

Türkiye'de, (Bölüm 4'te bahsedildiği üzere) liberteryenlerin belirgin bir grup olarak var olmadıklarına işaret eden sosyo-politik faktörler göz önüne alındığında, yol analizinin yalnızca özgürlük ahlaki temelinin yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü alt ölçeği kullanılarak tekrarlanmasına karar verilmiştir. Bu sayede, Türkiye örnekleminde liberteryenlerin yokluğunun, özgürlük ahlaki temeli ile daha güçlü tarafın gösterdiği sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme arasındaki anlamlı ilişki için ne ölçüde geçerli bir açıklama olduğu incelenebilecektir. Bu nedenle özgürlük ahlakı temeli, açımlayıcı faktör analizi ile incelenmiş ve yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü alt ölçeğine giren maddeler üzerinde yeni bir değişken oluşturulmuştur.

Bu ek analiz, hem yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü ve fail ile özdeşleşme arasındaki ilişkinin, hem de yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü ile sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme arasındaki ilişkinin istatiksel olarak anlamsız olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, modelin verilere uygunluğu kötüleşmiştir ($\chi 2$ (18) = 68.486, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .126; TLI = .87; CFI = .92). Ancak, özgürlük ahlaki temeli ile sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme arasındaki beklenmedik anlamlı ilişki açıklığa kavuşturulmuştur.

Çalışma 2 – Failin Daha Az Sosyal Güce Sahip Olduğu Durumda Sözel Saldırganlığın Mazur Görülmesinde Özdeşleşmenin ve Ahlaki Temellerin Rolü

Çalışma 2, madalyonun öteki yüzünü araştırmak için tasarlanmıştır. Bu defa daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görmede ahlaki temellerin rolü araştırılmıştır. İlk çalışmada olduğu gibi bu çalışmada da katılımcılar önce demografik soruları (cinsiyet, yaş, doğum yeri, eğitim düzeyi, sosyo-ekonomik durum gibi), ardından Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeğini yanıtladılar (Graham ve ark., 2013). Bu ölçümlerden sonra ise bu defa Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeği Versiyon 2'yi yanıtladılar.

Önceki çalışmanın aksine, bu çalışmada saldırganlığı mazur görmenin operasyonel tanımı, daha az güçlü figürün (fail), daha güçlü figüre (mağdur) karşı sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme olarak belirlendi. Sunulan hikayelerde yine aynı üç çift vardı: İşveren ve çalışan; öğretmen ve öğrenci; polis ve vatandaş. Saldırganlığın gerçekleştiği ortam, işveren ve çalışan için bir işyeri; öğretmen ve öğrenci için bir lise; polis ve vatandaş için ise bir sokaktı. Saldırganlık, her vaka için sözel saldırganlık (hakaret ve bağırma) olarak belirlendi.

Her durum, daha güçlü olan tarafın bazı hatalı davranışları üzerine, daha az güçlü tarafın (çalışan, öğrenci, vatandaş), daha güçlü tarafa (işveren, öğretmen, polis) hakaret ettiğini ve bağırdığını tasvir ediyordu. Her ortam için daha güçlü tarafın sergilediği dört tür hatalı davranış vardı. Bu hatalı davranışlar, küfür etmek, zarar vermek (çalışan primlerini düşürmek, müfredatı işlememek, yetkiyi kötüye kullanmak), çalmak (yolsuzluk yapmak, yasak olduğu halde okuldaki öğrencisine özel ders vermek, rüşvet almak) ve sözel tacizdi. Bu sebeple ölçekte yine (3 çift x 4 hata =) 12 madde vardı. Katılımcılardan, söz konusu saldırganlığı ne kadar mazur gördüklerini 5 puanlık Likert ölçeğinde belirtmeleri istendi. Sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmeyi

ölçen her bir maddeden sonra da katılımcılardan taraflardan hangisine daha yakın hissettiklerini belirtmeleri istendi.

Yöntem

Çalışmanın verileri, gönüllü olarak çevrimiçi bir ankete katılmayı kabul eden, yaşları 18 ile 77 arasında değişen 188 kişiden (102 kadın ve 85 erkek) toplandı. Çalışmada kullanılan ölçüm araçları şu şekildeydi:

1.Demografik sorular. Katılımcılardan cinsiyetlerini, yaşlarını, doğum yerlerini, eğitim düzeylerini, sosyo-ekonomik durumlarını, dini inançlarını, muhafazakarlık düzeylerini, ideolojik kişisel yerleşimlerini ve etnik kökenlerini belirtmeleri istenmiştir (Bkz. Ek A4).

2.İdeolojik Görüş. İlk çalışmada olduğu gibi demografik sorulardan aynı üç madde (dindarlık düzeyi, muhafazakarlık düzeyi ve iki uçlu siyasi görüş) ideolojik bakış başlığı altında yeni bir değişken oluşturmak için kullanılmıştır. Bu değişkenin bu çalışmadaki güvenirlik düzeyi .86 bulunmuştur.

3. Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği. İlk çalışmadaki ölçeğin aynısı kullanılmıştır. Her ahlaki temel için güvenirlik kat sayısı ayrı ayrı kontrol edilmiştir. Buna göre Cronbach alfa katsayısı, bakım-zarar boyutu için .58, adalet-hilekarlık için .47 , sadakat- ihanet için .62, otorite-yıkım için .79, kutsallık-yozlaşma için .73 ve özgürlük-baskı için .51 bulunmuştur.

4. Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeği (Versiyon 2). Daha az güçlü tarafın daha güçlü tarafa karşı sözel saldırganlığının farklı bağlamlarda ne ölçüde mazur görüleceğini ölçmeyi amaçlayan bu 12 maddelik ölçek, bu tezin çerçevelediği soruları test etmek için geliştirilmiştir. Bir güç asimetrisinin görece resmi bağlamlarda (okul, işyeri vb gibi) sunulmasının, karıştırıcı değişkenlerden uzak durmayı kolaylaştıracağı düşünüldüğünden, güç ilişkisinin tarafları işveren-çalışan, öğretmen-öğrenci ve polis-

vatandaş olarak belirlenmiştir. Saldırganlığın türü, ölçek boyunca sözel saldırganlık (bağırma ve hakaret etme) olarak belirlenmiştir. Ölçekteki her bir madde, daha güçlü tarafın bazı hatalı davranışları üzerine, daha az güçlü tarafın (çalışan, öğrenci, vatandaş) daha güçlü tarafa (işveren, öğretmen, polis) hakaret ettiğini ve bağırdığını tasvir etmektedir.

Bu hatalı davranışlar, küfür etmek, zarar vermek (çalışan primlerini düşürmek, müfredatı işlememek, yetkiyi kötüye kullanmak), çalmak (yolsuzluk yapmak, yasak olduğu halde okuldaki öğrencisine özel ders vermek, rüşvet almak) ve sözel tacizdir. Bu sebeple ankette (3 çift x 4 hata) 12 madde vardır. Her hata, tarafların bir arada olduğu bağlama uyacak şekilde uyarlanmıştır. Örneğin, işveren işyerinde yolsuzluk yaparken, öğretmen yasak olmasına rağmen öğrencisine özel ders vermiş, polis ise yetkisini kötüye kullanmıştır.

Katılımcılardan 5 maddelik Likert ölçeğinde (1 = asla katılmıyorum, 5 = tamamen katılıyorum) söz konusu sözel saldırganlığı ne kadar mazur gördüklerini belirtmeleri istenmiştir (örn., “Bir işyerinde çalışan ile işveren arasındaki anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Çalışan, tartışmanın sonunda işverene bağırır ve hakaret eder. Bu anlaşmazlığın nedeni işverenin yolsuzluk yapması ise çalışanın işverene bağırıp hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir", "Lisede öğretmen ile öğrenci arasındaki anlaşmazlık tartışmaya dönüşür. Öğrenci tartışmanın sonunda öğretmene bağırır ve hakaret eder. Bu anlaşmazlığın nedeni öğretmenin yasak olmasına rağmen başka bir öğrencisine özel ders vermesi ise öğrencinin öğretmene bağırması ve hakaret etmesi mazur görülebilir”). Oniki maddelik bu ölçek Ek A7'de bulunabilir.

5. Fail ile özdeşleşim. İlk çalışmadaki ölçeğin aynısı kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılara “Hangi taraf size daha yakın?" diye sorulmuş ve -5 ile +5 arasında değişen iki uçlu bir ölçekte yanıtlamaları istenmiştir. Analizler sırasında cevaplar 1 ile 11 arasında yeniden

kodlanmış ve yüksek puanlar bu defa daha az güçlü tarafla (çalışan, öğrenci, vatandaş) yüksek özdeşleşmeyi göstermiştir.

Bulgular

Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği, Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeği ve Fail ile Özdeşleşme için güvenirlik analizleri yapılmıştır. Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeği Versiyon 2'nin faktör yapısını saptamak için Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizi (Doğrudan Oblimin Rotasyonlu Ana Eksen Analizi ve Paralel Analiz) yapılmıştır.

Önerilen modeli test etmeden önce değişkenler arasındaki korelasyonlar kontrol edilmiş ve son adımda, mevcut tezin önerdiği modeli test etmek için AMOS 23.0 kullanılarak Yol Analizi yapılmıştır.

Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görme Ölçeğinin Güvenirliği, Faktör Analizi ve Madde Korelasyonları

Ölçeğin güvenirliği .90 bulunmuştur. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterlilik testi ise .87 bulunmuştur **(**χ^2 (66) = 731.972, $p < .000$**).**

Faktör analizi sırasında Eigenvalue değeri 1.00'ın üzerinde olan 3 faktör bulunmuş ve toplam varyansın %68.68'inin bu 3 faktörle açıklandığı görülmüştür. Ancak Eigenvalue değerine ve paralel analize dayalı Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizinin sunduğu Kayşat grafiği (scree plot) 1 faktörlü çözümü desteklemiştir ve bu çözüm esas alınmıştır.

Ölçeğin madde korelasyonları ise tüm maddelerin birbirleriyle anlamlı şekilde ilişkili olduğunu ve .32 - .84 arasında değiştiğini göstermiştir.

Fail ile Özdeşleşim Ölçeği

Fail ile Özdeşleşim Ölçeğinin güvenirliği .61 bulunmuştur. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterlilik testi ise .70 bulunmuştur (χ^2 (66) = 312.668, $p < .000$**).**

Bu anket yalnızca bir maddeyi içerdiğinden ("Hangi taraf size daha yakın?") bu ölçüm aracının faktör yapısı analiz edilmemiştir.

Önerilen Modelin Yol Analizi

Ahlaki temellerin, daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkilerini ve fail ile özdeşleşim üzerinden dolaylı etkilerini, test etmek için AMOS 23.0 kullanılarak bir yol analizi yapılmıştır.

Yol analizi sonuçları, ahlaki temeller ile mazur görme arasında bir dizi anlamsız yol olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, ahlaki temeller arasına (örneğin, adalet ve otorite, kutsallık ve özgürlük, adalet ve kutsallık temelleri arasına) kovaryans eklemeyi öneren birkaç değişiklik endeksi görülmüştür. Bu önerilerin yalnızca biri (adalet ve otorite) 10.00'dan daha büyük bir iyileştirme sunduğu için uygulanmış, istatiksel olarak anlamlı olmayan yollar ise silinmiştir. Bu işlemlerin ardından değişiklik endeksleri tekrar kontrol edilmiş ve 10.00'dan daha büyük bir iyileştirme sunan bir değişiklik daha (zarar ve kutsallık kovaryansı) eklenmiştir.

Bulgulara göre, özgürlük temelinin, daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkisi anlamlı bulunmuştur. Fail ile özdeşleşmenin, daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki etkisi de anlamlıdır. Öte yandan ahlaki temellerin hiçbirinin daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkileri anlamlı değildir.

Uyum değerleri incelendiğinde, ilk modelde (χ^2 (10)=64.347, p < .001; RMSEA = .170; TLI = .65; CFI= .88), anlamlı olmayan yollar silindikten sonra, elde edilen nihai modelin uyum istatistiklerinin iyileştiği görülmüştür(χ^2 (18)=44.647, p < .001; RMSEA = .09; TLI = .90; CFI= .94). Bununla birlikte, nihai modelin uyum istatistikleri de hala yeterli değildir. AMOS aynı zamanda kullanıcı tanımlı

tahminlerin hesaplanmasına da izin verdiği için, özgürlük temelinin fail ile özdeşleşme yoluyla daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi de analiz edilmiştir. Ancak özgürlük temeli de dahil tüm ahlaki temellerin daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi anlamsız bulunmuştur.

Bu analizler dışında, bir önceki çalışmanın bulguları göz önüne alınarak, bu çalışmada da özgürlük ahlaki temelinin yalnızca yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü alt ölçeği ile modelin tekrar test edilmesi için özgürlük ahlaki temeline açımlayıcı faktör analizi uygulanmıştır. Faktör analizi sonucu yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü boyutunda yer aldığı görülen maddeler ile yeni bir değişken oluşturulmuş ve model yeniden test edilmiştir. Ancak bu analiz sonunda da yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü alt ölçeği ve fail ile özdeşleşim arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunamamış, modelin uyum değerleri ise kötüleşmiştir (χ^2 (19)=80.489, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .132; TLI = .80; CFI= .87).

Tartışma

Mazur görülen saldırganlık olaylarındaki çeşitliliğin, insanların öznel ahlakındaki çeşitliliği yansıtabileceği varsayımıyla yola çıkılarak, saldırganlığı mazur görmenin ahlaki temellerini araştırmak amacıyla iki çalışma yapılmıştır. Ancak, saldırganlığı mazur görmek, tek bir araştırma tasarımıyla incelenemeyecek kadar geniş bir olgudur. Araştırma sorusunu çerçevelemeden önce, yalnızca saldırganlığın şiddeti (vurma, bağırma, darp, işkence vb.) değil, saldırganlığın türleri (psikolojik, cinsel, fiziksel) de dikkate alınmalıdır. Dahası, olayın tarafları (hem fail hem de mağdur) ve saldırganlığın ardındaki motivasyonlar (öz savunma, başkasını savunma, kutsal değerleri savunma vb.) da durumun ele alınışına yeni taksonomik kırılımlar ekleyebilir ve bu kırılımlar "mazur görülemez" olanı "mazur görülebilir" olana dönüştürebilir.

Bu sebeplerle, mevcut çalışmada araştırma sorusu çeşitli açılardan sınırlandırılmıştır: Bu çalışmada saldırganlık türü sözel saldırganlıktır (bağırmak ve hakaret etmek); saldırganlığın tarafları arasında bir güç asimetrisi bulunmaktadır; bağlam resmidir; saldırganlığın ardındaki motivasyon, hatalı davranış gösteren muhatabı cezalandırmaktır.

Çalışma 1'de önerilen ilişkileri test etmek ve ahlaki temellerin, daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan ve (fail ile özdeşleşmenin aracılığı ile) dolaylı etkilerini kontrol etmek için yol analizi yapılmıştır. Daha önce de vurgulandığı gibi, altı ahlaki temelin tamamı modele dahil edilmiştir. Bu nedenle, bazı bulgular anlamsız ilişkiler göstermiş ve bu ilişkiler modelden çıkarılmıştır.

Otorite ahlaki temelinin daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı etkileri anlamlı çıkmıştır. Benzer şekilde, fail ile özdeşleşmenin, daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki etkisi de anlamlıdır. Öte yandan, özgürlük ahlaki temeli ile daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme arasındaki ilişki anlamlı bulunmuş ve bu durum, özgürlük ahlaki temelinin daha detaylı analiz edilmesi gereğini doğurmuştur.

Orijinal çalışma (Iyer ve ark., 2012) dikkatle incelendiğinde, merkezi önem atfettikleri ahlaki değerlerin bu kuramda yer almaması sebebiyle şikayetçi olan özgürlükçülerin, özgürlük ahlaki temelinin ortaya çıkmasında etkili oldukları görülmektedir. Bu nedenle özgürlük ahlaki temeli başından beri iki boyutludur ve ekonomik ve sosyal alanları aynı anda kapsar. Öte yandan Türkiye'deki toplumsal kesimler Amerika ya da Batı Avrupa'dakilere göre farklı kümelenmekte ve özgürlük ahlaki temelinin Türkiye'deki hiçbir gruba tam olarak karşılık gelmediği söylenebilir. Diğer bir deyişle, Türkiye’de özgürlük ahlaki temelinin alt boyutları birbirini

neredeyse dışlamaktadır; liberal ekonomi savunusu yapanlar ile yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü savunusu yapanların kesişim kümesi oldukça dardır.

Birçok siyaset bilimci, Türkiye'deki 20 yıllık iktidarın (ve destekçilerinin) ekonomik olarak neoliberal ve sosyal olarak muhafazakar olduğunu belirtmiştir (Çelik, 2015; Kalaycıoğlu, 2018; Lüküslü, 2016). Geriye kalan büyük sosyal kesimler ise seküler cumhuriyetçiler, etnik siyasi partiler ve sosyalistlerdir. Bu grupların öncelik verdiği siyasi gündemler farklı olsa da hiçbirinin özelleştirmelerden yana olmadığı rahatlıkla söylenebilir. Tam tersine, hükümetin izlediği neoliberal ekonomi politikalarına karşılardır. Hatta, farklı siyasi önceliklere sahip bu grupların hemfikir olduğu tek konu, devletin sosyal refah devleti olmaktan uzaklaşmasına yönelttikleri eleştiriler olabilir. Bu bakımdan, Amerika ya da Avrupa'dakine benzer şekilde, ekonomik liberalizmi savunan ve sosyal olarak özgürlükçü bir yaşam tarzını benimsemiş bir kesimden Türkiye'de bahsetmek güçtür.

Öte yandan, mevcut hükümetin 20 yıldır yaygınlaştırdığı muhafazakar yaşam tarzına karşı yaşam tarzı özgürlüğünü savunan geniş bir muhalefetten bahsedebiliriz. Seküler Türk milliyetçileri, Kemalistler, Kürt milliyetçileri, sosyalistler gibi farklı toplumsal kesimler bu gruba dahil edilebilir. Herkesin hatırlayacağı gibi, 10 yıl önce Türkiye'de 3,6 milyon kişinin katıldığı Gezi Direnişinin bileşenleri olan bu gruplar ("Gezi'ye kaç kişi", 2013), farklı yaşam tarzları üzerindeki baskıların arttığı bir dönemde sokaklara dökülmüştür. Hareketi analiz eden araştırmacılar tarafından, bu grupları ortak talebi de özgürlük olarak yorumlanmıştır (Bilgiç & Kafkaslı, 2013; Konda, 2014). Ancak ekonomik liberalizm bu geniş muhalefetin talepleri arasında bulunmamaktadır. Bu bakımdan özgürlük ahlaki temelinin, yalnızca yaşam tarzı alt ölçeğini kullanmak Türkiye örneklemi için daha makul olabilir.

Yukarıdaki gerekçeler ışığında, model yalnızca özgürlük ahlaki temelinin yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü alt ölçeği kullanılarak tekrar test edilmiştir. Bulgular sonucunda, hem yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü ve fail ile özdeşleşme arasındaki ilişkinin, hem de yaşam tarzı özgürlüğü ve daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme arasındaki ilişkinin anlamsız olduğu görülmüştür. Diğer bir deyişle, Türkiye örnekleminde liberteryenlerin yokluğunun, özgürlük ahlaki temeli ile daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme arasındaki beklenmeyen anlamlı ilişkiyi açıkladığı iddia edilebilir.

Çalışma 2'de önerilen ilişkileri sınamak ve ahlaki temellerin, daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan ve (fail ile özdeşleşmenin aracılığı ile) dolaylı etkilerini kontrol etmek için yol analizi yapılmıştır. Daha önce de vurgulandığı gibi, altı ahlaki temelin tamamı modele dahil edilmiştir. Bu nedenle, bazı bulgular anlamsız ilişkiler göstermiş ve bu ilişkiler modelden çıkarılmıştır.

Özgürlük ahlaki temelinin daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkisi anlamlı çıkmıştır. Fail ile özdeşleşmenin, daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki etkisi de anlamlıdır. Ancak özgürlük ahlaki temelinin, (fail ile özdeşleşmenin aracılığı ile) daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi anlamsızdır. İlk çalışmanın bulguları göz önüne alınarak özgürlük ahlaki temelinin Türkiye örnekleminde daha geçerli olacağı düşünülen yaşam tarzı alt ölçeği ile model tekrar test edilmiş ama sonuçlar değişmemiştir.

Bu araştırmanın sınırlılıkları ile ilgili olarak vurgulanması gereken birkaç nokta vardır. İlk olarak, Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği, Türkiye'de yürütülen daha önceki çalışmalarda da bulunduğu gibi, düşük güvenirlik göstermiştir. Bu nedenle ahlaki

temelleri incelemek için güvenirlik ve geçerlilik çalışmaları yerel olarak daha umut verici sonuçlar veren ölçme araçlarının tercih edilmesi daha yararlı olabilirdi.

İkinci olarak, önerilen modellerde anlamlı olmayan yollar silindikten sonra çalışmaların uyum istatistiklerinde iyileşme görülmesine rağmen, nihai modellerin uyum değerleri ideal düzeye getirilememiştir. Alternatif olarak, saldırganlığı mazur görmede etkisi olabilecek diğer değişkenler modele eklenerek ve anlamlı bir açıklama gücü olmadığı görülen ahlaki temeller modelden çıkarılarak daha güçlü modeller elde edilebilir.

Saldırganlığın seviyesi ile ilgili olarak, "şiddet" yerine "saldırganlık" teriminin tercih edilmesi de tartışma konusu olabilir. Şiddet ve saldırganlık sözcükleri günlük hayatta genellikle birbirinin yerine sıkça kullanılsa da, sosyal psikologlar şiddeti fiziksel hasara neden olan daha ciddi bir saldırganlık biçimi olarak tasvir ederler (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010; Huesmann & Taylor, 2006). Bu bakımdan saldırganlığı bir spektrum olarak ele almak ve düşük şiddet türleri için "saldırganlığı" tercih etmek daha güvenli olabilir.

Son olarak bu araştırmaya dair belirtilmesi gereken bir diğer sınırlılık ise, fail ile özdeşleşim değişkeninin araştırma tasarımında mazur görme sorularının ardından gelmesi olabilir. Teorik olarak, failin mazur görülmesini araştıran bir çalışmada katılımcılardan fail ve mağdur kimliklerine tarafsız bir kimlikle yaklaşmaları beklenemeyeceği için, özdeşleşim değişkeninin modele dahil edilmesi mantıklıdır. Ancak bu tezdeki özdeşleşim ölçümü oldukça bağlamsal bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, özdeşleşim düzeyi ölçek sorusuna gömülü bir şekilde ölçüldüğünden ve araştırma deseni katılımcıya bu kimlikler hakkında ekstra veriler (örneğin hatalar) sağladığından, özdeşleşim ölçümü katılımcıların söz konusu kimliklere karşı göstereceği spontane özdeşleşimin ötesine geçmiş olabilir. Bu

nedenle, bu sonuçların, özdeşleşim değişkeninin aracılık etkisini farklı bir şekilde ve zamanlama ile çerçeveleyen yeni çalışmalarla tekrar incelenmesi yerinde olabilir.

Bu sınırlılıklar dışında, bağımlı değişkenin (sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmenin) gerek saldırganlığın geçtiği ortamlara, gerekse karşı tarafın yaptığı hatalara göre ayrı ayrı incelenmesi halinde failin mazur görülmesinde farklılık olup olmayacağı sorusu yerinde bir soru olabilir. Bu nedenle, ortamları ve hataları örtük bir değişkenin göstergeleri olarak çerçeveleyen keşifsel bazı ek analizler yapılmıştır (ilk çalışma için Ek B1 ve B2'ye; ikinci çalışma için Ek B3 ve B4'e bakınız).

Ortamları (işyeri, okul, sokak) sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmenin göstergesi olarak alan ilk ek analiz (failin daha fazla sosyal gücü olduğunda), yalnızca otorite ahlaki temelinin daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkisinin anlamlı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, bağımlı değişken üzerindeki bağlayıcı temellerin tümünün dolaylı etkileri anlamlı çıkmıştır (Bkz. Ek B1).

Hataları (hakaret, zarar verme, çalma, sözel taciz) sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmenin göstergesi olarak ele alan ikinci ek analiz (failin daha fazla sosyal gücü olduğunda), yalnızca otorite ahlaki temelinin daha güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki doğrudan etkisinin anlamlı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, ahlaki temellerin bağımlı değişken üzerindeki dolaylı etkilerinin hiçbiri anlamlı bulunmamıştır (Bkz. Ek B2).

Ortamları (işyeri, okul, sokak) sözel saldırganlığı mazur göstermenin göstergeleri olarak alan üçüncü ek analiz (failin sosyal gücü daha az olduğunda), ahlaki temellerin daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığını mazur görme üzerindeki ne doğrudan etkilerinin ne de dolaylı etkilerinin anlamlı olmadığını göstermiştir (Bkz. Ek B3).

Hataları (hakaret, zarar verme, çalma, sözel taciz) sözel saldırganlığı mazur görmenin göstergesi olarak alan dördüncü ek analiz (failin sosyal gücü daha az olduğunda), yalnızca adalet ahlaki temelinin bağımlı değişken üzerindeki dolaylı etkisinin anlamlı olduğunu göstermiştir. Fail ile özdeşleşmenin sözel saldırganlığı mazur görme üzerindeki etkisi de anlamlı çıkmıştır. Bununla birlikte, ahlaki temellerin doğrudan etkilerinin hiçbiri, daha az güçlü tarafın sözel saldırganlığının mazur görülmesi üzerinde anlamlı sonuçlar göstermemiştir (Bkz. Ek B4).

Tüm bu sonuçlar, model değiştirilirse saldırganlığı mazur görme ile anlamlı ilişkiler gösteren ahlaki temellerin de değişebileceğini göstermiştir. Her ne kadar bu ek analizler ana çalışmalarla belli noktalar da tutarlı sonuçlar vermiş olsa da, farklı asimetrik veya duygusal ilişkilerde (örneğin baba-çocuk, karı-koca) saldırganlık hikayeleri, farklı ahlaki temelleri tetikleyebilecek kapasitede olabilir. Benzer bir şekilde, daha şiddetli saldırganlık biçimleri de farklı ahlaki temeller ile ilişki gösterebilir (zarar verme veya adalet gibi).

Gelecekte yürütülecek araştırmalar açısından bu çalışma, saldırganlığı mazur görmeyi ahlaki temellerle birlikte incelemeye yönelik bir ilk girişim olarak görülebilir. Yaygın olarak mazur görülen diğer birçok saldırganlık türü de benzer bir yaklaşımla incelenebilir. Örneğin, sadakatsiz eşe yönelik saldırganlığı mazur görmek, kutsallık-yozlaşma temelinde yüksek olmakla ilgili olabilirken, ulusal değerleri eleştirenlere yönelik saldırganlığı mazur görmek, sadakat- ihanet temelinde yüksek olmakla ilişkili olabilir. Kuşkusuz bu modellere ahlaki temeller dışında saldırganlığın mazur görülmesini kolaylaştıran farklı değişkenler de eklenebilir.

Yalnızca resmi düzlemlerde güç asimetrisi içeren durumlardaki sözel saldırganlığın mazur görülmesinin ahlaki temeller ile ilişkisini araştıran bu tez, bu çok katmanlı ve çok yönlü sorunun yalnızca bir katmanında belli bir açıyı aydınlatmaya

çalışmıştır. Anlamak çözüm üretmenin de bir parçası ise, bu tezin bu doğrultuda faydalı bir adım olarak değerlendirilmesini ve alanda yapılacak yeni araştırmalara ilham vermesini dilerim.

E. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Erdoğan
Adı / Name : Çağdan
Bölümü / Department : Psikoloji / Psychology

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): **Güç Asimetrisi İçeren Resmi İlişkilerde Sözel Saldırganlığı Mazur Görmede Ahlaki Temellerin Rolü / The Role of Moral Foundations in Excusing Verbal Aggression in Formal Relationships Involving Power Asymmetry**

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE**:** **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ☒

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years. *** ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. ***** ☐

***** *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature ..... **Tarih** / Date .....
(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.