

THE EFFECTS OF PUNITIVE THREAT AND LEVELS OF  
ANXIETY ON HOSTILITY AMONG INDIAN HIGH  
SCHOOL STUDENTS

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## PREFACE

This study slowly evolved as a result of the author living and working for several months at an Indian boarding school in Oklahoma. With the passing of time, the author believed a problem existed within the school in that empirically there seemed to be a relationship between school personnel using punitive threats as a discipline technique and students' expressions of hostile behaviors. Therefore, this study was designed to test the author's observations with the hope that it might serve as a stimulus to improve the environment at this and other Indian boarding schools.

The author expresses appreciation to Dr. Robert Mangum for the guidance and assistance he gave in preparing this study. Appreciation is also extended to the author's other committee members, Dr. Billy Elsom, Dr. Paul Warden, and Dr. Ron Gamble, for their contributions in preparing the final manuscript.

The author is very grateful to Terry Henderson who made the single most important contribution to the implementation of this study.

A special thank you is given to the personnel at the Indian boarding school and the Oklahoma Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for their courage and integrity in allowing this study to be conducted.

This study is dedicated to my many friends, the students of the Indian boarding school where the study was conducted, and also to those

persons throughout this nation who care about this special population by expressing themselves in ways which bring about socially constructive results for Indians.

Finally, to Judy, my wife, who is an unusually fine person as well as my most dear friend, it's been fun along the way.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Psychologists and educators have studied the relationship between concepts of threat, anxiety, and hostility and noted their negative association to educationally related variables such as grades given by classroom teachers, scores on standardized achievement tests and levels of performance on intelligence tests (Feldhusen, Thurston and Benning, 1970; Wechsler, 1958; and Guertin, 1966). In addition to this, research has established positive relationships between the presence of threats and manifest levels of anxiety in subjects (Lazarus, 1964; and Davison, 1963); and the presence of threats and expressions of inappropriate behavior, including hostile behavior in subjects (Berkowitz, 1960; Buss, 1963; and Ulman et al., 1965). In spite of these known relationships some educators continue to deal with inappropriate school behavior through employing disciplinarian practices involving verbal incriminations such as punitive threats (Becker, 1971 and MacDonald, 1971). School systems consider that one role of their personnel, from the superintendent, to the principal, counselor and classroom teacher, is to function as disciplinarians. This expectation is well established in school law. School personnel use disciplinarian techniques varying in form from corporal punishment, i.e., paddling to verbal incriminations, i.e., punitive threats (Waterland, J.D., 1971 and Vacca, R.S., 1971).

Although many of the studies listed above are based upon public schools, Harris and Reese (1968) empirically note a coexisting phenomena of the use of punitive threats as a discipline technique among the school personnel at the Indian boarding school in this study and behavioral expressions of hostility among students at that school.

#### The Problem

The problem of this study is the relationship of a realistic punitive threat and levels of anxiety, within the milieu of an Indian boarding school, to expressions of behavioral hostility among the school's senior high students. The study is designed to examine the question of whether or not the use of an environmentally realistic punitive threat serves to elicit the very form of behavior, hostility, it seeks to control or reduce.

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study is to measure the effect of a realistic punitive threat (PT), within the milieu of an Indian boarding school, on expressions of total hostility (TH), overt hostility (OH), and covert hostility (CH). Secondly, the study is concerned with measuring the effects of relative levels of high anxiety (HA) and low anxiety (LA) to TH, OH, and CH expressions under conditions of an environmentally realistic PT. Thirdly, this study is concerned with determining whether or not an environmentally realistic PT and levels of HA and LA have an interacting effect on expressions of TH, OH, and CH.

## Background of the Population

This section will provide an introduction to the background of the student population at the Indian boarding school where this study was conducted.

The school where this study was conducted is administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is an off-reservation Indian Boarding School which enrolls approximately 350 students. To be eligible for enrollment at this high school, students' names must be on the Indian rolls showing that they are at least one-quarter Indian blood. Additionally all students must have been interviewed and recommended by their field social worker for enrollment. Reasons commonly given for enrollment at this Indian board school are as follows:

### I. From Public School Experiences

- a. suspended from school
- b. low academic achievement
- c. poor attendance records
- d. behavior problems
- e. perceived discrimination
- f. feelings of inferiority
- g. viable means of transportation to school unavailable
- h. feelings of rejection
- i. parents believe boarding school most appropriate institution for children to obtain education

### II. Familial Background

- a. parental instability
- b. parent(s) incarcerated for legal reasons or abandoned home

- c. parents unable to support family
- d. parental rejection or negligence
- e. inadequate living standards
- f. parents unable to control children's behavior

### III. Miscellaneous

- a. children associating with a "bad" group
- b. student is ward of the court

The above list reflects reasons given by field social workers for enrollment of students at this high school. The list was compiled from a randomly selected list of 32 case histories which are on file for every student at the high school. For nearly all students, reasons given for enrollment at this high school include several of those stated above. Even those rare cases which refer to only one of the above reasons one would infer from reading the case history that there are actually several interacting reasons which lead to enrollment at this Indian boarding school. In such cases it would appear that the field social worker has either over-generalized or has listed what is believed to be the largest contributing reason for enrollment.

As demonstrated by the above list, the general population of this high school appears to come from socially disintegrated environments. There is evidence of familial abuses in the form of parental rejection or negligence. Parents with inadequate living standards are unable to support their children or to control their children's behaviors. Some for varying reasons have abandoned the home. The school's students have a general background which includes low academic achievement. They have had difficulty finding appropriate means of school transportation. Some believe that they have experienced racial

discrimination in the schools. As a consequence, students have a history which includes school suspensions, poor attendance records, behavior problems, feelings of inferiority and rejection and have a tendency to run with a "bad group." Because of this, some students find themselves attending this Indian boarding school. In some cases they are assigned to this high school as wards of the courts. Some parents, unable to control their children's behavior, explicitly or implicitly abdicate their responsibility to the school. Other parents simply believe that a boarding school is the most appropriate institution for their children to obtain an education.

Harris and Reese (1968, p. 3) describes additional characteristics of this school's population:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School enrolls. . . .students from primarily the eastern half of the state of Oklahoma and from Florida, North Carolina, and Mississippi. Most of the students are from the five civilized tribes of Oklahoma. The vast majority of the students at \_\_\_\_\_ High School enroll under social criteria. The student body is characterized generally as having emotional, behavioral, and social adjustment problems. Some students have serious emotional problems for which they need special treatment. Behavior problems range from moderate to severe and are often manifested by great difficulty in handling relationships with authority and authority symbols. Coming from culturally and economically deprived backgrounds, disintegrated homes, neglect, a life of continual failure to adjust to their particular life situations, most of the students begin with a preparatory set to react negatively to an institutional setting. These reactions include destructiveness, over-aggressiveness, fighting, withdrawal, suicide attempts, truancy, depressions, exaggerated defiance of authority, vandalism, and gross over-dependence. . . . Professional observers of this situation have proposed that many of the above described problems are related to the student's failure in assumption of responsibility for their own behavior or for their lives. This failure results from limited opportunity to form satisfying and meaningful relationships with peers or adults, restricted opportunity to think for themselves, exercise leadership skills, or actively participate in the planning of their own lives. These limitations are imposed in part by the very low adult-to-student ratio, forcing the supervising adults, no matter

how well intended, to manage the students by routine and regimentation, reducing individuality to a minimum. Students have little opportunity to develop meaningful, satisfying relations with adults because so few adults are available to them most of the time. Since virtually all decisions are made by institutional rules and routines, the students have little opportunity to develop a sense of responsibility for their own lives.

Steeped in a pattern of very limited numbers of staff combined with heavy work loads, the regular staff of the institution have little opportunity to try new ideas, innovate, or institute changes in the daily programming of students. . . .

On the basis of the above kinds of information the following conclusions may be drawn: . . .students at \_\_\_\_\_ High School need further enrichment, particularly insofar as this relates to interpersonal relationships with adults and the opportunity to know themselves and be known as individuals . . . An additional factor not based specifically on the above information is the fact that there are insufficient numbers of people who understand the problems of Indians, the underprivileged, and of students in boarding schools.

This document provides additional understanding of the student population at this high school regarding interpersonal dynamics within this institutional environment. With a history of emotional, behavioral and social problems, students often react to adult authority or authority symbols with negative expressions of behavior. As stated (Harris and Reese, 1968), this behavior often takes the form of "destructiveness, over-aggressiveness, fighting, withdrawal, suicide attempts, truancy, depressions, exaggerated defiance of authority, vandalism, and gross over dependence." Additionally, Harris and Reese (1968, p. 3) stated that some students have serious emotional problems for which they need special treatment. If a relationship is determined between an environmentally realistic punitive threat and expressions of hostility, the question of whether students are given special consideration will be highly suspect.

### Significance of the Study

The significance of this study must be judged on the basis of the population for which the research is designed, a specific Indian boarding school in the State of Oklahoma. If realistic punitive threats and levels of high and low anxiety serve to elicit hostile behavior within the milieu of this Indian boarding school then the school's personnel must be cognizant of the relationship. Should this relationship exist, then the school personnel, to the degree that they are involved in the practice, are contributing to the very problem they wish to reduce or eliminate. The research was initiated at this school because empirical evidence suggests that the school personnel is not cognizant of the possible relationship between punitive threat and students' expressions of hostility within this environment.

Therefore, it is believed that a significant problem exists at the high school if it is shown that punitive threat serves to arouse anxiety and elicit aggressive behavioral expressions of hostility in students. Given such a sequence of events, full attainment of educational and psychological potential is quite likely to be circumvented.

### Operational Definitions

1. Punitive Threat (PT), as used with this population, a realistic verbal statement that serves to arouse stress (hypothetically state anxiety) and elicits expressions of hostility.

2. Manifest Anxiety, as measured by the total score on the IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire, manifest or trait anxiety measures stable

individual characteristics of the individual's personality (Cattell and Scheier, 1963).

3. High Anxiety (HA), the 40 subjects with the highest scores as measured on the IPAT.

4. Low Anxiety (LA), the 40 subjects with the lowest scores as measured on the IPAT.

5. The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), a projective test which measures dominant drives, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of personality (Murray, 1943).

6. Total Hostility (TH), as scored by the Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale (HCS) measuring hostility along a scale with a score of zero for no hostility to a score of 4 for more serious forms of hostility.

7. Overt Hostility (OH), as scored by the Hafner-Kaplan HCS measuring hostility of a direct manifest nature.

8. Covert Hostility (CH), as scored by the Hafner-Kaplan HCS measuring hostility of an indirect, concealed or latent nature.

### Hypotheses

The hypotheses of this study, stated in the null form, are as follows:

I. Dependent Variable of TH

$H_1$ : Students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of no punitive threat (NPT) on measures of TH.



H<sub>2</sub>: TH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions.

#### II. Dependent Variable of OH

H<sub>3</sub>: Students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of OH.

H<sub>4</sub>: OH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions.

#### III. Dependent Variable of CH

H<sub>5</sub>: Students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of CH.

H<sub>6</sub>: CH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions.

#### Assumptions of the Study

1. The IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire is a sufficiently valid and reliable instrument to measure and differentiate levels of manifest anxiety.
2. The Thematic Apperception Test is a sufficiently valid, reliable and sensitive instrument to measure hostile expression.
3. The validity and inter-scorer reliability of the Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale is sufficient to measure and differentiate types of hostile expressions; TH, OH and CH.
4. Hostile expression can be sufficiently aroused under PT conditions.
5. Extraneous variables are controlled through randomization.

### Limitations of the Study

1. The results of the study can be generalized only to students of this high school or other sufficiently similar populations as used in this study.
2. The reliability of the dependent variable measure could affect the results of the study if the judges scores do not reach a sufficient level of correlation.
3. The reliability, validity and sensitivity of the TAT could affect the results of the study.

## CHAPTER II

### A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### Introduction

One purpose of this review of related literature is to examine the historical foundations for concepts of anxiety and hostility and also to determine the relationship of the variable threat to these concepts. A second purpose is to present a sample of the experimental research on concepts of threat, anxiety and hostility. A third purpose is to provide a theoretical approach to the problem. A final purpose is to examine the pertinent available research on Indian boarding schools, in general, and, specifically, the Indian boarding school where this study was conducted. This review will be divided into five main sections. Each of the sections will be followed by a summary. The major divisions of this review are: 1) anxiety and threat; 2) hostility and threat; 3) theoretical approach to the problem; 4) Indian boarding schools; and 5) a final summary.

#### Anxiety and Threat

Anxiety will be examined in this section of the review of the literature by first presenting varying theoretical constructs. As a group the psychoanalytic school of psychology has probably produced more voluminous literature on the construct of anxiety than any other group. As originally stated by Freud (Bender, 1953) original anxiety

resulted from the trauma of birth. The trauma producing anxiety causes the baby to cry, thereby preparing the functional capacity of the lungs. Concomittant to this is an increase in heartbeat keeping the blood free of toxic substances. Thus to Freud original anxiety had both psychological and physiological import. Later in life the ego reacts with anxiety toward potential dangers or threats. Freud theorized that the perception of danger or threat is learned through earlier conflicts associated with castration complex or penis envy. Although certain levels of anxiety are regarded by Freud as necessary, an excessive amount of it leads to neurosis. Overall, Freud regarded anxiety as an unpleasant emotional state which produced physiological hyperactivity and therefore a signal for impending danger.

Disagreeing with Freud on the origins of anxiety the neo-Freudians presented alternative explanations. To Sullivan (1948) the source of anxiety develops from the relationship of the child to his mother. Anxiety develops from the child's perception of good mother versus bad mother and consequent good me versus bad me. To Sullivan anxiety is similar in nature to fear but different in that it is unconscious. Adler (Day, 1949) believed that anxiety developed as a result of the individual's striving for power and self-assertion. As a result of his striving, the individual fears being exposed as worthless or inferior, thereby producing anxiety. Carried to extremes the wish for success and fear of failure creates a double bind manifesting in neurotic anxiety. Horney (1957) rejected Freud's innate predisposing or biologically determined concept of anxiety. To her the major contribution of anxiety is repressed impulses. Thus, basic anxiety develops as the child feels a need to repress natural behavior tendencies resulting

from demands of a hostile world. The perception of a hostile world produces hostile feelings within all children leading to basic anxiety. Basic anxiety develops because the child is unable to express his natural aggressive feelings. For these reasons the child experiences conflict. To cope with the conflict, defense mechanisms are developed.

Others of the psychoanalytical school have posited additional explanations of anxiety. Klein (1946) postulates that primary anxiety comes from (1) fear of inner destructive impulses or, the death instinct; (2) birth trauma; and (3) frustration of biological and physiological needs. Klein suggests that the above cause the ego to develop defense mechanisms to ferret out unwanted feelings. Berg (1959) in agreement with Horney suggests that anxiety occurs as a result of tension which is blocked from expression. Anxiety manifests itself when man's natural predispositions for aggression are blocked. May (1950), a phenomenologist, offers a somewhat different explanation in suggesting anxiety expresses the inborn ability of the neurophysical organism to respond to threat. Finally, in rejecting Freud's birth trauma as the origin of anxiety, Brenner (1953) views anxiety as a learned emotion. As an emotion it differentiates at a gradual rate from unpleasant feelings. A prerequisite to the perception of the feeling state and hence the emotion of anxiety is the functionally developed ego.

Two existentialists Kirkegaard and Jaspers (Kurzwil, 1968) associated the concept of anxiety to a feeling state of dread. Thus to Kirkegaard when original man violated prohibitions not to eat the apple he became aware of self. With this awareness and freedom of action he experienced dread through realizing responsibility for his existence

and acts. As a result, dread becomes the predominate feeling state in crisis situations. Jaspers states that existential dread experienced by modern man results from the socioeconomic structure of the modern world which produced anomie. Existential dread occurs as modern man is threatened with loss of self-identity. To these existentialists, the concept of dread roughly parallels that of anxiety. The parallel constructs of dread and anxiety are consequences of an antecedent phenomenologically perceived threat.

An early learning theorist, Pavlov (1927), was able to produce experimental neurosis or anxiety in an animal under a state of hunger drive. Through changing stimulus conditions which originally resulted in a reward of food until the original stimulus reward response could not be discriminated, Pavlov created an anxiety reaction in the animal. Anxiety reactions in animals have been replicated by Liddell (1944), Gantt (1942), Masserman (1943), Miller (1948), and Mowrer (1940). Generalizing to humans, Mower (1960) suggested that the original S-R paradigm to noxious stimuli are often preceded or contiguous with an originally neutral stimulus but after association with the noxious stimulus it often elicits a signal similar to the original S-R paradigm. This to Mowrer is an anxiety reaction. The signal produces a readiness to act plus a propensity to avoid the noxious or threatening stimulus. Anxiety thus becomes a reinforced behavior if it aids avoidance or prevention of the noxious stimulus.

To Skinner (1959) anxiety is an emotion and emotions are valid only as conceptualized inferences drawn from specific behaviors to a given stimulus. Thus anxiety as a construct is a generalization based upon physiological components or experiences. As a construct, the origin

of anxiety requires an experienced phenomena (a stimulus) for the anxious behavior to be emitted. Therefore anxiety is a learned behavior. Although anxiety is learned through conditioning, the specific stimulus to the anxiety producing response is usually undifferentiated and thus becomes operant in nature. Anxiety is behavior followed by a feeling state. Through contiguity the original anxiety producing stimulus can be generalized to other stimuli. Skinner suggests that to identify anxiety for a particular person one must look for distinct behavior patterns for him.

Much of the literature stated thus far was based on clinical empiricism, on animal studies or was simply epistemological in nature. However, in 1951, the Taylor-Manifest Anxiety Scale was published Taylor (1953), and in 1956 the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale (Castaneda, McCandless and Palermo, 1956) was published. With these and additional anxiety scales research on anxiety has flourished. These scales were prototypes of current research which seeks to objectively measure anxiety.

From earlier theories which referred to anxiety as a singular global concept, Cattell and Scheier (1957 and 1961) determined from their factor analytic studies two separate anxiety factors which are referred to as trait anxiety and state anxiety. The trait anxiety factor measures stable individual differences that are characteristic of the individual's personality. The state anxiety factor is based on variables that are subject to change over time and situations and therefore are transitory. Within their factorial studies Cattell and Scheier found that trait anxiety loads on such personality characteristics as "ergio tension, ego weakness, guilt proneness, suspiciousness

and tendency to embarrassment." (Cattell and Scheier, 1961). The state anxiety factor loaded on respiration rate and systolic blood pressure but it had only light loading on trait factors.

Spence (1958), Taylor (1956), and Spielberger and Smith (1966), have studied the effects of trait anxiety by dichotomizing normal subjects into high and low groups on the basis of scores on the MAS. Subjects are then required to complete certain learning tasks and their results are compared. This research has found that subjects with high MAS scores, when placed under conditions of stress, respond with high levels of state anxiety but not when placed in stress free situations. Spielberger (1966) has interpreted these findings to suggest that high levels of trait anxiety predisposes one to express high levels of state anxiety under stress conditions, whereas low levels of trait anxiety does not. However, Spielberger emphasizes that whether or not a person expresses anxiety under stress is dependent upon how he interprets the stress. Thus to Spielberger (1966) activation of an anxiety state requires the process or sequence of temporally ordered events. The process can be initiated by an external stimulus situation, a threat. If the external stimulus situation is perceived as threatening then an anxiety state reaction is elicited. Thus as behaviorist suggest, response is under control of the stimulus. The behavior pattern produced by the anxiety state reaction may be to avoid or deal directly with the threat depending upon what has been successful for the individual in previous similar situations. Anxiety trait also influences anxiety state in that it contains residuals of past experiences, This determines the individual's anxiety proneness, i.e., to see a certain type of situation as threatening and to respond with anxiety states.



Therefore, stimuli which are sufficient to produce anxiety states are those which have a real threat value. Within the state-trait concept of anxiety, the most important stimuli are those that produce differential changes in anxiety state between individuals who differ in anxiety trait. Spielberger (1966) points out that currently such stimuli have not been identified.

Stress as used by Speisman and Lazarus (1964); Lazarus (1965); Riess (1963); Davison (1963); and Alfert (1964) appears to be a synonym for state anxiety. Spielberger (1966) suggests that the concept of anxiety has become a powerful influence in contemporary life. It is recognized in literature, arts and science.

Anxiety is used as the central explanatory concept in almost all contemporary theories of personality, and it is regarded as a principal causative agent for such diverse behavioral consequences as in insomnia, immoral and sinful acts, instances of creative self-expression, debilitating psychological and psychosomatic symptoms and idiosyncratic mannerisms of endless variety. (Spielberger, 1966, p. 4).

Bender (1953) describes anxiety as an unpleasant emotional experience concomitant with physiological responses arising from within the individual. In agreement with Bender, Mowrer (1960) concluded from his experiments that anxiety as an emotional state is not just a conceptualization. Instead he postulates that anxiety is an inner response which energizes outward behavior. The inner response is specific to the stimulus evoking it. The form of outward behavior is dependent upon learned reaction patterns.

According to Lazarus (1964); Spence (1958); Taylor (1956); Alfert (1964); and Wurtz (196) threat produces stress or an anxiety state within the individual. The anxiety state may be arrested through

behavioral expression or repression of aggression. The form of the behavioral expression is dependent upon previously learned patterns for the anxiety state-aggression conflict (Dollard and Miller, 1950; Berkowitz, 1969; Moyer, 1969; and Lazarus, 1964).

#### Summary: Anxiety and Threat

The concept of anxiety has been presented from several historical theoretical approaches including psychoanalytic, existential and behavioral. Many of these foundational approaches were largely based upon clinical empiricism and were epistemological in nature. Their value was that they provided reference points from which later experimentally research oriented theorists sought to quantify the anxiety concept. In addition, these early theoretical approaches are still considered benchmarks for interpreting data derived from experimental measurement of anxiety.

Today, certain interpretive trends seem to be inescapable regarding the original and nature of anxiety, as a result of the experimental research data collected over the past two decades. Research is increasingly pointing to and emphasizing the antecedent acts or stimuli which serve to goad an anxious response. As the stimulus response association unit gains attention in the literature, the antecedent stimulus of threat is increasingly gaining attention. This is in marked contrast to Freudian theory which focuses on the instinctive or predisposing characteristics of anxiety within the individual and gives only peripheral attention to anxiety eliciting stimuli such as threats. Current research tends to focus and interpret an individual's anxious response patterns by examining his environmental history and the relative

presence or absence of environmental threat. The studies allow for the interpretation that the response-anxiety is under control of the stimulus-threat. Thus, theoretically threat serves to activate the individual's manifest (trait) anxiety into state anxiety which may end with behavioral expressions of hostility. The literature is, however, inconclusive regarding specific responses of subjects of manifest high and low anxiety under threat. Whether the subjects response is overt or covert hostility or no hostility is dependent upon the nature and strength of the threat, how the subject perceives the threat and the subject's environmental history with the threatening stimuli.

### Hostility and Threat<sup>1</sup>

Theory regarding the origin or source of hostility can be roughly dichotomized into two schools of thought. For purposes of comparison these schools will be referred to as the biogenetic and the environmental. Although the dichotomy may be somewhat forced or artificial in certain areas, there are real enough differences to justify comparison.

The biogenetic school suggests that the sources of hostility are innate or built-in mechanisms that are common to all of mankind. Some ethological theorist of this school (Lorenz, 1966; Tinbergen, 1953; and Hess, 1962) point out the role of endogenous aggression in all forms of animal life; in securing food, in defining territory and in obtaining cohabitation rights. Through studying behavior patterns of lower forms of animal life, the ethologist then extrapolates his findings up the

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the literature fails to provide lines of demarcation between the concepts of aggression and hostility. Therefore, the terms aggression and hostility are used interchangeably in this study and stand as equivalent to each other.

phylogenetic scale to include human behavior under the biogenetic-aggression umbrella.

In agreement with biogenetic theory, Freud (1959) believed that aggression was a primordial reaction to prevention of pleasure-seeking or pain-avoiding responses. This reaction was regarded as universal to all men. During World War I Freud expanded his theory of the instinctive origins of aggression. He theorized two opposing instincts, Eros the life instinct and Thanatos the death instinct, with dynamic interaction these two instincts served to arrest stimulation. Therefore, both instincts served the purpose of reducing internal tension. Eros served to reduce sexual tension and Thanatos served to reduce the tension of life itself.

In the early 1900's many psychologists viewed aggression as an instinct which had motivational value. Men such as William James, Lloyd Morgan, William McDougall, and J. B. Watson prior to 1918, believed that aggressive behavior was purposive. They felt the behaviors such as seeking, striving and working to attain certain ends, could be explained only by an instinctive construct. It is interesting to note that, although McDougall conceptualized instincts as inherited, unlearned tendencies to act in a given way, he nevertheless felt that these tendencies could be modified by learning. He further stated that instincts could be significantly altered by environmental stimuli, and events involving the Law of Effect and contiguous learning (Berkowitz, 1962).

McDougall, although a biogenetic theorist, included environmental components in explaining his theory. In much the same way Dollard et al., (1939), were to the environmental school as McDougall was to

the biogenetic. Although much of the language in their classic monograph Frustration and Aggression (1939) had a biogenetic ring, Dollard and his associates were clearly of the environmental school. As originally stated by Dollard, et al., (1939), the occurrence of aggression always presupposes the existence of frustration and the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. This statement was of considerable importance to the investigation of aggressive behavior. As have other major hypothesis in the past, it has stimulated a great number of studies which have served to qualify or confirm components of the hypothesis. Because of its importance to current theory on aggression and to this study, a sample of the literature on frustration-aggression is presented in some detail.

Frustration was defined by Dollard and his associates as "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the goal sequence" (Dollard, et al., 1939, p. 7). Aggression was defined as any "sequence of behavior, the goal-response to which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed" (Dollard et al., 1939, p. 9). As suggested by Dollard et al. (1939) aggressive behavior may take many forms. However, the expression of aggressive behavior is dependent upon the following qualifications:

1. The strength of the instigation to aggression, i.e., the effects of stimulation.
2. The inhibition of aggressive acts; i.e., the effects of punishment.
3. The object toward which aggression is directed and the form this aggression takes; i.e., the displacement of aggression into either overt or covert forms.

4. The reduction of the instigation to aggression; i.e., the catharsis of aggression.

The frustration-aggression model has stimulated a great deal of research which has served to modify the original hypothesis. A brief representation of this research is summarized below. Berkowitz (1969) suggests that the frustration aggression hypothesis as stated, implies a built-in or innate relationship of human behavior. In disagreement with this assumption Berkowitz cites Bandura and Walters research which finds that learning modifies frustrative reactions in individually unique directions. To Berkowitz people who live with continued frustration often adjust through apathy. Nonreward to them is expected and therefore does not produce frustration. Frustration leads to aggression only when the anticipatory goal responses, which are blocked from the individual, are perceived by the individual as threatening to the ego or self esteem.

In their earlier statements, Dollard et al. (1939), suggest that the intensity of aggression was dependent upon the strength of frustration and punishment of aggression. Buss (1963) suggests that there are other determinants concerning the relationship between frustration and aggression. These include the arbitrary nature of aggression, type of aggression and instrumental value of aggression. Arbitrary frustration refers to blocked behavior of one individual by another. The blocked individual perceives no just reason for the blockage. Pastore (1952) has demonstrated that arbitrary frustration leads to more aggression than non-arbitrary frustration. A corollary to the above, Burstein and Warchel (1962) found that the expression of aggression could be reduced under nonarbitrary conditions. This reduction was at least partially

attributed to response inhibition. Thus, when an individual is provided acceptable reasons for blocked behavior his instigation to aggression is lowered while socially induced response inhibitions are raised. This holds even when the individual was first arbitrarily frustrated. The source of the individual's frustration was modified from arbitrary to non-arbitrary.

Buss (1963) suggests that there are varying types of aggression. Included are active and passive and direct and indirect aggression. Because passive and indirect types of aggression are less likely to be identified, frustration elicits more intensive forms of passive and indirect forms of aggression. Additional types of aggression include verbal and physical. Because of social inhibitions, frustration is more likely to lead to aggression when it can be placed in verbal as opposed to physical forms.

The final determinant involves the instrumental value of aggression. If an aggressive act serves to overcome frustration it has instrumental value. In this situation, aggression has been reinforced through the removal of frustration and is likely to re-occur in similar future situations. (Buss, 1963).

In agreement with Berkowitz, Buss (1963) states, "Frustration does not always lead to aggression. . . . Frustration may result in the seeking of other means of reaching the goal or giving up the goal, at least temporarily; or it may elicit emotional reactions such as anxiety or depression."

Dollar and his associates (1939) postulated that inhibiting aggression is frustrating, but that expression of aggressive behavior reduces the instigation to aggression. In other words, aggressive

behavior has cathartic value. Should this postulate be confirmed, then one might argue that there is positive value in aggressive behavior. McCandless and Mollick (1966) designed three studies to test the above postulate. Taken together their findings suggested that aggressive play, with or without previous frustration, has no cathartic value. They did find, however, that reasonable, positive interpretation (referred to as response inhibition in above study) of the frustrating situation has a cathartic effect for subjects who were allowed behavioral expressions of aggression. Subjects limited to verbal expression of aggression did not show a cathartic effect.

Hokanson (1959) investigated the cathartic effect of aggression. From a series of studies he concluded that overt aggression does not always lead to either physiological tension reduction (measured by blood pressure level) or a reduction in later aggression. The cathartic effect was not found with fantasy aggression, displaced aggression towards a subject unrelated to the source of the frustration, or with aggression towards a higher status frustrator. Only when aggression is learned as an instrumental behavior toward a particular subject (controlling other subject's aggression), does it acquire tension-reducing characteristics. The question of whether punitive threats are serving as tension reducers and thus consequently be rewarding the school personnel might be appropriately reflected upon at this point. Interestingly, Hokanson found that under instructional conditions normal young adults acquired masochistic-like behaviors. In a relatively brief time they learned to administer less severe self-shock to themselves to avoid a more severe shock from their partner. This avoidance response allowed them physiological, tension-reduction relief. This



finding suggested inclusion of the dependent variable covert hostility for this study. Hokanson (1959) makes the following summary statement:

In a family or a culture where violent reaction to instigation is encouraged, and the violence is successful in removing a frustration, one would expect a twofold outcome: that aggression will have at least a temporary arousal-reducing effect, and that the likelihood of future violence will be enhanced.

We shall now leave the section dealing with frustration-aggression model to look at some of the literature on how aggressive patterns of behavior are learned and maintained within the individual. We shall first investigate the social learning theoretical formulation of Bandura and Walters to be followed by the supporting work of McCord, McCord and Haward. These two studies are particularly relevant for comprehending the possible source of hostility within the population of the Indian boarding school in this study.

Bandura and Walters (1959) state that:

The crucial problems of how aggressive responses are originally learned, of the form that aggressive responses initially take, and the role of factors other than interference with an ongoing response sequence in the shaping and maintaining of aggressive behavior were largely ignored by the frustration-aggression theorist.

Bandura and Walters have found that positive reinforcement in the form of verbal approval or material rewards following aggressive behavior will increase the frequency of subjects aggressive behaviors. In addition reinforcement of one type of aggressive responses may through stimulus generalization result in an increment in another class of aggressive responses. Also reward for aggressive behavior in impersonal play situations will lead to an increment of aggressive behavior in interpersonal play situations,

According to Bandura and Walters (1959) there has been limited

research of the effects of punishment on aggressive behavior. That which is available suggests that verbal or physical punishment by an authority figure tends to inhibit aggressive behavior momentarily. However, children who are subjected to a great deal of punishment tend to display much aggression toward other objects. Thus, there is initial inhibition of aggression to the authority figure but later displacement of aggression to presumably safer objects occurs. To Bandura and Walters this reflects the modeling effects of aggressive behaviors. They suggest that to know the effects of punishment on aggression for a particular subject they must know the previous reinforcement history of punishment, the type and scheduling of punishment and the status of the punisher.

Critiquing the frustration-aggression model Bandura and Walters suggest that the nature of the response to frustration will depend on the prior social training of the frustrated subject. By this they mean the reinforcement and modeling procedures the subject has previously experienced.

Bandura and Walters (1959) developed the following study in an attempt to determine the relationship of familially learned inhibitions in boys to aggressive behavior. Their findings centered around aggressive boys' problems of developing appropriate dependence relationships and identification with fathers. Aggressive boys experienced many conditions that were considered unfavorable for identification with their parents. They lacked emotional security in their relationships to parents. As a consequence they were fearful of relating to others in a dependent role. Bandura and Walters report a close relationship between dependency and identification. Both seem to be

related to close affectual ties with parents.

Parents of control (non-aggressive) boys were more likely to use psychologically positive forms of discipline. Parents of aggressive boys were more likely to use ridicule, physical punishment and loss of privileges. Thus parents of aggressive boys used discipline techniques which weakened dependency relationships and impeded development of internal controls (Bandura and Walters, 1959).

Although the aggressive boy was able to identify to some extent with his mother early in his life, he had difficulty in making the transition to father identification. Bandura and Walters state that identification with the father will be enhanced if the father accepts his son, rewards him with affection and approval, and spends enough time with him for imitative behavior patterns to be established. For aggressive boys it was found that fathers spent little time in affectual interaction with them. They were more hostile, rejecting and punitive than were the control fathers. In turn, the aggressive boys were more critical and negative toward their fathers. Bandura and Walters believe that these conditions made father identification for these boys extremely difficult. Through modeling the aggressive boys apparently did learn a propensity for aggressive behaviors. In fact Bandura and Walters found that these fathers encouraged aggressive behavior in their sons. They were not allowed to express this behavior to the father but to other figures such as teachers, police or peers. Although these boys might have identified with some of their fathers' aggressive traits they did not identify with traits which lead to close, affectual relationships. In fact, their fathers' behavior seemed to preclude such a possibility.

McCord, McCord, and Howard (1961) found results quite similar to Bandura and Walters. Their study had a population that differed from Bandura and Walters in age, social class, geographical area and illegal behavior, yet the results were generally similar. The antisocial, aggressive boys came from homes in which they were rejected and treated inconsistently. This was also in agreement with studies by Sears, Macoby and Levin of childhood aggression. Aggression in children was found to be associated with more use of physical punishment; low esteem of mother to father, high degree of permissiveness for the expression of aggression, and instable relationship between mother and father.

McCord et al., (1961) attribute childhood aggression to a form of behavior

. . . developed in response to specific environmental conditions; conditions created by man and thus, potentially changeable by man. Clearly aggression is a universal capacity of human nature, a capacity which is first expressed in the unfocused rage of infants. But the development of the trait-whether it is transformed into a pervasively destructive syndrome of behavior or whether it goes fallow-seems to lie well within the realm of human culture, as this culture is mediated through early familial experiences.

Research on aggressive behavior by Bandura and Walters (1963) support the above two studies in finding that learned forms of aggression results from patterns of behavior based upon the observation of aggressive behavior in others. Thus the child learns aggressive behavior by viewing models who act aggressively to specific conditions within his milieu. To Berkowitz (1969) and Bandura and Walters (1959) elicitation of aggression is dependent upon the appropriate stimulus qualities. These stimuli are specific and dependent upon the individual's history of aggressive arousal. Agreeing with this position, Moyer (1960) has concluded that aggression is generally

stimulus bound. To Moyer this suggests that the stimulus situation to which the subject will react with hostility is highly specific and dependent upon previous associations of a stimulus to an aggressive behavior.

The above would suggest that one necessary precondition for the elicitation of aggression is or may be conceptualized as threat. Thus beyond Lorenz's intimations of aggressive instincts, current theory refers to a causal agent preceding the expression of aggression. Whether the agent is characterized as a denial of pleasure-seeking or pain-avoiding responses, a frustrating situation, or a stimulus specific response, all imply a conceptualized threat to the perceiver.

To Lazarus (1965) threat produces a state of physiological and psychological stress in the individual through a process of appraising cues in a specific situation. The type of stress Lazarus and others refer to, as previously mentioned, appears to be a synonym for state anxiety. The cue stimuli alert the individual that some future event may be harmful. The strength of the stimulus of threat determines the degree to which an individual will react. The actual form that the reaction to threat takes is dependent upon the individual's motivational structure, his ego resources, defenses and approach avoidance tendencies. Additionally, it is dependent upon previously learned patterns of dealings with the environment and his intellectual resources. The end result of the individual's attempt to deal with threat may be aggressive behavior in varying forms. The threat is monitored to further direct or redirect behavior as the relative value of the threat is assessed. Lazarus and Alpert (1964) consider stress a multidimensional concept which produces arousal in various organ

organ systems (heart rate, blood pressure, etc.), subjective phenomenology and objective behavioral reactions. Lazarus (1964) states that to maintain the integrity of studies on psychological stress, the stress producing agent or threat must be kept as close in form to the natural event as is consistent with the need to control and measure the most important variables. It is dependent upon an individual's past history in which specific stimulus events have been bound in a temporal relationship. So that over time the occurrence of a stimulus may come to be associated with a specific response which is considered an expression of hostility. These stimuli or elicitors of aggression are conceptualized in this study as forms of threat. The argument suggests they are not necessarily natural elicitors, as suggested by Lorenz (1966) and Freud (1959), of aggression but as suggested by Bandura and Walters (1963), Berkowitz (1969), and Moyer (1969), they are learned elicitors as a result of repeated S-R connections. Thus, using Thorndike's (Hill, 1963) terminology threatening stimuli may come to elicit the response of hostility through a "stamping in" SR connection. Based upon the phenomenological experiences of an individual the threatening stimuli are specific cues for initiation of a sequence chain which may result in expressions of hostility.

#### Summary: Hostility and Threat

This section of the literature has attempted to review representative studies regarding the source of behavioral expressions of hostility. The biogenetic theorist (Lorenz, 1966; Freud, 1959; Tinbergen, 1953; Freud, 1959; and Hess, 1962) explicitly or implicitly suggest that hostility is a predetermined entity to which all men are born.

These theorists consider genetic inheritance to be the single most significant contributor to behavioral expressions of hostility.

Other theorists of the environmental school (Dollard, et al., 1939; Banduras and Walters, 1959; Bandura and Walters, 1963; Berkowitz, 1969; Lazarus, 1965; Alpert, 1964; Hokanson, 1959; and McCord, McCord, and Howard, 1961; Moyer, 1969) emphasize the environmental influence of behavioral expressions of hostility. To these theorists, man at birth is a relatively neutral organism and not automatically inclined to show hostile behavior. The degree of developed hostile expression in man is dependent upon the degree and type of environmental hostile eliciting stimulation he receives. One type of environmental stimulation of hostility is conceptualized as threat (Berkowitz, 1969; Bandura and Walters, 1963; and Moyer, 1969). Again, however, as mentioned in the section on anxiety, the specific hostile response is difficult to predict. Whether the threat activates levels of anxiety into expressions of overt, covert or no hostility is dependent upon the nature and strength of the threat, how the subject perceives the threat and the subject's environmental history with associations of threatening stimuli to hostile expressions.

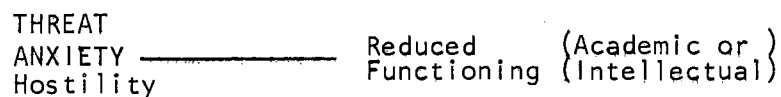
#### Theoretical Approach to the Problem

The purpose of this section of the literature is to establish the theoretical approach used to explain the relationship of the variables under examination in this study.

The existence of hostile expression has been given considerable attention in the literature. A number of studies have given specific focus to the occurrence and effects of hostile expression within

an educational environment. It has been determined that when concepts such as threat, anxiety, and hostility are in evidence in the environment certain academic or intellectual functioning skills decrease. Such negative relationships were found between threat, anxiety and aggression on such variables as academic learning (Spielberger and Weitz, 1964; Rath and Puri, 1967), intelligence (Atchinson, 1968; Grice, 1955; Kerrick, 1955; Sarason, 1956), and concept formation (Denny, 1963). Therefore, it appears that when threat, anxiety, and hostility exist certain cognitive tasks are reduced in efficiency of expression.

The sequential relationship between the variables of threat, anxiety, hostility and academic and intellectual functioning is represented in the following paradigm:



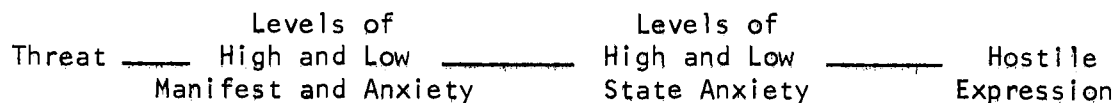
The genesis of aggression was examined by Folkins, et al., (1968). It was determined that threat induced through the media of a film elicited significantly higher levels of anxiety and aggression in treatment subjects. In agreement with Folkins, O'Neil (1969) found highest levels of anxiety and aggression when threat was introduced in an academic learning task. Studies by Mueller (1965); and Kivitz (1959) have found positive relationships between threat induced by failure on tasks to arousal of anxiety. Hodges (1968) found that high anxiety-trait subjects when placed in an ego-threat situation responded with more intensive feelings of apprehension on a self report anxiety-state measure than did low anxiety-trait subjects. Other studies by



(Hokanson, 1961; Edwards, 1968; and Smith, 1952) have found a positive relationship between ego-threat and aggression behavior. In a study of normal subjects Barta (1962) found a positive relationship between anxiety and hostility. However, the scores did not reach statistical significance. Ross (1963) found a positive relationship of anxiety to aggression in nine-year old boys. An additional finding was that mothers of highly aggressive boys tended to be more severe punishers than do mothers of low aggressive boys. Greenbaum (1956) using college students found that high anxious subjects were more responsive to hostile environmental press than were low anxious subjects. Studying the relationship of scores on the IPAT Anxiety Scale and the Grace Hostility Inventory, Rown (1958) found that college students with high levels of overt anxiety are more likely to show verbal hostility. Students with high levels of covert anxiety are more likely to control their expression of verbal hostility. Janis (1958) found that both high and low anxious subjects more likely to show acute anxiety, depression and hostility after surgery than were subjects with moderate levels of anxiety. Wurtz (1960) in a study using children as subjects found that anxiety served as a stimulus for aggressive projections toward adults.

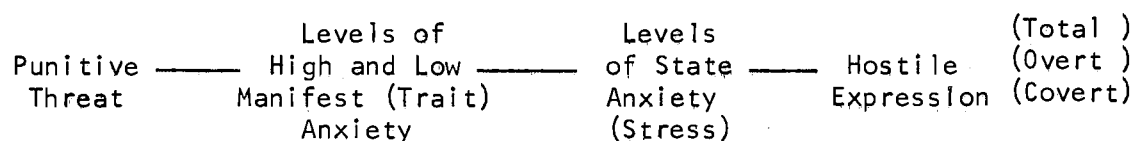
The above studies suggest that a relationship exists between anxiety and hostility. Although the specific type of hostility resulting from stimulation of anxiety is unknown, the literature does overall establish a relationship between environmental stimulation, anxiety and hostile expressions.

The sequential relationship between the variables of threat anxiety and hostility is represented in the following paradigm.



The paradigm as shown above suggests that threat in the environment would be considered unsound for educational attainment and psychological stability and positive growth. The above studies provide understanding from which general relationships involving laws of behavior can be inferred such as threat arouses anxiety leading to expressions of hostility effecting decreases in learning efficiency and psychological functioning.

Several of the studies as given above, however, have a structural weakness. The agent used to arouse anxiety states and expressions of hostility is imposed on subjects in an artificial or obviously contrived manner. Therefore, results from these studies are important more from an academic, theoretical perspective than from a pragmatic perspective. The present study was designed employing the theoretical approach as given with the paradigm listed above, but using an environmentally realistic punitive threat. It was designed to study whether or not an environmentally realistic punitive threat is related to the elicitation of the very behavior it is intended to control. The theoretical approach showing the sequential relationship of the variables in this study is shown in the following paradigm.



## The Indian Boarding School

In a summary statement for the National Study of American Indian Education, Havighurst (1970) provided the following comments:

At present there are about 12,000 students in 19 off-reservation boarding schools and 22,000 pupils in 58 on-reservation boarding schools, including 8,000 students under the age of ten. These figures total about 15 per cent of Indian children and youth, aged 5-17 inclusive. The boarding school enrollment at the high school level actually doubled between 1959 and 1967, and the absolute numbers of boarding school students is not likely to decrease in the visible future, though the proportion of Indian youth who are in boarding schools will probably decrease.

When psychiatrists and other mental health experts have looked at boarding schools recently, many of them criticized these schools severely, especially those for children in elementary grades. One psychiatrist said: "In my opinion there should be no Indian boarding school for children in the elementary grades. I say this without qualification. These schools do more harm than good."

On the other hand, another psychiatrist with considerable experience in working with Indian children sees advantages as well as disadvantages in the boarding schools for younger pupils. He notes that a Public Health Service study has found that Navajo children arrive at boarding school in September with mild nutritional anemia, which disappears after a few months of boarding school food. He recommends that the number of dormitory aids be increased substantially and that they be trained better to act as parent-substitutes.

For the secondary level boarding schools, it appears that the greatest need is for trained counselors who have time for personal counseling. With the present shortage of counselors, many who hold this title are forced to act primarily as dormitory supervisors and disciplinarians. (On an empirical basis, this problem is believed to have existed at the Indian boarding school included in this study).

Most of the following literature deals directly with the boarding school population used in this study. It examines characteristics of the population, methods used to deal with inappropriate behavior,

and minimum standards for the operation of boarding schools.

The following descriptive literature was compiled by Moore (1971) for purposes of securing a Title I, ESEA grant. This information is included to compliment literature on the population of the school of this study, as presented in Chapter I. An excerpt from the document appears in its original form except that deletions have been made so that only data pertinent to this study is presented.

#### A. General Characteristics<sup>1</sup>

A random sampling of 25 social summaries indicate the type of problems our students have encountered prior to enrollment. 11 of the 25 have two parents in the home; ten have one parent in the home and at least one of these is the father, the mother having deserted the family. Three were making their homes with other relatives, either uncles, aunts, or great-grandparents. Family instability has been a major problem for many who do have both parents in the home at least part-time. In one or two instances the father is home on week-ends only. Roughly, four out of five students are from rural backgrounds. 17 of the 25 come to Sequoyah from public schools and some of the remaining eight had previously attended public and BIA schools. The lives of some of these students have been tragic, as in the case of one boy whose father tried to drown him at the age of five or the family which was disrupted when the father killed the mother's father. Drinking by one or both of the parents was serious enough to be mentioned in 20 percent of the cases. Other summaries mentioned immorality in the home, rejection of the child by a step-parent, fighting, lack of discipline, instability, disability of parent due to sickness or accident and lesser problems. In at least four out of five homes involved, the family receives AFDC or there are other indications of poverty. In a few cases children are sent to \_\_\_\_\_ to remove them from local "gangs" or undesirable companions, and at least four have had some contact with juvenile court. Stealing has been a problem with at least six, either before or after arriving at the boarding school. Difficulty of adjustment to public school has been reflected in many cases by poor attendance,

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<sup>1</sup>Heading was added by investigator of this study.

poor or failing grades, disciplinary problems or failure to adjust to the regular program. As might be expected a few have been involved at sometime in drinking, sniffing, fighting, tardiness or absence from classes, etc.

As shown elsewhere, many of these children who find it hardest to adjust or who suffer the most homesickness, drop out of \_\_\_\_\_. Some of these return to public school, but not all. A large percentage of those who remain at \_\_\_\_\_ become good students and are successful in trades or vocations and establish good homes. With more adequate staffing and programming, many of those who might drop out or become social problems could be reached and retained.

#### B. Analysis of Deficiencies

1. 40 percent of the 130 freshmen students average two years below grade level on the California Achievement Test. 10 percent average four years below on the CAT in reading.
2. 100 percent of students at Sequoyah High School are enrolled through court or social worker referrals. Reasons vary but include refusal to attend public school and absence from public school caused by disruptive home life as major causes. Thus, all students have had significant encounters with academic and/or social failure before they arrive at \_\_\_\_\_. This results in excessive apathy, lack of academic and social motivation as documented through teacher observation and anecdotal records.
3. 70 percent of our students have social adjustment problems as indicated by negative and defiant attitudes cited in social summaries of the BIA social workers prior to admission. . . .
4. According to 1970-71 attendance records 42 percent drop-outs have occurred in the freshman class. 91 percent of these have enrolled in public schools.

The above document, Moore (1971) provides a clear representation of the destructive interaction between stressed familial relationships, learned deviant behavior patterns, and past and current school failures of the student population within this school. The impact of these

destructive influences within the milieu of this Indian boarding school will now be presented.

Bass (1969), administered a series of instruments to a national sample of Indian students. The boarding school in this study was included in the sample. Over 2,500 students took the following instruments: California Achievement Tests pre-post; California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity; Semantic Differential; School Interest Inventory. Of special interest are results obtained from three of the above instruments. On the basis of the CAT, comparisons were made by five Bureau of Indian Affairs area schools. The area schools are ranked from highest to lowest achievement: Aberdeen, Juneau, Navajo, Muskogee (boarding school included in this study) and Phoenix. Comparisons on the School Interest Survey showed the following when area schools were ranked from high to low interest in school: Juneau, Aberdeen, Phoenix, Navajo, Muskogee. Thus in comparison to the other students measured in the sample, the Muskogee students indicated the largest lack of interest in school. Additionally, according to this survey, scores of low interest in school covary with high probability to dropout of school. On the basis of the Semantic Differential the Muskogee area schools gave high ratings to the following concepts: Myself As A Person, Indian, and My Future. A low rating was given on the concept of White Man. From the above information a paradox was evident. While the Muskogee area students gave positive evaluation of their self-worth, their identification of being Indian and their future potential they were low among the other measured students in the survey on achievement and interest in school. Thus, if low achievement and low interest in school are valid indicators of probable school

dropout, the concept scores on the Semantic Differential might be suspect. Together with the Harris document of \_\_\_\_\_ students manifesting serious behavioral disturbances and their difficulty in dealing with the authority figures, an interpretation of the Semantic Differential might be that of a defensive compensation between perceived and real self.

Harris and Reese (1968), in discussion with various school personnel, at the school included within this study, determined degrees of disciplinary action for violation of existing rules and regulations. From lowest to highest or more severe degrees of discipline they are as follows:

#### Degrees of Disciplinary Action

1. Single extra duty assignment
2. Tightening routine (specific length of time).
3. Restrict specific activity, e.g., T.V., pool, golf, etc., for a specific length of time.
4. Grounded to building for a specific length of time.
5. Shadow the counselor for a specific length of time.
6. Restricted to quarters (room) for a specific length of time.
7. Use of items 4-6 for more than one day for a particular offense.
8. Contact parents for assistance.
9. Call parents in for conference and/or place on probation.
10. Expel from \_\_\_\_\_.

The punitive threat used as the stimulus variable in this study was taken from the above list. The cumulative effects of the threat was intended to be interpreted by the individual student as median to high in punitive threat value.

The above list was developed during a federally sponsored summer school and dormitory program at the school included within this study. One of the objectives of the program was to aid employees in developing

positive relationships with students, Employees were encouraged to use positive approaches with student problems and maladaptive behavior. To point out the use of threat as a means to control behavior, the following excerpt is provided from Harris (1968), the excerpt deals with dormitory cleanliness:

Of the 12 Counselor Aides on duty during that afternoon, six used a positive approach, the remainder used a negative approach. The negative approach consisted mainly of repeating an academic administrative message to the students explaining that they would not be allowed to leave school with their parents until the dormitory was clean and also that they would not get their pay checks for the month of June until the dormitories passed inspection. In evaluating the attitudes of the students, the counselors using positive approaches found their students responding with positive attitudes. Of the negative or threatening approach, three Counselor Aides evaluated the attitudes of students as being positive and the other three judged their students' attitudes as negative.

Further documentation of the use of punitive threat and discipline, within the school where this study was conducted, is provided by reviewing student files. Within student folders in an Incident Report form which lists inappropriate behavior and consequent punishment (see Appendix A). A summary, based upon randomly selected case studies for 15 students is provided below, each number represents a different student.

<u>Sex of Subject and Incident</u>	<u>Punishment</u>
1. Female, no Incident Reports	S considered outstanding student,
2. Male	<u>P = Punishment</u>
<u>IR = Incident Report</u>	
Smoking in bed	
Staying in bed late 11	Extra detail 11
AWOL 111	
Insubordination	Threat - if misses 1 more detail will be suspended until parent conference

Note: S refuses to do extra details.



3. Female  
IR  
 Drinking  
 AWOL 11 P  
 Restricted
4. Male  
IR  
 Sniffing P  
 None Reported
5. Male  
IR  
 Drinking P  
 8 hours extra duty and 1 week's  
 restriction from all activities

Note: While S was drunk he wouldn't stay in  
 his room so he was sent to county jail.

6. Male  
IR  
 AWOL 1 P  
 AWOL  
 Shop-lifting  
 Extra Assignment  
 Restriction - S violated  
 restriction when request to leave  
 dorm was denied
- Disrupts group  
 Kicked out of assembly  
 Lighting smoke bombs  
 Other  
 Cutting classes  
 Restricted from X-mas dance and  
 3 hours extra duty. Can't go  
 home till conference with parents.
- Picked lock to dorm office  
 Cuts study hall constantly

Note: S doesn't want to live in boarding school  
 but is forced to by parents.

7. Female  
IR  
 S sneaked out of film  
 with boy friend P  
 Restriction
8. Female  
IR  
 No IR P  
 None Reported
9. Female  
IR  
 Left football game and went to  
 golf course with boy friend P  
 Restricted Friday and Saturday  
 nights

Necking 1111 11	Verbal reprimands
Cut out from movie	Restricted
AWOL with boys	Restricted
Necking - S rude to girls' counselor who told her to quit necking	
Drinking 11	
AWOL	Extra assignment and discipline
10. Male	
<u>IR</u>	<u>P</u>
Drinking	Extra duty and restriction
Drinking	Restricted (S refused to go above extra duty)
	Extra assignment and restriction
Vandalism	Restricted
In girls dorm	Restricted 111
Drinking 111	No restrict 11
Drinking 11	
11. Female	
<u>IR</u>	<u>P</u>
AWOL 1111	Restricted 11
Stealing and pawning radio	
Sniffing 11	Restricted 11
Drinking	Extra assignment
Chronic class cutting	
12. Male	
<u>IR</u>	<u>P</u>
Sniffing 111	Restricted 11
Drinking 11	Extra duty - sent to jail for night
Cutting classes 111	
AWOL 1111	Restricted 11
13. Male	
<u>IR</u>	<u>P</u>
Drinking 11	None Reported
14. Male	
<u>IR</u>	<u>P</u>
Insubordination	Extra Assignment
Disrupting group	
15. Female	
<u>IR</u>	<u>P</u>
Drinking 11	Restriction
AWOL 11	

Due to the extensiveness of Incident Reports and the intermittent practice of sending reports home to parents or guardians it is questioned whether many students have learned to view such reports as

a form of threat. Also, it is questioned whether students have learned to view the intermittent use of the punitive technique as listed in the Incident Reports as threatening.

The following is taken from a document regarding guidelines for operating Indian boarding schools. To date it is the most recent publication concerning operational goals and purposes of Indian boarding schools. Parts of this publication have been included so that a comparison can be made between these goals and actual operations (Reese and Harris, 1968; Havighurst, 1970; Bass, 1969) at the Indian boarding school where this study was conducted.

#### Minimum Standards

The Minimum Standards for the Operation of Boarding schools (1959) explicitly states the following:

Instructional Program - Standard 2. Every student living in a Federal boarding school is entitled to an instructional program that will provide the maximum of educational experiences in preparation for present and future living.

Guidance and Dormitory Departments. Five important aims of guidance are to help the student gain a realistic understanding of himself, develop self discipline, understand his educational (academic and vocational) opportunities, develop his ability to make adjustments, and develop his ability to make wise decisions. Counseling is one of the ways of assisting the student to achieve these aims.

Standard 1. Every student in attendance at a Federal school shall have protection of personal rights and supervision by an adult employee whose major responsibility at all times is counseling, care and instruction of the child.

- a. The guidance staff shall be composed of members who are qualified through training and experience to understand the problems of child development and growth and are in sufficient numbers to provide individual attention to students.

- b. A sufficient staff shall be provided to have one or more adults on duty that the students are in the dormitory. The staff shall be composed of members who are qualified to instruct in all phases of dormitory living.

#### Staffing Standard - Guidance Department

- (1) In schools with an enrollment of 200 to 500 students a Department Head (Guidance), GS-9, shall act as a coordinator for all guidance work in the school and shall work directly with the Department Head (Academic) and/or heads of all other departments and with Teacher Advisors in the dormitory. . . . The Department Head (Guidance) should have a minimum of administrative duties. Emphasis should be placed on individual and group work with students and liaison between students and school departments. The day pupils, as well as the boarding pupils, shall receive counseling services.

As stated above, the Indian boarding school was developed to provide special consideration for the needs of a special population of the Indian community. Although most of the above minimum standards have been administratively fulfilled, a problem still persists within the boarding school.

It is questioned whether the minimum standards of maximum educational experience for current and future competency, realistic understanding, self discipline, personal adjustment and ability to make wise decisions can be realistically attained when inappropriate behaviors of students are dealt with through methods using threat of punishment. Thus, it is possible that the minimum standards for student growth and development have become functionally inoperative to the degree that punitive threat elicits the very response it seeks to control or eliminate.

### Summary

This chapter has presented a review of the related literature regarding the variables within this study. A sample of the available literature on the variables of anxiety and threat were presented in the first section. The second section involved a sample of the studies available on the variables hostility and threat. In the third section the theoretical approach to the problem was stated. The final section included a sample of the literature on the Indian boarding school.

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD AND DESIGN

#### Selection of the Population and Sample

The Ss for this study were randomly selected from the student population of an Indian boarding school in the State of Oklahoma. Ss varied between the ages of 14 to 18 years. Approximately 90 Ss from a population of 328 students were selected for initial testing. Female to male ratio of population was approximately one to one.

All 90 Ss were administered the IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire (Cattell and Scheier, 1963). Verbal instructions for the anxiety scale were as follows:

This is a questionnaire which helps us to understand how you feel about things that happen to all of us at some time in our life. Your names and the answers you give to the questions will be kept secret so please be as honest and sincere as you can when answering the questions. If any one has trouble understanding the instructions or any of the questions raise your hand and I'll try to help you out. It won't take you long to answer the questions so when you are through, please wait quietly in your chair so everyone will be able to concentrate and answer the questions fairly. Go ahead, read the instructions and begin.

After the anxiety scale was administered and scored, Ss with the highest and lowest levels of anxiety as measured by this scale were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. The operational definition of HA was the 40 Ss with the highest scores as measured on this scale. Conversely, LA was the 40 Ss with the lowest scores as

measured on this scale.

### Experimental Design and Statistical Analysis

The design of this study was a completely randomized posttest-only control group design (Campbell and Stanley, 1966). The statistical analysis was three 2 x 2 Factorial Analysis of Variance designs. A  $p < .05$  was the predetermined level required for the results to be considered significant.

#### Independent Variables

Stimulus - PT or NPT

Organismic - Levels of HA and LA

#### Dependent Variables

Response - TH, OH, and CH

#### Procedure

All randomly assigned treatment and control groups were given a common task to perform. The task consisted of a simple anagram problem (Ammons and Ammons, 1959) to complete within a five minute time period. The functional utility of the task was only to provide a screen between PT and administration of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The task required that all subjects design one or more words from the provided anagram. The instructions for the anagram were:

Today we want to measure your ability to make a word from the scrambled letters you have in front of you. This ability is an important index of your thought processes. To make the word you may use as many letters as you wish, but each letter may be used only once for each word. The important thing is

that you make a word. The number of letters in the word is unimportant. You may proceed.

After five minutes Ss under PT conditions were told the following:

It was obvious that most of you did not take this problem seriously. What we are doing here is very important. I have talked to the school officials about the possibility of this type of problem. I'm going to report your poor attitude to the school officials and they may have you restricted to the dorm tonight and require you to do some extra duties.

The experimental and the control groups were then administered the TAT, under group conditions, using the standard instructions but with the following modifications:

- a. Only seven cards were used.
- b. Responses to each card were limited to a four minute time period.

After the TAT was administered, Ss in the experimental group were desensitized (Folkins, et al., 1968), Burstein, et al., 1962; and McCandless, et al., 1966). They were then told the nature and purpose of the study and that there would be no penalties.

#### Instruments

The TAT was selected to measure the dependent variables of TH, OH and CH. Erickson (1950); Lindzey and Herman (1955); Gluck (1955); Lindzey and Tejessy (1956); Lubin (1960); Hafner and Kaplan (1960); Berkowitz (1960); Megargie (1967); Margaree and Cook (1967); and Kaplan (1969) have used the TAT to measure hostile projections.

Research by Erickson (1950); Mussen and Kelley (1954); Haskell (1961); Winter, et al., (1966); and Megargee and Cook (1967) suggest there is a positive relationship between measured hostility on the TAT



and indices of overt behavioral hostility.

Hafner and Kaplan (1960) have developed a hostility content scale which measures hostile projections on the TAT. The Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale requires each TAT theme to be ranked with weighted values of zero for no evidence of hostility to four for greatest evidence of hostility. Additionally the scale allows for each theme to be rated along the dimension of overt to covert types of hostility. Thus, themes of hostility which are predominantly manifest and direct, i.e., fighting and assault, are considered as overt expressions of hostility. Whereas, themes which predominate in indirect, latent, or disguised hostility, i.e., suicide or self injury, are considered as covert expression of hostility.

In an attempt to establish the utility of the scale eight judges independently scored 100 TAT themes on their hostile content. The product-moment correlation for the theme weighted ratings was .61 with a SD of .06.

#### Inter-Correlations of Hostility Scale Scores

Overt Vs. Covert	.44*
Overt Vs Weighted (TH)	.66**
Covert Vs. Weighted (TH)	.77***

\*Significant < .05 level

\*\*Significant < .01 level

Inter-Scorer Reliabilities for Hostility Scales

Weighted Scale (TH)	.87
Overt Scale (OH)	.76
Covert Scale (CH)	.78

All coefficients significant at the .01 level.

The above results were based upon the administration of 12 TAT cards to 30 psychiatric patients. Twenty of the patients were males and 10 were females. The sample included subjects representing lower to upper socio-economic status. All but one of the patients were Caucasian (Hafner and Kaplan, 1960).

Using three sets of three TAT cards to a set, Winter et al., (1966) found that the Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale discriminated normal families from three groups of abnormal families in their preference for hostile expression. There were also significant differences of hostile expression between the three abnormal family group classifications. The study was based upon a total of 126 triads of father, mother and child. Winter, et al., (1966) concludes the study with the following remarks:

The fact that we were able to obtain significant discriminations among groups of families using only three TAT stories speaks well both for the methods of administering and scoring the TAT and also for the diagnostic criteria used to separate the families.

Megargee and Cook (1967), compared four scales designed to measure hostile projections on the TAT to overt expression of environmental aggression. The subjects, 76 male adolescent delinquents ranging in age from 11 to 18 years were administered nine TAT cards. The subjects included 45 Negroes and 31 whites. With high inter-scorer reliability

coefficients the Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale had significant (.05) positive correlations with the criterion measures of Physical Aggression Against Peers and Physical Aggression Against Adults. Megargee and Cook concluded that the Hafner-Kaplan Scale was the most appropriate of the four scales in that it had more significant correlations with the criteria of aggressiveness than did the other three scales.

As reflected in the above studies the Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale appears to be a valid index for scoring hostile behavior as expressed on the TAT. These studies have also determined that the scoring system of the Scale is sufficiently reliable. Additionally the scale has been successfully used under varying conditions from standard test administration to group administrations (Winter, et al., 1966 and Megargee, 1966) without destroying the integrity of the instrument.

Lindzey and Herman (1955) found that split-half reliability for aggression scores on the TAT was .67 using the Spearman-Brown formula. Within the study, eight cards were presented to 148 college males and females in a group administration. In another testing situation repeat reliability was assessed. Using tetrachoric correlation coefficients on several criterion (not including aggression) a substantial relationship was found although standard errors were also consistently high. Lindzey points out that the question of high repeat reliability coefficients for projective instruments may not be the more important trait, especially for clinical applicability.

The following TAT cards were administered in this study. 1, 2, 7 GF, 9 GF, 14, 17 G and 18 BM. Each of these cards have been used in one or more studies involving aggressive expression on the TAT.

Five of these cards have been found in previous studies to have low or median aggressive pull. Low aggressive pull includes cards 1, 2, 14 (Stone, 1956) and median aggressive pull includes cards 7 GF and 9 GF (Megargee, 1967). Only one of the cards has high aggressive pull, 18 BM (Megargee, 1967).

The rationale for selecting cards of low or median aggressive pull was to allow the experimental treatment of threat to be differentiated between PT and NPT Ss. If all cards were of high aggressive pull regardless of treatment effects then the effects of experimental treatment possibly would not be sufficient to differentiate Ss.

In selection of the cards an attempt was made to balance cards with male-female themes. This was accomplished through using Murray's coding system for each card (Murray, 1943).

The organismic variable, anxiety, was measured by the IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire (Self Analysis Form). The Scale was developed by Cattell and Scheier (1963). It is a paper and pencil objective questionnaire requiring the subject to respond to 40 questions along a dimension from "like-to-uncertain-to-unlike" the individual's self traits. Construct validity for the 40 Scale items correlated to the total score on the Scale is +.92. Validity of the Scale based upon clinical criterion is estimated to be +.40 (Cattell and Scheier, 1963). Cattell and Scheier (1963) report the following reliabilities for the Scales:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Type of Coefficients</u>	<u>Sample</u>
Dependability		
+ .93	Test-retest (1 week interval)	87 male and female adults
+ .87	Test-retest (2 week interval)	277 Japanese university students
Homogeneity		
+ .84	Split-half, corrected by Spearman-Brown to full test length	240 normal adults
+ .91	Split-half, corrected by Spearman-Brown to full test length	120 mixed sample of normals and hospital neurotics
+ .83)		3 separate studies each on
+ .81)	G. A Ferguson's variation	different sample of 200
+ .80)		college students

Cattell and Scheier (1963), suggest that the Scale is appropriate for Ss as young as 14 years of age. Norms based on the total test score are available for high school students. Additionally they recommend the Scale for research and screening operations where it is impractical to do individual evaluation. As suggested by its authors, the IPAT Anxiety Scale is designed to measure free-floating, manifest anxiety levels (Cattell and Scheierer, 1963).

. . . anxiety as measured by the IPAT Anxiety Scale is much more highly and consistently associated with all forms of disorder than are many other factors. It is what comes closest to being the common element in all forms of mental disorder, and lack of anxiety (low score on the scale) thus becomes an excellent operation definition of mental health. This particularly underlines the potential effectiveness of the Anxiety Scale in clinical mass screening projects, as a census of mental health.

The anagram used as a screen between the PT and TAT administration was selected according to guidelines established by Ammons and Ammons (1959). From a random letter combinations, words are

constructed. Words can range from one to as many letters as there are in the letter combination. Each letter can be used only once in a given word, although letters can be repeated when used in different words. The individual is to make as many words as he can from a given letter combination.

#### Summary

This chapter has presented the method by which the population for this study was selected. It has also presented a description of the experimental design and statistical analysis. Finally, a detailed description of the procedures involved with administering the study and a description of the instruments used in this study are provided.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter presents and discusses the results derived from the analysis of the data. The present study was an experimental investigation. The independent variables included a stimulus variable, PT and NPT, an organismic variable, HA and LA, and three dependent variables, TH, OH and CH.

Three separate 2 x 2 analysis of variance designs were used to analyze response differences among the various treatment groups. The first 2 x 2 analysis was performed to measure the relationship of PT and NPT, and levels of HA and LA on the dependent variable TH. The second 2 x 2 analysis was performed to measure the relationship of PT and NPT, and levels of HA and LA on the dependent variable OH. The third 2 x 2 analysis was performed to measure the relationship of PT and NPT, and levels of HA and LA on the dependent variable CH. Since the literature does not provide a clear theoretical directional basis for the relationships between the independent variables PT and NPT, and HA and LA on dependent variables of TH, OH, and CH, directional hypotheses were not used.

The dependent variables in this study were derived from TAT stories and were scored according to the guidelines of the Hostile Content Scale. Due to the qualitative nature of both of these instruments, it was necessary to involve three independent judges to score the data.

The following approach was used to establish the reliability of the judges' scores. A Scott coefficient was employed to determine the inter-judge scorer reliability on the dependent variable TH. The reliability on the variable TH was .976. See Table I for the judges' raw data tabulations on the dependent variables TH.

TABLE I  
RAW DATA TABULATIONS OF THREE INDEPENDENT  
JUDGES ON DEPENDENT VARIABLE  
TOTAL HOSTILITY

Judges	Levels of Hostility					
	0	1	2	3	4	
1	212	128	96	58	66	560
2	216	125	93	55	71	560
3	214	122	98	52	74	560
Total	642	375	287	165	211	1680

A second Scott coefficient was employed to determine the inter-judge scorer reliability on the dependent variables OH and CH. The reliability on these two variables was .974. See Table II for the judges' raw data tabulations on the dependent variables OH and CH.

As stated by Flanders (1967, p. 166), "A Scott coefficient of 0.85 or higher is a reasonable level of performance." Based upon this fact, the inter-judges' scores as given on the TH, OH and CH variables



are sufficiently reliable for a confident analysis of the data.

TABLE II  
RAW DATA TABULATIONS OF THREE INDEPENDENT  
JUDGES ON DEPENDENT VARIABLES  
OVERT AND COVERT HOSTILITY

Judges	OH*	CH**	No Hostility	
1	203	137	220	560
2	198	129	233	560
3	196	135	229	560
Total	597	401	682	1680

\*Overt (OH)

\*\*Covert (CH)

#### Findings Pertaining to Hypotheses

##### One, and Two

H<sub>1</sub>: Students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of TH.

H<sub>2</sub>: TH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions.

The analysis of raw scores pertaining to the dependent variable TH will now be presented by examining hypotheses One and Two. Table III shows the sum of squares (SS), degrees of freedom (df), mean squares (ms), F ratios (F) and probability for hypotheses One, and Two.

TABLE III  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SOURCE TABLE OF  
TOTAL HOSTILITY SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	ms	F	P
Threat Conditions	548.890	1	548.890	31.71	.01
Anxiety Levels	1.876	1	1.876	.11	n.s.
Interaction	.479	1	.479	.03	n.s.
Error	1315.70	76	17.31		
Total	1866.95	79			

Results presented in Table III show effects produced by the independent variable PT were significant at the required .05 level of confidence. Therefore, hypothesis One was rejected. This means that subjects under conditions of PT scored significantly higher on TH than did subjects under conditions of NPT.

The results of the statistical test for the Second hypothesis, concerning interactive effects, is also presented in Table III. It can be seen that the interaction effect of PT, NPT and HA, LA on TH was not significant. Based on this finding, hypotheses Two was not rejected.

Table IV shows computed means and Table V shows standard deviations for the dependent variable data TH.

TABLE IV  
MEANS OF TOTAL HOSTILITY SCORES

	PT	NPT	Combined
HA	11.28	6.19	8.74
LA	11.54	6.35	8.95
Combined	11.41	6.27	8.84

TABLE V  
STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF TOTAL HOSTILITY SCORES

	PT	NPT	Combined
HA	12.35	7.18	9.77
LA	12.52	7.00	9.76
Combined	12.44	7.09	9.77

Table IV shows that the combined mean scores for the PT group are higher than the combined mean scores for the NPT group (PT combined mean scores = 11.41, NPT combined mean scores = 6.27). As given in Table III, differences in scores on the dependent variable PT were significant ( $P < .05$ ).

Table IV also shows that the combined mean scores for the HA group are slightly lower than the combined mean scores for the LA group (HA combined mean scores = 8.74, LA combined mean scores = 8.94). These

differences as given in Table III were not significant.

Results in Table V show differences in dispersions of TH scores between the treatment groups. The combined S.D. scores are as follows: PT = 12.44, NPT = 7.09, HA = 9.77, LA = 9.76. An F Maximum Test for Homogeneity of Variances was computed. The results as given below indicate the groups were homogeneous in their scores of TH.

From a  $F_{\max}$  table, with 4 variances and 19 degrees of freedom, values greater than 3.29 will be significant at the .05 level.

$$F_{\max} \text{ Test} = \frac{156.750}{49.00} = 3.198 \text{ N.S.}$$

Figure 1 shows relationships between the effects of independent variable PT, NPT and the effects of organismic variable HA, LA. Significant interactive effects, as previously noted in Table III did not occur.

### Findings Pertaining to Hypotheses

#### Three and Four

$H_3$ : Students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of OH.

$H_4$ : OH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions.

Analysis of raw scores pertaining to the dependent variable OH will now be presented by examining hypotheses Four, Five and Six. Table VI shows the sum of squares (SS), degrees of freedom (df), mean squares (ms), F ratios (F) and probability for hypotheses Three and Four.

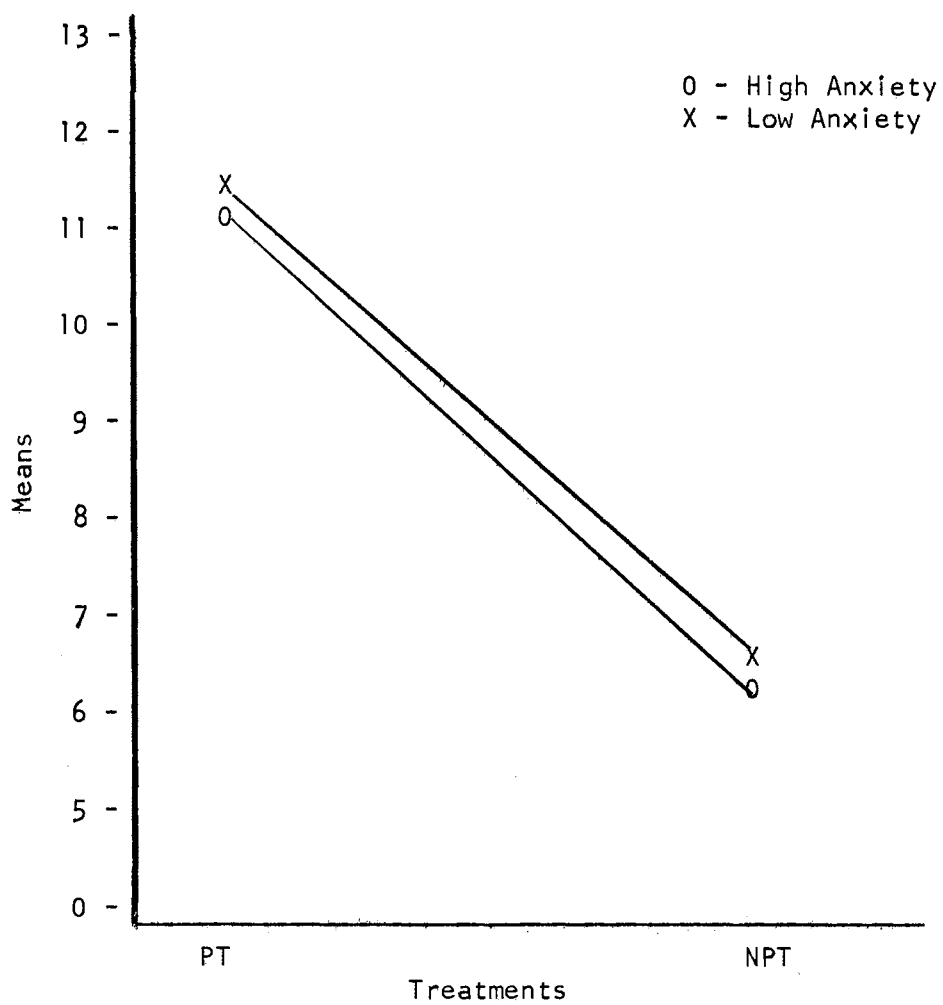


Figure 1. Effects of Punitive Threat Conditions and Levels of Anxiety on Total Hostility Scores

TABLE VI  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SOURCE TABLE OF  
OVERT HOSTILITY SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	ms	F	P
Treatment Condition	24.56	1	24.56	14.71	.01
Anxiety Level	.04	1	.04	.02	n.s.
Interaction	3.90	1	3.90	2.34	n.s.
Error	127.12	76	1.67		
Total	155.62	79			

Results presented in Table VI show effects produced by the independent variable PT were significant at the required .05 level of confidence. Therefore, hypothesis Three was rejected. This means that subjects under conditions of PT scored significantly higher on OH than did subjects under conditions of NPT.

Results of the statistical test for the Fourth hypothesis, concerning interactive effects, is also presented in Table VI. It shows that the interactive effects of PT, NPT and HA, LA on OH was not significant. Based on this fact, hypothesis Four was not rejected.

Table VII shows computed means and Table VII shows standard deviations for the dependent variable OH.

TABLE VII  
MEANS OF OVERT HOSTILITY  
SCORES

	PT	NPT	Combined
HA	2.02	1.35	1.69
LA	2.49	.95	1.72
Combined	2.26	1.15	1.76

TABLE VIII  
STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF OVERT  
HOSTILITY SCORES

	PT	NPT	Combined
HA	2.49	1.87	2.18
LA	2.72	1.50	2.11
Combined	2.61	1.69	2.15

Table VII shows that the combined mean scores for the PT group are higher than the combined mean scores for the NPT group (PT combined mean scores = 2.26, NPT combined mean scores = 1.15). As given in Table VI, differences in scores on the dependent variable PT were significant ( $P < .05$ ).

Table VII also shows that the combined mean scores for the HA group are slightly lower than the combined mean scores for the LA group

(HA combined mean scores = 1.69, LA combined mean scores = 1.72).

These differences as given in Table VI were not significant.

Results in Table VIII show differences in dispersions of OH scores between the treatment groups. The combined S.D. scores are as follows: PT = 2.61, NPT = 1.69, HA = 2.18, LA = 2.11. An F Maximum Test for Homogeneity of Variance was computed. These results as given below indicate the groups were homogeneous in their scores of OH.

From a  $F_{\max}$  table, with 4 variances and 19 degrees of freedom values greater than 3.29 will be significant at the .05 level.

$$F_{\max} \text{ Test} = \frac{7.290}{2.250} = 3.240 \text{ N.S.}$$

Figure 2 shows relationships between the effects of independent variable PT, NPT and the effects of organismic variable HA, LA. Significant interactive effects, as stated in Table VI, were not found.

### Findings Pertaining to Hypotheses

#### Five and Six

$H_5$ : Students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of CH.

$H_6$ : CH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions.

Analysis of raw scores pertaining to the dependent variable CH are presented below by examining hypotheses Five and Six. Table IX gives the sum of squares (SS), degrees of freedom (df), mean squares (ms), F ratios (F) and probability for hypotheses Five and Six.

Results presented in Table IX show effects produced by the



independent variable PT were significant at the required .05 level of confidence. Therefore hypothesis Five was rejected. This means that subjects under conditions of PT scored significantly higher on measures of CH than did subjects under conditions of NPT.

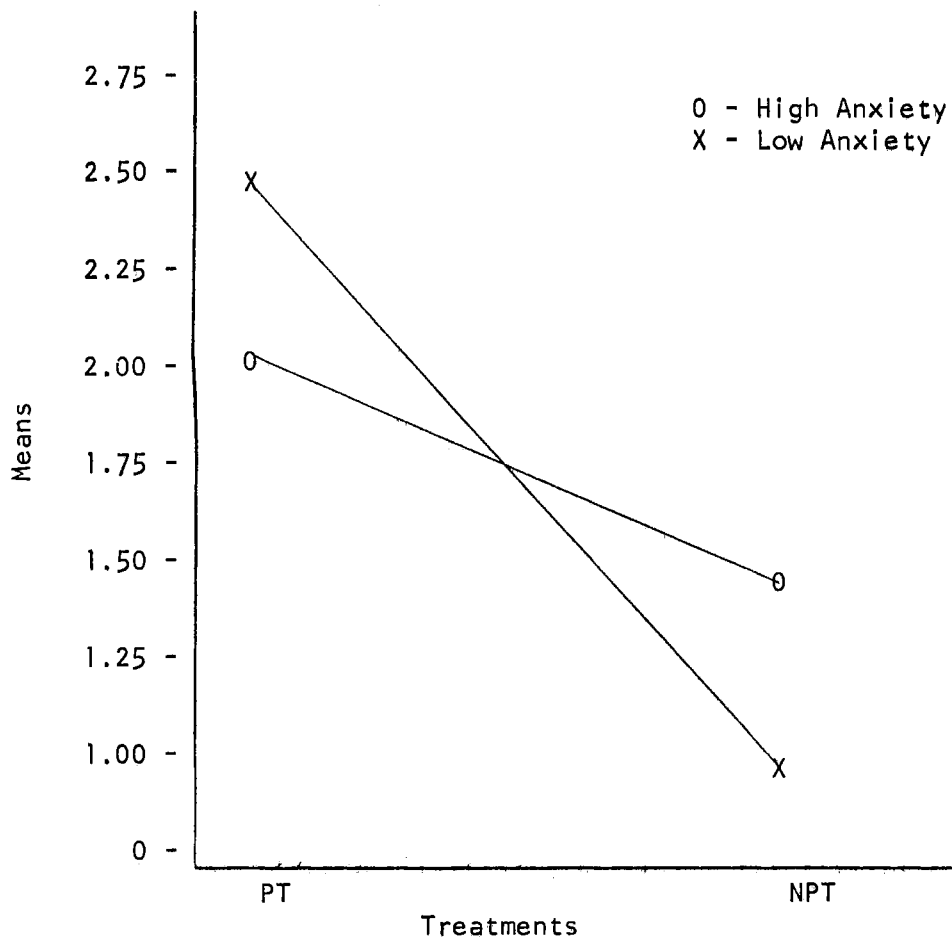


Figure 2. Effects of Punitive Threat Conditions and Levels of Anxiety on Overt Hostility Scores

TABLE IX  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SOURCE TABLE OF  
COVERT HOSTILITY SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	m.s.	F	P
Treatment Condition	13.60	1	13.60	8.83	.01
Anxiety Level	4.21	1	4.21	2.73	n.s.
Interaction	5.52	1	5.52	3.58	n.s.
Error	116.81	76	1.54	1.54	
Total	140.14	79			

Table IX also shows results of the statistical test for the Sixth hypothesis, concerning interactive effects. The interactive effect of PT, NPT and HA, LA on CH was not significant. Based on this fact, hypothesis Six was not rejected.

Table X shows computed means and Table XI shows standard deviations for the dependent variable CH.

TABLE X  
MEANS OF COVERT HOSTILITY SCORES

	PT	NPT	Combined
HA	2.90	1.55	2.23
LA	2.83	2.53	2.68
Combined	2.87	2.04	2.46

TABLE XI  
STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF COVERT  
HOSTILITY SCORES

	PT	NPT	Combined
HA	3.17	1.87	2.52
LA	3.10	2.80	2.95
Combined	3.14	2.33	2.74

Table X shows that the combined mean scores for the PT group are higher than the combined mean scores for the NPT group (PT combined mean scores = 2.87, NPT combined mean scores = 2.04). As given in Table X, differences in scores on the dependent variable PT were significant ( $p < .05$ ).

Table X also shows that the combined mean scores for the HA group are lower than the combined mean scores for the LA group (HA combined mean scores = 2.23, LA combined mean scores = 2.68). These differences as given in Table X were not significant.

Results in Table XI show differences in dispersions of CH scores between the treatment groups. The combined S.D. scores are as follows: PT = 3.14, NPT = 2.33, HA = 2.52, LA = 2.95. An F Maximum Test for Homogeneity of Variances was computed. These results as given below indicate the groups were homogeneous in their scores of CH.

From a  $F_{\max}$  table, with 4 variances and 19 degrees of freedom values greater than 3.29 will be significant at the .05 level.

Figure 3 shows relationships between the effects of independent

variable PT, NPT and the effects of organismic variables HA, LA. Significant interactive effects, as stated in Table IX were not found.

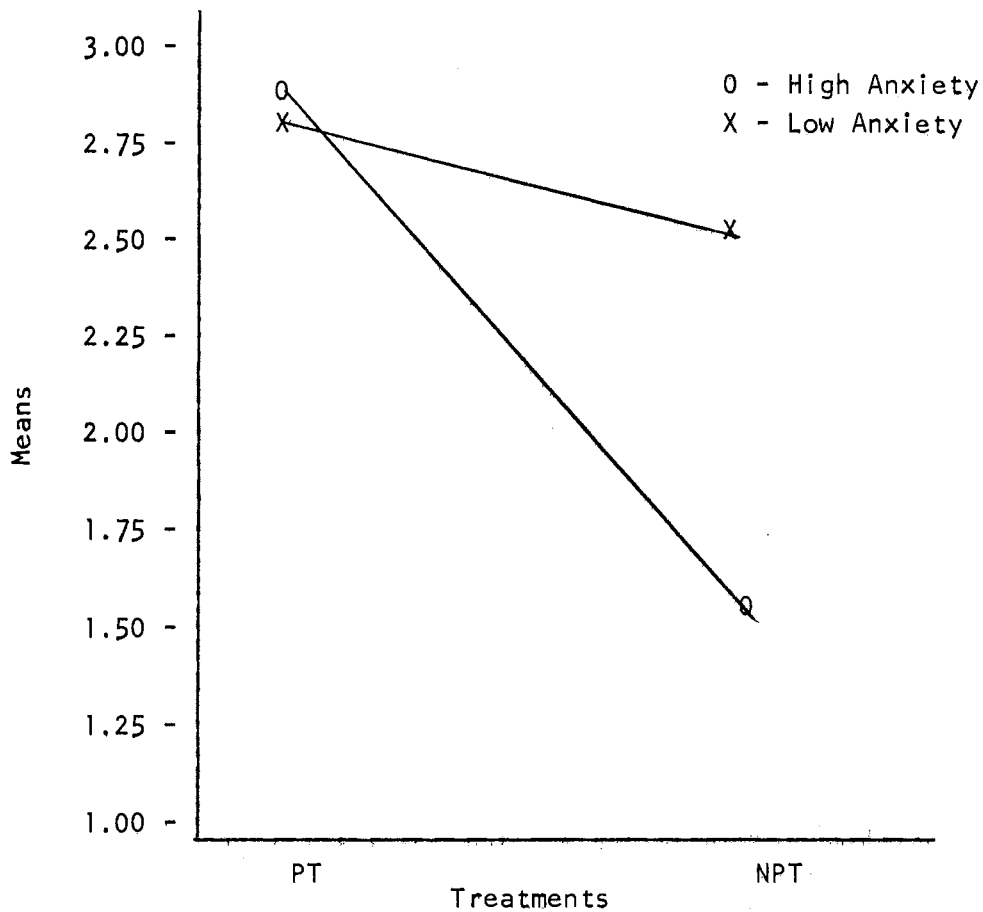


Figure 3. Effects of Punitive Conditions and Levels of Anxiety on Covert Hostility Scores

#### Summary of Findings

This chapter has presented the statistical results from the treatment of the data. Three 2 x 2 analysis of variance measures were used to test the possibility that the Experimental and Control groups might

show significant differences in expression of hostility.

Significant effects of TH, OH, and CH were observed as a result of PT conditions. Subjects under PT conditions had significantly higher mean scores than subjects under NPT conditions. As a consequence,  $H_1$ ,  $H_3$ , and  $H_5$  were rejected.

The interaction effect of variables PT, NPT and HA, LA were not demonstrated to have a significant influence on TH, OH and CH. Therefore,  $H_2$ ,  $H_4$ , and  $H_6$  were not rejected.

Scott's coefficient was calculated to determine the reliability of the inter-judge scoring on dependent variable TH and on dependent variables OH and CH. Results of these two calculations determined a high degree of reliability between judges' scores.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Overview

The present study was an experimental investigation of the effects of punitive threat and levels of high and low anxiety on measures of hostility. Approximately 90 subjects for this study were randomly selected from the student population at an Indian boarding school in Oklahoma. All 90 subjects were administered the IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire (Cattell and Scheier, 1963). On the basis of scores on the above anxiety scale, the 40 subjects with the highest scores and the forty subjects with the lowest scores of anxiety were randomly assigned to experimental treatment and control groups. All subjects were given a common anagram task to perform. The purpose of this task was to provide a screen between the stimulus variable of punitive threat and the administration of the Thematic Apperception Test. After five minutes of work on the anagram task, the forty high and low anxiety subjects under experimental conditions were given a verbal punitive threat by the experimenter. Both the experimental and control groups were administered seven cards of the TAT under group conditions. All subjects' responses on the TAT were scored on the Hostile Content Scale (Hafner and Kaplan, 1960). This scale allows for TAT responses to be scored on total, overt and covert hostility. After the TAT was administered, subjects in the experimental group were desensitized.

This study is a completely randomized posttest-only control group design. The data was analyzed by means of three 2 x 2 factorial analysis of variance designs. The  $p < .05$  was selected as the level necessary for rejection of the null hypothesis.

### Findings

This study was designed to determine whether a punitive threat and levels of anxiety would influence hostile expressions of high school students in an Indian boarding school. The results of the statistical analysis of this data and the suggested explanations of the results will now be discussed.

A total of six hypotheses were constructed for this study. Two hypotheses were designed to measure the effects of the stimulus variables, PT, NPT and the organismic variable HA, LA on the dependent variable TH. Hypothesis One stated that students under conditions of PT would not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of TH. This hypothesis was rejected. The testing of this hypothesis yielded an  $F = 31.71$ , which is significant at  $p < .05$ . This finding confirms that students under conditions of PT show significantly more total hostility than students under conditions of NPT.

Hypothesis Two stated that TH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions. This hypothesis was accepted. The  $F = .03$  was nonsignificant at the  $p < .05$  level.

Two hypotheses were designed to measure the effects of the stimulus variable PT, NPT and the organismic variable HA, LA on the dependent variable OH. Hypothesis Three stated that students under

conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of OH. This hypothesis was rejected. The testing of this hypothesis yielded,  $F = 14.71$ , which is significant at the required  $p < .05$  level.

Hypothesis Four stated that OH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions. This hypothesis was accepted. The  $F = 2.34$  was nonsignificant at the  $p < .05$  level.

The final two hypotheses were designed to measure the effects of the stimulus variable PT, NPT and the organismic variable HA, LA on the dependent variable CH. Hypothesis Five stated that students under conditions of PT will not differ significantly from students under conditions of NPT on measures of CH. This hypothesis was rejected. The testing of this hypothesis yielded an  $F = 8.33$ , which is significant at the required  $p < .05$  level.

Hypothesis Six stated that CH scores will not be significantly influenced by the interactive effects of anxiety levels and PT conditions. This hypothesis was accepted. The  $F = 3.58$  was nonsignificant at the  $p < .05$  level.

### Conclusions

The data as given in the preceding section will now be examined by first grouping the data under PT, NPT conditions. The findings show that the three dependent variables; TH, OH, and CH which involved hypotheses One, Three and Five, were all significantly affected by the stimulus variables PT. That is, subjects under PT conditions overall showed significantly more hostility on their TAT responses on all three



hostility variables than did subjects who were not under PT conditions. Therefore, the PT in this study was apparently of sufficient strength (Lazarus, 1965; Alpert, 1964; and Dollard and Miller, 1939) and close enough to the natural event (Lazarus, 1964) to elicit the significant TH, OH, and CH responses. Also, the PT of this study apparently met one or more of the necessary criteria for eliciting hostile responses as was stated in the research in Chapter II (p. 22) of this study.

This included blockage of anticipatory goals involving a perceived threat to the ego or self esteem (Berkowitz, 1969) and a perception that the threat was of an arbitrary nature. The arbitrary threat creates a frustrational effect resulting in hostile expressions (Pastore, 1952 and Bass, 1963).

The findings lend support to social learning theory research of Bandura and Walters (1959), Bandura and Walters (1963) and McCord, McCord, and Howard (1961). This research, as stated in Chapter II of this study found that aggressive boys tended to come from homes in which parents were more hostile, rejecting, and punitive than were the control boys' parents. These studies, as well as other studies by Sears, Macoby and Levin (1957); Moyer (1969); and Berkowitz (1969); suggest that hostile behaviors are learned responses to environmental stimuli. One such stimulus has been identified as threatening environmental conditions. This interpretation of the findings is supported by referring to Chapters I and II of this study where social case histories of the population included in this study are documented. Additional support for this interpretation is offered by Harris and Reese (1968) and Moore (1971). These studies emphasize the importance of environmental elicitation of hostile expression within the milieu of the

family comprising the population included within this study. Studies by Havighurst (197); Bass (1969); and Harris and Reese (1968); as well as documentation of the use of Incident Reports and Degrees of Disciplinary Action (Chapter II) lend support to the belief that punitive threats are possibly used within the milieu of this school as a means to control inappropriate behavior.

As scored by the Hafner-Kaplan Hostile Content Scale, subjects under PT conditions were found to project more TH into their TAT stories than did subjects under NPT conditions. Another related finding was that these subjects also projected significantly more OH and CH into their TAT stories than did subjects under NPT conditions. These findings seem to substantiate research by Buss (1963) that there are varying types of hostility which span a continuum from more overt to more covert. Hostility can also be displayed along a continuum of more physical to more verbal in its expression. Hostility as expressed in this study was in written form. Therefore, discretion must be exercised when drawing conclusions based upon the TH, OH and CH findings. To say that a written communication of TH, OH and CH substantially represents behavioral expression of TH, OH and CH at this Indian boarding school is problematic. However, to the degree that the TAT is in fact a valid projective instrument, and to the degree that previous studies regarding the generalizational ability of hostile expression on the Hostile Content Scale to environmental hostile expression are valid (Chapter III, p. 50), such an assumption is made in this study. On the basis of this assumption, it is inferred that OH in this study stands for realistic environmental occurrences at this Indian boarding school, i.e., fist fights, direct verbal arguments with school personnel

and destruction of school property. In the same way, CH from this study to the environment is inferred, suicide attempts, drug usage, tattooing, and running away from school. Continuing with this argument, since it appears that the PT in this study did in fact serve to elicit the TH, OH, and CH responses and to the degree that these hostile responses are representative of natural hostile responses at this Indian boarding school, then the tertiary assumption is made that these hostile responses are likewise under control of the stimulus PT within the natural environment of the school. Restated, using logic which is based on an inferential process, the use of PT within the milieu of this Indian boarding school is very possibly serving to elicit forms of TH, OH, and CH.

The three hypotheses Two, Four and Six involving the interactive effects of variable PT, NPT and levels of HA and LA on the dependent variables TH, OH, and CH failed to reach the required  $p = < .05$  level of confidence. Therefore, significant interactive effects were not found in this study.

#### Implications

Subjects in this study when placed in PT conditions demonstrated significantly more TH, OH and CH than did subjects under NPT conditions. This finding suggests that PT is not a psychologically or educationally sound discipline technique for controlling inappropriate behaviors at this Indian boarding school. To the degree that the school personnel are using PT conditions to control inappropriate behavior, they are very likely contributing to this very problem or are creating additional behavioral problems. It seems very likely that when PT conditions are

used a sequence is initiated beginning with the arousal of manifest anxiety into stressful or anxious states resulting in expressions of TH, OH and CH. The wisdom of initiating such a sequence in an environment which is intended to be therapeutic is highly suspect.

The failure to obtain significant differences between the variables PT, NPT and levels of HA, LA point out a need for further research in these areas.

#### Recommendations

Based upon the findings, the need for further research is suggested.

- (1) A study which replicates the design in this study but incorporates a wider dichotomy between subjects on levels of HA and LA among an Indian boarding school population.
- (2) A study to compare manifest levels of HA and LA between Indian boarding school populations and public school populations.
- (3) A study involving stimulus variables of PT and NPT and an organismic variable of male and female on dependent variables of TH, OH, and CH.
- (4) A study which extends this design to include comparisons of a positive approach and a punitive threat. Dependent variables might involve a measurement of hostility and/or academic productivity.

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APPENDIX A

COPY OF INCIDENT REPORT

INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL  
INCIDENT REPORT

STUDENT'S NAME \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

(Report each incident of noteworthy behavior or of disciplinary action even if it is unusual for the student involved. These reports will be used to help predict and prevent future problems.)

TYPE OF INCIDENT: (X)

DRINKING	_____	AWOL (late)	_____	DISRUPTS GROUP	_____
FIGHTING, (Physical)	_____	AWOL (overnight)	_____	INSUBORDINATION (major)	_____
VANDALISM	_____	SMOKING VIOLATION	_____	ASSIGNMENTS (incomplete)	_____
SMIFFING	_____	EXCESS PROFANITY	_____	TARDYS (4+)	_____
OVERSTAYED LEAVE	_____	INSUBORDINATION (minor)	_____	ABSENCES (2+)	_____
OTHER, OR COMMENT	_____			NECKING (excessive)	_____

ACTION TAKEN: (X)

NONE	_____	STAY AFTER SCHOOL (how much?)	_____
EXTRA ASSIGNMENT (What? How much?)	_____	SENT TO SUPERVISOR (Describe results)	_____
RESTRICTED (Describe below)	_____	EXCLUDING FROM CLASS (How long?)	_____
		COUNSELING (With whom?)	_____

OTHER AND DESCRIPTIONS \_\_\_\_\_

Dorm records \_\_\_\_\_

By: \_\_\_\_\_

Pupil Personnel File \_\_\_\_\_

Supt./Prin. \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B

HOSTILE CONTENT SCALE

Hostile Content Scale (Hafner, Kaplan, 1960)

Total Hostility Scale (TH)

- 4 Points: themes involving direct physical hostile acts between people or towards the self.
- 3 Points: themes involving hate; thoughts, feelings, dreams or threats of direct physical hostile acts between people; themes involving punishment, permanent debilitating injury, and death; themes of direct hostile acts involving animals.
- 2 Points: themes involving verbal hostility; derogatory descriptions of people; anti-social acts; people forced by others to do things; hostile or negative emotionality; rejection; illness and accidents involving injury; destruction of inanimate objects; predatory animals; destructive forces of nature; weapons.
- 1 Point: themes involving emotional deprivation; guilt feelings; escape; misfortune; death symbols; broken objects; the military.
- 0 Points: themes without hostile content.

Overt (OH) and Covert (CH) Hostility

- Overt: hostility which is manifest and direct.
- Covert: hostility which is insidious, indirect, disguised or latent.

## VITA

Paul Franklin Pusey

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: THE EFFECTS OF PUNITIVE THREAT AND LEVELS OF ANXIETY ON  
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