

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PROPENSITY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE¹

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Social change involves, on the one hand, modifications of social structure and, on the other hand, modifications in attitudes, beliefs and values, i.e., general psychological outlook of people undergoing change. Thus, change in world view goes together with change in social structure. These two interrelated aspects of social change need to be studied together in order to have an adequate understanding of this social phenomenon.

Both psychological and social system variables have been used in attempts to explain – i.e. to establish necessary and sufficient conditions leading to some behavioral regularity. In other words, they can both serve as independent and dependent variables within the context of some social phenomenon. In this research certain psychological variables such as behavior tendencies, beliefs, attitudes and aspirations constituting a general world view or outlook on life were studied *in relation to* the social – structural variables within the context of social change.

The problem at hand was to draw a social - psychological picture of İzmir last – year lise students, an important segment of a city's population, especially in view of the recently increasing relevance and significance of student movements in Turkey and all over the world.

Four main types of variables were studied, namely, psychological (attitudinal), aspirational, familial and social structural. An attempt was made to understand their interrelations within the context of social change in Turkey. Each of these four main types consisted of a number of variables :

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¹ This paper is based on some of the findings of a study done in 1968 in İzmir, under the auspices of the Turkish Social Science Association.

A. The psychological (attitudinal) variables were the following: core authoritarianism, patriotism, anomia, optimism about (attitude toward) one's personal future, internal versus external control of reinforcement, religious orientation, achievement values versus affiliation values, and respect and loyalty to parents.

Of these, "core authoritarianism" needs some clarification. Adorno, et al. in their book *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), using a psychoanalytic approach, conceptualized the authoritarian type of personality as having a dynamic organization of deep lying tendencies for aggression, submission to authority, conventionalism, anti-intraception, superstition, intolerance and ethnocentrism (nationalism). These characteristics constitute the *content* of authoritarian beliefs and attitudes, and these beliefs may be subject to the influence of social norms. This content needs to be differentiated from the *mode* of thinking characteristic of authoritarian outlook. Gregory (1955) gives a rough description of this *formal* aspect of authoritarianism by listing the following: rigidity, concreteness, compulsiveness, literalness, dogmatism, etc. These characteristics deal with *how* one thinks rather than with *what* one thinks, and are called here core-authoritarianism.² This "core" can possibly be conceptualized as a general dogmatic and intolerant behavior tendency. Being more or less content-free, it may be considered to be somewhat free from the influences of social norms, and thus to be a personality variable.

We would expect that core authoritarianism, involving intolerance, rigidity and dogmatism, among other things, would work as a psychological force resisting social change, which requires some flexibility and openness. Traditional society fosters authoritarian behaviors and interaction patterns. Modern society, on the other hand, might be considered to provide an atmosphere more conducive to the development of flexible behavior tendencies.

Patriotism, on the basis of previous research (e.g. Hyman, Payaslıoğlu and Frey, 1958; Frey et al., 1962; and Kağıtçıbaşı, 1970) was considered to be a modern social norm in Turkey, being stronger in urban than in rural areas (cf. Frey, 1966). This fact would lead to an

² Rokeach (1960), Mogar (1960) and Kağıtçıbaşı (1960) also differentiate between the "what" and the "how" aspects of authoritarianism.

expectation that patriotism is an attitudinal variable characteristic of a psychological outlook prone to social change. It should, thus, not be associated with core authoritarianism. This expectation differs from the views of the authors of *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), for they consider patriotism (together with nationalism and ethnocentrism) to be a component of authoritarianism. As our concept of core-authoritarianism is content-free, our expectation is logically possible. It is based on a previous finding (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1970) of a negative relationship in Turkey between patriotism and core-authoritarianism. As a modern social norm and a desirable characteristic, patriotism seems to be more fully adopted by the well-adjusted "normal" people than it is by the rigid and dogmatic core-authoritarians.

Anomia was used with this special spelling after Srole (1950) to refer to a psychological phenomenon as different from "anomie", the sociological concept referring to the condition of a group or society. Srole conceives of a dimension extending from eunomia (self-to-others-belongingness), through self-to-others-distance, to anomia (self-to-others-alienation). In this sense, anomia reflects a psychological state characterized by hopelessness and breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society. An anomic person may be expected to be suspicious, negativistic and passive, thus not prone to a dynamic progressive outlook conducive to social change

Belief in internal control of reinforcement, after Rotter (1966), meant a tendency to assume full responsibility for one's actions and lot in life contrasted with a tendency to attribute this responsibility to an outside agent, such as god, fate, other people, etc., which indicates belief in external control of reinforcement. Thus, belief in internal control reinforcement seems to imply an autonomous, self-reliant, active behavior tendency, whereas belief in external control of reinforcement, a passive, fatalistic outlook. The former might be considered to be a psychological variable more characteristic of individuals prone to social change. In modern societies much higher emphasis is put on self-reliance and autonomy in child training (see, for example, Hsu, 1961 and Sears, 1961), whereas traditional society fosters dependency going as far as fatalism.

B. The familial variables were family affection and family control. Family size was also assessed. Previously (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1970) affection

and control were found to be independent of each other. Such a differentiation between restrictiveness – permissiveness (control) and warmth – hostility (affection) dimensions, not recognized by Adorno, et. al. in *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), was subsequently made by many researchers (e.g. Watson, 1957; Schafer and Bell, 1958; Mac-coby, 1961; Sears, 1961). In other words, strict discipline does not necessarily imply hostility and lack of love. It is possible to find families characterized by both warmth and restrictiveness, asserted to be a common situation in Turkey (e.g. Şemin, 1964; Cansever, 1965).

C. The aspirational variables consisted of financial and vocational aspirations and the difference between aspirations and expectations, both financial and vocational.

D. Social structural variables consisted of various social class indicators, of both objective and subjective nature. The objective indicators were family income, father's occupation, father's education, mother's education, present dwelling and mobility (including lower-upper and rural-urban mobility). The subjective indicators were subjective estimate of one's family's financial standing and subjective estimate of one's family's social standing.

METHOD

Subjects: The subjects of the study were 670 last year students in İzmir public lises. The total number of last year public lise students in İzmir was 1425 during the 1968-69 academic year, when the research was done. The sample, thus, represents close to half of this population.

Measures: Various scales and single items dealing with a wide range of topics were included in a questionnaire that could be administered in one class hour.

Psychological (attitudinal) and Familial variables were assessed by the use of scales. In order to provide comparability with other relevant research, already established scales were used whenever possible, either completely or as item sources. In most of the scales balance was maintained in the positive and negative wording and scoring of the items in order to avoid confounding with the acquiescent response bias.³ Likert type scales with five-category-answer items were used.⁴

³ Acquiescent response bias is the tendency to agree with items in a questionnaire.

⁴ Items of the scales may be obtained from the author on request.

Even though the majority of the scales had been checked and established in previous studies, a further check of the internal consistency of each scale was done by the use of inter-item correlations. Only those items that had significant correlations with other items in the scale were used.

THEORETICAL FORMULATIONS, HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

As this was largely an exploratory study, a basic aim was to give an accurate description of the sample population in terms of the variables under study. Several hypotheses were formulated to guide our search and the interpretation of our results. These hypotheses dealt with all the logical relations among the four types of variables.

Table 1 gives the correlation matrix where each variable is correlated with every other variable.⁵

Looking at Table 1, the first thing one notices is the existence of two separate sets of intercorrelations, coinciding with the psychological and the social-structural variables. In other words, these two types of variables are interrelated in themselves. They do not seem to be related to each other, however, i.e. no direct relations between the macro—and the micro—characteristics can be inferred on the basis of these data. This seems to be the case in social research of such large scope due to the numerous intermediate factors involved. In the present study, for example, family and aspirational variables seem to serve a bridging function between social class variables and psychological variables, indicated by correlations among them. It seems that social class standing directly influences the family, which, in turn, passing these influences to the child, molds his personality. In the area of vocational and financial aspirations, even though the family still plays its mediating role to some degree, the individual comes in direct contact with his social class characteristics, thus correlations between aspirational and social class variables are seen.

Within this general conceptual framework, let us now consider the operational hypotheses of the study.

⁵ High scores mean low standing (and vice versa) on anomia and religiosity scales, thus, positive correlations with these scales show negative relationships and vice versa.

	1	2	3	4
1. Core Authoritarianism				
2. Patriotism	-.12 xxxxx			
3. Anomia	-.31 xxxxx			
4. Optimism about personal future	-.21 xxxxx	.08 x	.12 xxx	
5. Internal vs external control	-.19 xxxxx	.13 xxxxx	.28 xxxxx	.29 xxxxx
6. Religiosity	-.17 xxxxx	-	.08 x	-
7. Achievement values	- xxxxx	.21	-	.18 xxxxx
8. Power vs affiliation	-	-	.10 xx	-
9. Family control	.11 xxx	.16 xxxxx	-	-
10. Family affection	-	.10 xx	-	.08 x
11. Respect to parent	.17 xxxxx	.13 xxxxx	-	-
12. Financial aspiration	-	-	-	.20 xxxxx
13. Vocational aspiration	-	-	-	-
14. Financial aspiration- expectation	-	-	-.16 xxxxx	-.12 xxxxx

T A B L E 1
Variable Correlation

	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
.24 xxxxx									
.19 -									
.08 x			.08 x						
-.12									
			.09 x	-.10 xx					
.10 xxx		-.11 xxxx	.13 xxxxx		.21 xxxxx	.21			
						.12			
						xxxxx			
						.13 xxxxx	.10 xx	.18 xxxxx	
-.12 xxxx				-.08 x				.09 xx	

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Vocational aspiration-expectation	-	-	-	-	13	-	-
			xxxxx				
16. Father's occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. Father's education	-	-	.08	-	-	-	-
18. Mother's education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19. Subjective estimate of financial standing	-	-	.13	-	-	-	-
20. Urban vs rural	-	-.10	-	-	-	-	-
21. Sex	-	-.09	-.10	-.13	-.21	-.14	-.13
		xx	xx	xxx	xxx	xxxxx	xxxxx
22. Income	-	-.09	-	-	-	-	-
		xx					
23. Urban S-E-S standing	-	-.09	-	-	-.07	-	-
		xx			xx		
24. Family size							
25. Subjective estimate of social standing	-.08						
							x
							x : .05 level of significance
							xx : .02 " " "
							xxx : 01 " " "
							xxxx : 005 " " "
							xxxxx : .002 " " "

Hypothesis 1 : Core authoritarianism, pessimism about one's personal future, anomia, belief in external control of reinforcement and religiosity correlate positively with each other. Patriotism, optimism about one's personal future, belief in internal control of reinforcement and achievement values also correlate positively with each other. The two groups of variables are negatively correlated.

The conceptualization of this hypothesis is based on the authoritarian personality theory and previous research done in Turkey. Core (personal) authoritarianism, meaning a general rigid, dogmatic, intolerant, suspicious and negativistic outlook on life, should be related, on theoretical grounds, to anomia and pessimism about one's own future. Furthermore, according to the theory of *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) these characteristics should go together with religious, fatalistic tendencies and, therefore, with belief in external control of reinforcement. Thus, a certain character type seems to emerge: "Type 1". Theoretically, as opposed to this, a second type, "Type 2", should also exist, characterized by optimistic outlook, belief in internal control of reinforcement, and achievement values. As explained before, patriotism should also belong here.

As hypothesized, the results in Table 1 point to two distinct groups of psychological variables, characterized by positive within-group and negative between-group correlations, indicated below:

Type 1	Type 2
Core authoritarianism	Patriotism
Anomia	Optimism about personal future
Pessimism about personal future	Belief in internal control of reinforcement
Belief in external control of reinforcement	Achievement values
Religious orientation	

These two groups of variables seem to reflect psychologically meaningful, coherent wholes. As hypothesized, core authoritarianism and patriotism fall into opposite groups (and are negatively correlated).

This "Turkish syndrome" clearly contrasts the views of Adorno, et al., in *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950). Patriotism seems to be a vital part of a dynamic, optimistic, achievement-oriented outlook among Turkish youth — not an authoritarian tendency. Authoritarianism, is, rather, a basic element of an anomic, pessimistic, fatalistic outlook. Thus, on the basis of obtained results, type 2 emerges as a modern force for social change, type 1, on the other hand seems to reflect a conservative outlook — the typical force against change.

Hypothesis 1 is, thus, definitely supported by the data.

Hypothesis 2 : Family control and affection do not correlate with each other.

Hypothesis 2 is supported by the data. This finding, showing love and control as independent dimensions of family atmosphere conflicts with the views of Adorno, et al. (1950) and supports the later theoretical considerations mentioned before. It enables us to predict differences in the relations of these variables with other groups of variables. Thus, we will consider next the relations between familial factors as independent variables and the two groups of psychological concepts as dependent variables within the context of social change. In other words, the basic assumption is that the family atmosphere a young person has had influences his psychological make up.

Hypothesis 3 : Family control correlates positively with type 1 variables, namely, core authoritarianism, religiosity and belief in the external control of reinforcement.

The data give support to the first two hypothesized relations, but not to the third. The first finding replicates an earlier one (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1970) of a positive relation between core authoritarianism and family control. It seems that in families where discipline and control are emphasized, authoritarian thinking and behavior tendencies are fostered in the child.

Hypothesis 4 : Family affection correlates positively with type 2 variables, namely, optimism toward personal future, achievement values and belief in internal control of reinforcement.

This hypothesis is also supported for the first two hypothesized relations. A lack of relationship is again seen for belief in internal control of reinforcement.

rol of reinforcement. These findings may point to the functioning of other factors, probably outside the family, that influence the development of this variable.

The results supporting these two hypotheses, then, point to some basic links between familial and attitudinal (psychological) variables. Personality type 1, manifesting a general negative orientation and rigid outlook, seems to develop in families where the emotional atmosphere is characterized by control; and personality type 2, showing security and optimism, seems to develop in families where the emotional atmosphere is characterized by affection. This finding is in line with much research dealing with child development and parental discipline. (e.g. Erikson, 1950).

A next question that comes to mind is whether families characterized by control and affection belong to different social classes. Considering the inherent positive and negative connotation for propensity to social change of type 2 and type 1 psychological variables, respectively, and their differential relations to family variables, this question assumes great importance for a better understanding of social change. Thus the fifth hypothesis follows:

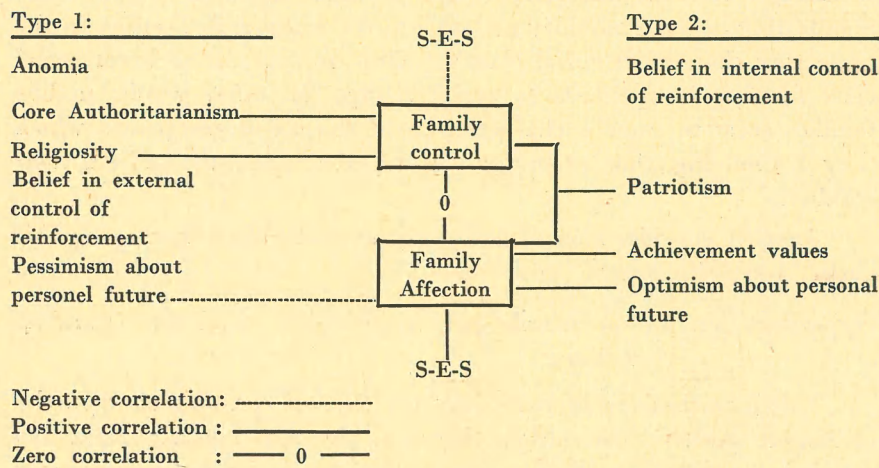
Hypothesis 5 : Social class correlates positively with family affection and negatively with family control.

This hypothesis is supported for both family affection and family control. The obtained correlations (Table 1) are more in number (7) for family control than for family affection (4), showing that family control is a more social class related phenomenon than is family affection. Thus, the data show that within an urban setting family atmosphere characterized by affection is more prevalent among upper S-E-S than among lower S-E-S families; an atmosphere of control, on the other hand, is more characteristic of lower S-E-S families. These relations are shown in Figure 1.

When we consider, in turn, the differential causal relation between the two types of families and the two personality types, we find the following. The personality type with the attitudinal orientation that is more prone to social change (type 2) typically belongs to the families of the upper social strata, whereas the family atmosphere that is more widespread in the lower social strata produces a personality type that is less prone to social change (type 1). This general finding, pictured

in Figure 1 seems to be important in showing the familial and psychological dynamics underlying a commonly observed social fact, namely, the relative openness of upper social strata and the relative resistance of lower social strata to social change.

FIGURE 1
RELATIONS BETWEEN FAMILIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES



In addition to S-E-S differences, rural-urban differences and social mobility of the subjects' families were also studied. Table 1 shows that family control correlates negatively with the rural-urban dimension, that is, more control is seen in rural than in urban families. The connotations of this finding for propensity to social change should be parallel to those for S-E-S, mentioned above. In other words, urban standing seems to cause a propensity in young people for social change.

When social mobility is considered, the following is seen :

TABLE 2				
T-Test Comparisons				
Rural to urban mobility group	Urban or rural linear (no mobility) group	t	df	p
$\bar{X} = 3.21$	$\bar{X} = 3.45$	1.33	414	.10
Lower S-E-S to upper S-E-S mobility group	Urban or rural linear (no mobility) group	t	df	p
$\bar{X} = 3.11$	$\bar{X} = 3.45$	1.84	528	.05

On the basis of statistics in Table 2, linear (non-mobile) families have significantly more control than upper-mobile families. The non-mobile families also have more control than the families moving from rural to urban areas. Upward and urban mobility, then, is reflected in a lessening of control in family emotional atmosphere, which, in turn, produces in children the personality type that makes them prone to change. It looks like families moving into urban areas and those manifesting upward mobility are superior to non-mobile families in the same way that upper social class families are superior to lower social class families in openness to social change. In other words, mobile families seem to show a characteristic of the social group into which they are moving, thus providing "anticipatory socialization" for their children.

Another consideration of the study to be finally taken up in this paper is sex differences.

Hypothesis 6 : In the sample girls have higher social class standing than boys.

This hypothesis is supported by the data as can be seen from the consistent positive correlations between the sex variable⁶ and the social class variables in Table 1. This was to be expected, for if a family can afford to give a higher education to one child, only, most probably the boy, rather than the girl will get it.

In line with their higher socio-economic standing, girls are also found to have higher financial and vocational' aspirations than the boys (Table 1). This was not hypothesized and seems to show that having had the critical lise education that is not available to many girls in this country, the girls in the sample feel close to university education and thus entitled to high vocational and financial benefits that they, themselves, experience more widely in their own homes than the boys. However, this is quite a specific, education-based expectation, i.e. a limited part of their lives is involved in which they have fared equal to the boys up to now and over which they feel they

⁶ A dichotomous variable (sex) was treated as a continuous variable (1: male, 2 : female) and correlations were computed using this dummy variable. Statistically, performing correlations involving a dichotomous variable turns out to be the same thing as performing a t-test.

have control. In other areas of their world, on the other hand, we would expect to see reflections of the traditional burdens characteristic of the female sex in this part of the world. The long history of widespread evaluation of the male sex over the female sex would be expected to affect girls' outlook on life in a negative way. It would be natural for girls to feel that they have less of a control on various matters than do males; that less is expected of them; and that they will assume the more submissive role in their future families.

Hypothesis 6 : Girls characteristically manifest more of the type 1 variables, and boys manifest type 2 variables.

On the basis of the correlations in Table 1, this hypothesis is supported. Boys come out of the picture as patriotic, optimistic about their personal future, having higher achievement values and belief in internal control of reinforcement as well as lower religiosity than girls. Girls, on the other hand, have a general outlook on life characterized by anomia, lower patriotism, pessimism about personal future, religiosity, belief in external control of reinforcement and lower achievement values than boys.

No sex differences are apparent in core (personal) authoritarianism, that is, we seem to be dealing with differences that have more social roots than roots in personality dynamics. This would be expected, for we would think that early childhood family atmosphere (as a causal determinant of core authoritarianism) would not be very different for girls than for boys. Their later life experiences, however, shaping their more *socially* related attitudes, would be expected to be quite different.

It seems, then, girls' outlook on life, even in this modern urban center, is a generally negativistic one, carrying the overtones of traditional social discrimination. When this is considered together with the higher financial and vocational aspirations of the girls, a paradoxical situation appears. At this critical period of their lives, girls seem to be caught between conflicting role demands, coming, on the one hand, from the traditional social environment and, on the other hand, from their own aspirations influenced by their education and socio-economic standing. In other words, even though they aspire for progress, they seem to feel the lack of autonomy to achieve it. The boys, on the other hand, seem more prone to social change and progress.

Thus, sex differences in the psychological outlook of young people have interesting implications for social change and development.

This study enables us to consider, to a certain extent, the psychological dynamics underlying some aspects of social change. The emergent coherent personality "types", composed of highly related psychological characteristics and contrasting with each other, show that attitudes, outlooks on life and general behavior tendencies of people need to be studied in relation to social structural variables. The latter, assessed here in terms of socio-economic standing, rural-urban differences and social mobility seem to affect attitudinal dispositions, and specifically propensity for social change, through the mediating role of the family. Thus, family emotional atmosphere, a social-class related phenomenon, characterized either by control or affection, seems to be an important determinant of the personality disposition of young people, contributing to their propensity for social change.

These results lead to the conclusion that when social change is to be studied (or to be induced), social structural and economic factors should be examined together with, and as they affect, the familial and psychological factors. Only if this is done, then the total process would be adequately understood, for social change is a multi-faceted phenomenon.

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ÖZET

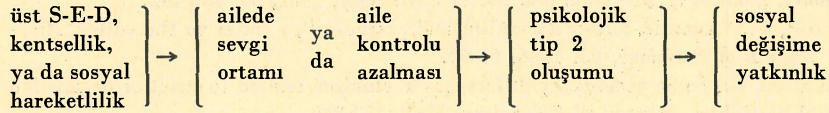
SOSYAL DEĞİŞME EĞİLİMLERİNİN BAZI PSİKOLOJİK YÖNLERİ

Bu araştırmada, İzmir şehir nüfusunun küçük fakat önemli bir parçası olan lise öğrencileri sosyal-psikolojik bir açıdan incelenmiştir. *Psikolojik, sosyal sınıf, ailesel ve isteksel* olmak üzere dört tür değişken ele alınmıştır. Bunlardan ailesel değişkenlerle diğerlerinin arasında bir ilişki bulunmuş ve aile değişkeninin diğerleri arasında aracı bir görevi olduğu görülmüştür. Bu durum, aile’de kontrol ve sevgi faktörlerinin, bir taraftan sosyal sınıf değişkenleri, diğer taraftan da psikolojik ve istek değişkenleri ile farklı ilişkilerinden ortaya çıkmıştır.

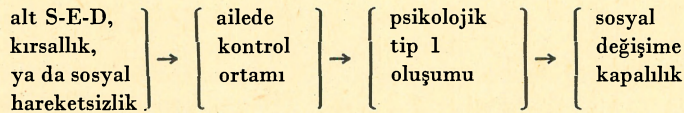
Kendi içinde olumlu ve birbiri ile olumsuz ilişkiler gösteren iki psikolojik değişken grubunun, anlamlı ve bileşik bütünler meydana getirdiği kabul edilmiştir. Tip 1 ve 2 olarak adlandırılan bu kişilik türlerinin ailesel ve isteksel değişkenlerle farklı ilişkileri görülmüştür. Yurtseverlik, kişisel gelecek hakkında iyimserlik, pekiştiricinin içten kontrolüne inanç, özerklik, başarı ve kuvvet yönelimleri ile nitelenmiş psikolojik “tip 2”, gelişime ve değişime açık olan genel bir davranışsal eğilimi simgelemektedir. Bu, değişime karşıt bir “kuvvet” olarak tanımlanabilecek “tip 1” in pasiflik, kadercilik anomi, dindarlık, kötümserlik ve otoriteriyenizmi ile zıt düşmektedir.

Tip 2’nin kontrolden çok sevgi nitelikleri gösteren ailelerde geliştiği ve bu tip aile ortamının da üst sosyal sınıflar için daha tipik olduğu bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, genel olarak kentsel ve sosyal değişim gösteren ailelerde (yani yukarı sosyal hareketlilik gösteren ve köyden kente göç edenlerde), sosyal değişim göstermeyen hareketsiz ailelere kıyasla daha az kontrol görülmüştür. Tip 1 için ise durum bunun tamamen tersidir. Bu bulgular, sosyal değişimde ailenin önemli psikolojik rolünü işaret etmektedir.

Özet olarak şöyle bir sonuç ortaya çıkmaktadır. Birbirleriyle nedensel ilişki içinde olan şu özellikler, sosyal değişimine yatkınlığı belirtmektedir: üst S-E-D (sosyo-ekonomik-düzye) mensubiyeti → ailede sevgi ortamı; kentsellik → ailede kontrol azlığı; (kırdan kente ve alt sosyal tabakadan üst sosyal tabakaya doğru) sosyal hareketlilik → aile kontrolünde azalma → tip 2 psikolojik değişkenleri. Bunun tersi bir durum ise, sosyal değişime yatkın olmamayı belirtir. Daha şematik bir şekilde göstermek gerekirse:



ya da



Bu çerçeve içinde elde edilen cinsiyet farklılıkları da ilginçtir. Kızlar, yüksek sosyo-ekonomik durumlarına karşın daha ziyade tip 1 e girmektedirler. Bu açıkça, onların aleyhine çalışan sosyal kuvvetlerin ve beklentilerin sonucudur. Araştırmamızdaki kızlar, daha çok erkeklere özgü bir nitelik olan özerklikten yoksun ve kısır bir döngü içinde görünmektedirler.

Böylece, bu çalışma sosyal değişimin temelindeki psikolojik dinamizmi bir dereceye kadar ele alabilmemizi sağlamıştır. Değişkenlerin birbiriyle olan ilişkilerine ait bir çok hipotez kurulmuş ve denenmiştir. Betimleyici bilgi vermekten öte, bu hipotezler, bize problemi kavramlaştırmada da yardımcı olmuştur. Veriler, 14 hipotezden 9 unu tamamiyle, 3 ünü kısmen doğrulamış, 1 ini ise desteklememiştir.