ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE AND EXPRESSION OF ANGER

Fidan ÖNEN

116627011

Prof. Dr. Hale BOLAK BORATAV

İSTANBUL

Understanding Women's Experience and Expression of Anger

Kadınların Öfke Deneyim ve İfadelerini Anlamak

Fidan Önen
116627011

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak Boratav

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Juri Üyesi: Prof. Dr. Diane Sunar

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bahar Tanyaş

Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : ...20.06.2019......

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: ....1.42..............

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)	Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)
1) Öfke Deneyimi	1) Anger Experience
2) Öfke İfadesi	2) Anger Expression
3) Kadınlık	3) Womanhood
4) Cinsiyet Rolleri	4) Gender Roles
5) Duygular	5) Emotions

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, I owe my thanks to my family. Especially, I am very grateful to my mother because she has always believed in me and encouraged me throughout my life and I always felt her endless support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to gain a comprehensive understanding of women's experience and expression of anger. More specifically, it focused on how women make sense of their anger and what their experiences are about expressing this feeling. Qualitative research method was used within the purpose of gathering more detailed information regarding women's subjective experience of and expression of anger. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight women participants whose ages were between 34 and 49. The data was analyzed with Thematic Analysis Method in order to focus on richness and complexity of women's experience. Four super-ordinate themes related to women's subjective anger experience were derived from the thematic analysis, which are, 1) anger as an undesirable feeling, 2) anger as a justifiable feeling, 3) anger as an experience embedded in the interpersonal context, 4) anger as a gendered experience. three super-ordinate themes related to women's anger expression are, 1) direct expression of anger, 2) indirect expression of anger, 3) unvoiced anger-self-silencing. The results of the current study, including the above-mentioned themes were discussed in the light of the previous literature.

Key words: Anger Experience, Anger Expression, Womanhood, Gender Roles, Emotions.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma kadınların öfke deneyim ve ifadelerini derinlemesine araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Özellikle, kadınların öfke duygusuna ilişkin deneyimlerini nasıl anlamlandırdıkları ve öfkeyi ifade etme konusundaki yaklaşımları odak alınmıştır. Bu konuyu derinlemesine araştırmak amacıyla nitel araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Yaşları 34 ile 49 arasında değişen sekiz kadın katılımcıyla yarı-yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Elde edilen niteliksel veri Tematik Analiz Metodu doğrultusunda analiz edilmiştir. Öznel öfke deneyimi ile ilgili dört ana temaya ulaşılmıştır: 1) istenmeyen bir duygu olarak öfke, 2) meşru bir duygu olarak öfke, 3) kişiler arası ilişkilere gömülü bir deneyim olarak öfke, 4) cinsiyete bağlı bir deneyim olarak öfke. Öfke ifadesi ile ilgili ise üç ana temaya ulaşılmıştır: 1) öfkenin doğrudan ifadesi, 2) öfkenin dolaylı yoldan İfadesi, 3) ifade edilmemiş öfke. Araştırmanın ortaya koymuş olduğu bu temalar öfke literatürü bağlamında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Öfke Deneyimi, Öfke İfadesi, Kadınlık, Cinsiyet Rolleri, Duygular.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to deeply investigate women's experience and expression of anger by utilizing Thematic Analysis Method to examine women's subjective experiences of anger for each case in different contexts that women find themselves in. It was also aimed to gain an understanding of how they make sense of expressing their anger. The purpose of in-depth interviews was to gather information on the factors that are related to women's anger and aggression; and to examine both social and psychological roots of these factors and their influences on women's sense making of their anger experience. In this regard, feminine socialization was one of the focuses of this study due to its inevitable effect on the development of women's self-concept, emotional world and more specifically, feeling of anger. In addition, psychological roots of women's anger were also an object of curiosity, and the study focused on how women's anger experience is related to the unconscious bond with family, especially with the mothers, and, how the unconscious representations about femininity in the mothers' mind were conveyed to the women in this relationship. A brief literature review on the topic of women's anger is presented below.

1.1. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF EMOTIONS

Emotions and how they are represented, experienced, expressed and controlled by humans have been one of the most important subjects of psychology for centuries. However, the research about this important subject is quite limited in Turkey (Bolak-Boratav, Sunar, & Ataca, 2011). The classical description of emotion emphasizes that it is a reaction to the specific triggering event and it comprises the state of being ready to act or react to something. The concept of emotion frequently involves related bodily feelings (like a heartbeat or trembling). The other thing that is emphasized about emotion is its hedonistic quality which refers to such qualities getting closer or withdrawal, pleasure or pain and feeling competent or fragile. (Shields, 2002).

Shields (2002) suggests that the concept defined as an emotion by human societies is an innate capacity which is shared by both humans and mammals. She emphasizes her belief that humans' capacity for emotion and the ability to express it stem from our evolutionary heritage. Additionally, she also stresses her belief that, owing to the cognitive capacity for symbolic representations (particularly, language) it is possible to change nearly everything about emotions. Humans have the capacity to think about their emotions and to be aware of their consciousness, which enables them to conceptualize their emotions and use them for the purpose of creating and preserving "culture".

As a part of a broad cross-cultural study on emotional display rules in 32 countries (Matsumoto, Yoo, Fontaine et al., 2008; 2009), Bolak-Boratav, Sunar, and Ataca conducted a study in Turkey, involving 235 university students. They investigated emotional display rules which might be defined as the set of rules that people use in the same society to determine their emotional expressions in reaction to social situations. One of the main conclusions of their study was that the most important determinant of emotional display rules is the nature of emotions rather than the feature of social situations. Happiness seems to be the most appropriate emotion to show. Surprise, sadness, anger, fear, contempt, and disgust were found to follow in this order. As it might be expected, anger, contempt and disgust are less acceptable ones to show among 7 emotions; however, expression of anger is more allowed in comparison to contempt and disgust due to its function of providing justice (Bolak-Boratav et al., 2011). These three emotions are described as a danger for the closeness of social relationships (Sunar, Bolak-Boratav, & Ataca, 2005) and especially anger, is less likely to be expressed towards someone with a higher status because its negative influence might be intensified (Bolak-Boratav et al., 2011).

In the study by Bolak-Boratav et al. (2001), it was revealed that women are more prone to express their happiness and sadness rather than other emotions. Relatedly, in another study men were found to be more prone to control their fear and surprise,

while women were found to be more prone to control their contempt and disgust and this last finding was explained by women's "collectivistic" tendencies (Matsumoto, Takeuchi, Andayani, Kouznetsova, & Krupp, 1998).

1.2. ANGER DEFINITION AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ANGER

One of the leading anger researchers, Spielberger (1999), defines anger as "a psychobiological emotional state or condition marked by subjective feelings that vary in intensity from mild irritation to intense fury and rage" (p. 1). It contains a subjective affect, cognition and physiological arousal. It could be a temporary emotional state or a personality trait (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell, & Crane, 1983). Anger is an emotion that is accompanied by significant physiological changes (e.g., facial warming, raised blood pressure, systemic vascular resistance) (Potegal & Stemmler, 2010). Anger arises from frustration, threats to one's independence, disrespect, unfair treatment or rule violation (Izard, 2010; Potegal & Stemmler, 2010), and hence, it triggers individuals to take an action against these (Bernardez, 1978). In the literature anger is defined as a tool both for the preservation of hierarchy in the social constructions (Portegal & Stemmler, 2010) and for making an objection to it if there is a threat of transgression or any attempt at subordination. Anger is a political emotion which warns humans that something is not right in their emotional environment (Gilligan, 1990).

As Thomas (1993) states, for many centuries anger was seen as a sin, a kind of vulnerability and a craziness which was averted or contained. However, anger is just another human emotion which does not have the same meaning as hostility, aggression or violence. Anger, hostility and aggression are terms that are often used interchangeably in the anger literature; and the definitions of these are typically unclear and paradoxical. Spielberger, Johnson, Russell, Crane, Jacobs and Worden

(1985) called these terms the "AHA! (Anger-Hostility-Aggression) Syndrome" with the purpose of underlining the complication in differentiating these terms from one another. Anger is not only at the center of this "syndrome" but also it is evaluated as a more elementary and crucial emotion in comparison to hostility (Spielberger et al., 1985). Anger and hostility might be considered feelings and attitudes; aggression, on the other hand, refers to directed destructive behavior towards others or objects (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell, & Crane, 1983).

Turkel (2002) states that the confusion arises from the strong association between anger and aggression in the literature may be undesrtood in a different way when anger is considered to be part of the relational context. Anger is elicited in the situation that an individual is not able to express her/his experience or feels not being heared or not being able to hear others. Anger is more likely to be released in the close affectional relationships between people, (Averill, 1983) such as family or intimate relationships (Lerner, 1985; Mace, 1976; Scherer & Tannenbaum, 1986). As Jones and Peacock (1992) indicate, teenagers are more likely to feel angry at their mothers, siblings, friends and teachers. Averill's (1983) research indicates that the majority of participants become angry with their loved ones, who are well-known and liked or acquaintances. Even though anger is frequently elicited in the interpersonal context it would not always include another person. As it has been referred above, a person might become angry when exposed to an unjust treatment which violates the person's belief system, her/his self or objects (Thomas, 1993).

1.3. EXPERIENCE AND EXPRESSION OF ANGER

Although many researchers share a mutual understanding regarding the features that anger stems from, a number of social scientists point out that anger is principally biological; evolved by humankind to enable adaptation towards altering survival circumstances and associated with some particular physiological, cognitive and social

processes (Izard, 2010). On the other hand, many other researchers put social processes at the center of understanding the experience and expression of anger (Averill, 1982; Hochschild, 1979). However, many contemporary researchers put an emphasis on the more extensive understanding of anger and psychological processes in general without ignoring their evolutionary, biological and social roots (Eagly, Eaton, Rose, Riger, & McHugh, 2012; Eagly & Wood, 2011).

1.3.1. Social Construction Theory

Averill (1983), a social constructivist, suggests that emotions are social constructions, hence they cannot be considered to be either biological characteristics or products that are generated by intrapsychic processes. In other words, emotions are whole person reactions; therefore, they cannot be described as a whole that is built by subclasses of reactions such as cognitive assessments, instrumental actions or one's subjective experiences. Although Averill (1993) does not refuse the role of biological and psychological standards on the person's way of organizing his/her emotions, he emphasizes that the essential sources of emotion elicitation and expression are social rules and cultural circumstances. From a social constructionist point of view, rules for experience and expression of anger have social roots similar to other emotions. In a social system, emotions either have a function or are at least expected to be associated with other behaviors which have a social function. He states that anger is one's conscious or unconscious socioculturally based response to something which is considered to be "wrong" by the person (Averill, 1982; Hochschild, 1979). Within the social constructivist understanding, social rules are the determinant of how one feels about a spesific situation or about a specific person and how these feelings are expressed.

1.3.2. Gender Socialization in Anger

When the earlier researches are reviewed, in spite of the crucial theoretical and clinically based considerations of Miller (1983), Bernardez (1987) and Lerner (1977) there is not enough empirical research on women's anger. Supporting Lerner's claim that women's anger is a "taboo", the literature about this taboo subject is quite silent in comparison to the broad literature on women's anxiety and depression (Thomas, 2005). Social constructionists, parallel to the feminist view, consider gender a social structure which has influence on social organizations, social relationships and any member of the society. This same structure provides circumstances in which men are encouraged to feel more powerful and privileged in contrast to women (Risman, 2004). Additionally, in the relational context, individual's stage or challenge gender as a social construction in daily life (Risman, 2004). Regardless of what kind of societies or social circumstances the individuals come from, gender is performed by women and men in the interactions with their families, work and different settings of their daily routine (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender might be resisted, challenged and might be transformed by a person by not behaving according to the expectations associated with existing gender rules (Deutsch, 2007).

Lerner (1980) draws attention to women's and men's different socialization inputs which originate from the teachings of one's family and one's cultural background throughout life. She points out that these socialization inputs are very distinct regarding anger and aggression and begin when parents learn their child's sex. Socialization inputs become the organizer of the parent's reactions related to the child's anger expressions, disaffection and protest. According to the contemporary feminist understanding, if the one expressing anger is a man, it is considered masculine; on the other hand, if it is a woman than it is considered unfeminine. To put it simply, feminist writers understand the women's dilemma in their anger experiences as an outcome of the feminine socialization process. Lerner (1980) states

that both clinical observations and research show that women mainly grow up in environments where their families do not provide them a place to express their anger freely. This manner also reduces women's ability for competition and self-assertive attitudes. A woman's socialization process develops a femininity stereotype by excluding potentially destructive parts in women. The definition of healthy woman involves dependency, submission, nonaggressive and noncompetitive characteristics; this definition, clearly, does not identify any space for a woman's assertive expression and aggressive behaviors, and therefore, increases the probability of inhibition of their anger related acts. In turn, contesting these inhibitions might result in questioning of the woman's "femininity" by society (Turkel, 2000).

1.3.3. Gender Differences in Anger

Stereotypically, men are thought to have a tendency to express their anger in a more direct and antagonistic manner in comparison to women (Brody, 1993; Brody & Hall, 2008; Fischer, 1993; Shields, 2002). On the other hand, several studies focusing on gender differences in anger show that, this stereotypical opinion is not always supported. Some studies, supporting the common stereotypical view, indicate that men have higher tendency to express their anger more directly and overtly than women. In contrast various studies point out that there is no meaningful difference between the two genders in anger expression. On the other hand, some other studies state totally opposite results which indicate that women tend to experience or express more anger in comparison to men (Fischer & Evers, 2011). Different arguments regarding gender and anger in the literature will be reviewed below.

Peplau and Gordon (1985) pointed to women's tendency to express their sadness and anxiety and men's distinct tendency to express the feeling of anger. Many studies showed that men are prone to express their anger aggressively. For example, Biaggio's (1980) study with college students indicated that male students had higher scores than female students on the anger expression scale. Some meta-analysis and

other studies' report that based on participants from the US men are more likely to engage in physical aggression rather than verbal aggression (Archer, 2000, 2000, 2004; Bettencourt & Miller, 1996; Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Frodi, Macaulay, & Thome, 1977; Hyde, 1984). On the other hand, many studies showed different results. In Funabiki, Bologna, Pepping, and FitzGerald's (1980) study with college students, they noted that, in comparison to men, women stated that they usually engage in more hostile statements. Especially, it was noted that depressed women are more likely to engage in verbal hostility in comparison to men who are depressed. In their clinical study with 230 patients who are clinically depressed, Frank, Carpenter, and Kurpfer (1988) concluded that women were more prone to express their anger and hostility than men. Spielberger, Johnson, Russell, Crane, Jacobs, and Worden's (1985) study including a broad sample of high school students, concluded that girls were more likely to express and less likely to suppress their anger in comparison to boys.

One of the gender differences has to do with roots and targets of becoming angry; for women anger derives from someone's behaviors that they are in a close relationship, whereas, men tend to become angry against a stranger's actions (Fehr, 1996; Lohr, Hamberger, & Bonge, 1988; Thomas, 1993). Mostly, women are prone to feel angry in reaction to men not to women (Brody, Lovas, & Hay, 1995; Harris, 1994; Richardson, Vandenberg, & Humphries, 1986); this intense anger towards men appears in reaction to men's humiliating behaviors toward women (Buss, 1989; El-Sheikh, Buckhalt, & Reiter, 2000; Frodi, 1977; Harris, 1991), and most likely in the context of romantic relationships (Fischer & Evers, 2011).

One of the traditional gender stereotypes is that women are better than men at releasing their anger. Nonetheless, findings suggest that there are not any gender differences in control of anger (Deffenbacher, Oetting, Lynch, Thwaites, Baker, Stark, Thacker, & Eiswerth-Cox 1996; Fischer, 1993; Kopper, 1993; Kopper, & Epperson, 1991; Spielberger et al., 1985). Other studies that are done with individuals in the US, the UK and Canada have found no gender differences in the subjective

experiences of anger (Archer, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Kring, 2000). Archer's (2004) research which is a meta-analysis regarding daily occurrences of aggression has not referred to distinct differences in subjective anger between men and women. Similarly, Thomas (1989), has indicated no gender differences in anger suppression or expression based on her study with middle-aged adults. Similarly, Greenglass and Julkunun (1989) and Thomas and Williams (1990) implied the absence of gender differences in anger suppression or anger expression scores. Additionally, many diary studies and daily logs (Barrett, Robin, Pietromonaco, & Eyssell, (1998), autobiographical studies (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Wotman, 1990; Fischer, & Roseman, 2007) and studies that measure self-reported anger intensity found no gender differences regarding anger (Allen & Haccoun, 1976; Averill, 1983).

As reviewed above, findings regarding gender difference in anger are inconsistent. Different conclusions in the literature might be a result of the different contexts that the studies focused on. One of the contextual variables that are considered responsible for gender differences associated with anger expression might be the target of the anger. Male friends were reported as a most frequent target of anger for women (Fischer & Evers, 2011). On the other hand, the other element of the inconsistent findings in the anger literature might originate from the existence of different ways to express anger. Various anger styles have been identified by researchers (Funkenstein, King, & Drolette, 1954; Jacobs, Phelps, & Rohrs, 1989; Mace, 1982; Spielberger et al. 1985; Wolf & Foshee 2003). Kopper and Epperson (1991) did not conclude any gender differences in anger expression; on the other hand, they found consistent relationships between sex role identity and anger expression. Fischer, Rodriguez-Mosquera, Van Vianen and Manstead (2004), in the cross-cultural study that involved participants with more egalitarian or more traditional gender role characteristics from both individualistic and collectivistic societies did not conclude any gender differences on the measure of subjective anger.

1.3.4. Gender Role, Gender Role Identity and Anger

The term "sex" refers to physical element of primary and secondary sex features; "gender", on the other hand, refers to a psychological and cultural construct. Gender is manifested in the social environment within the standards that are defined by culture as appropriate for someone's sex. "Gender identity" refers to someone's identification as a male or female (Shields, 2002).

According to Social Role Theory gender differences are thought to be a result of the unequal distribution of social roles among men and women (Eagly, 1987, 1997; Eagly & Wood, 1999). Differences in the social roles result in requirements of different social behaviors, abilities and psychological capacities. Because women are considered to be main caregivers and ones that are responsible for domestic requirements and men are assumed to be responsible for the role of breadwinner, both sides tend to develop gender-specific attitudes that are appropriate for their socially given roles.

Expectations of the existing social construct that shapes the individuals' different patterns related to gender characteristics are conveyed to younger generations through the socialization process (Eagly, 1987, 1997; Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000). The above-mentioned patterns consist of masculine agentic (instrumental) and feminine communal (expressive) features. The aggressive response, for instance, is stereotypically learned by boys, not girls, as a proper instrumental behavior for enacting in masculine roles. Masculine role expectations play an essential role in maintaining aggression as a part of an instrumental set of responses. Feminine role expectations, on the other hand, inhibit aggression as a part of an expressive set of responses (Archer, 2004). Status is also considered to make men prone to aggressive behaviors (Eagly, 1987). Archer and Lloyd (2002) state that women are more prone to engage in lower status occupations. Higher social status, on the other hand, is perceived as related to agentic features. Consistently with this perspective, distinct

inequality among women and men's status is considered to influence their future attitudes. Even though higher status is always associated with more aggression (especially physical aggression), pursuing and preserving high-status positions might facilitate engaging in verbal and indirect aggression. In some of the forms of masculine role (such as athletic and military roles), the expectation may be that broader range of aggressive and violent behaviors become justifiable (Archer, 2004).

In short, it is a common belief that the girls and boys are treated differently when it comes to aggression by their parents, peers and teachers; boys are more likely to be encouraged and girls are more likely to be inhibited (Archer, 2004). According to Social Learning Theory, sex differences in aggression originally are thought to be small; but, as a result of the cumulative influence of socialization process these differences increase in time (Tremblay, Japel, Perusse, Boivin, Zoccolillo, Montplaisir, & McDuff, 1999).

Parallel to the importance of the gender role socialization that is reviewed above, Kopper and Epperson (1991) indicated the significance of gender role identification in women's anger. In their research involving a wide range of female and male college students, they investigated the relationship between gender, sex role identity and the expression of anger. They concluded that a relationship between sex role identity and expression of anger exists; but, they did not find a significant difference between gender and anger expression. The results of this study state that individuals with a masculine sex role are prone to more anger. Also, it is found that individuals with the masculine gender role are more prone to express their anger openly towards others or other things in their environment and they are less prone to control and modulate their anger. On the other hand, individuals with a feminine gender role are less likely to express their anger outwardly. The type that is least likely to express anger outwardly is found to be individuals with the feminine gender roles. Individuals with feminine gender roles are the most prone to control their anger. Remarkably,

there is no difference between masculine and feminine gender roles regarding anger suppression.

Kopper investigated the relationship of anger experience and expression with respect to gender, gender role socialization, depression and different aspects of mental functioning and she hypothesized that gender-related matters might be significantly related to different aspects of mental functioning. The results showed that individuals with feminine gender role have the highest scores on Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) indicating a mild range of depression. Masculine individuals, on the other hand, have the lowest scores, indicating a normal range of depression. Kopper's (1993) study indicates the important influence of sex role identification and emphasizes it as a significant issue in relation with mental health assessment and counseling. Doing an assessment and addressing a client's sex role might be significantly associated to anger, aggression and managing hostility and related to aspects of mental functioning, such as depression.

Miller and Striver (1997) pay attention to women's socialization process and emphasize that women learn to grow in connection, in contrast to male socialization process which includes the encouragement of "doing something alone". Traditionally, while men learn to suppress their emotions except anger, women learn to become aware of and vent their other emotions rather than anger. Therefore, the communication difficulties that emerge between women and men are not unexpected. For men, their feelings which are not verbalized and perhaps are not even consciously felt bringing about difficulty in intimacy and commitment in relationships.

1.4. WOMEN, ANGER AND AGGRESSION

It is prevalently considered that one of the outcomes of women's socialization is expressing all feelings openly except anger; whereas, one of the outcomes of men's socialization is suppressing many feelings except anger (Sharkin, 1993). Miller and

Striver (1997) state that the only feeling that the "good girls" cannot express directly is anger. Many women are more likely to say that they are hurt, not angry. From the very young ages they have learned that behaving aggressively and being assertive regarding their own needs and desires result in unpleasantness. This learning induces a failure to recognize and understand their own needs. Unsurprisingly, an action that serves women's own needs becomes perceived as a threat to self-esteem, even though an action that serves others' needs leads to increased self-esteem. Gilligan (1990), based on her research including 11-12 year-old adolescent girls, states that at young ages, women learn to develop the image of femininity and importance of gaining others' approval, and thus, the suppression of healthy anger. This gender-based learning process restricts women in developing experience and competence about dealing with their anger; in time, the irrational belief that refers to unfeminine and destructive features of women's anger is strengthened. According to Miller (1983), traditionally, women have been taught that they nearly feel no anger and even that they do not have any need for it. One thing is considered an exception to this; even though women cannot oppose something for themselves, they can do it in defense of another person such as their children.

Thomas, in 15 years of research regarding women's anger with hundreds of women from the US, France and Turkey, indicated that, for women, anger is a complicated and disturbing emotion. When they are asked to talk about their anger, they frequently mention their feelings of hurt, sadness, disappointment and some other distressing feelings that are interwoven with the anger in their experiences. Eatough and colleagues also stated that anger is seldom experienced in a pure sense by women, and is mostly accompanied by other feelings such as fear and guilt. In their study, women described the feeling of guilt following their angry outbursts and sense of regret about their anger-related reactions (Eatough, Smith, & Shaw, 2008). Thomas (2005) stated that women frequently wonder whether they feel anger or hurt and they are rarely sure that the thing they feel is anger. It is even so for the

conditions in which others violate their rights or values. Also, it was observed that women are prone to use words which minimize what they feel, for example, "feeling upset" or "feeling kind of angry".

As was mentioned earlier, the interpersonal context is the main area that influences women's anger experience and expression (Jack, 1991, 1999a, 1999b). A study including university undergraduates that focused on anger-related interpersonal scripts in intimate relationships, Fehr, Baldwin, Collins, Patterson and Benditt (1999) concluded that women are likely to respond to interpersonal incidents with more anger. They presume that women's certain tendency to become angry in the relational context might refer to their distinct sensitivity to the quality of their intimate relationships and not surprisingly, it might refer to their greater desire to obtain intimacy in the close relationships and probably their tendency to develop enhanced self-esteem from the interpersonal context.

Thomas (2005) also drew attention to the interpersonal ground of women's anger. She emphasized that women's anger is elicited in their relationships with others where women's resources or strength are refused; when others treat them unfairly or behave irresponsibly towards them. People who arouse their anger are mostly those with whom women are in an intimate relationship rather than strangers. This might provide an explanation for the suggestion that anger and some other feelings such as hurt are frequently interwoven in women's anger experience. Van Daalen-Smith's (2008) qualitative study including school nurses concluded similar results. She found that one of the distinct sources of women's anger is unjust treatment. Women, in this study, narrated many situations in which they felt that they were not heard or taken seriously. Their narratives illustrated their sense of powerlessness in their relationships with others; a common anger-related experience of young women was about being treated unimportantly and being unappreciated even when they are listened by others.

Van Daalen-Smith (2008) emphasized that expressing anger brings about unpleasant consequences for women. It might result in eventual self-silencing because anger is more likely to be experienced as a threat to their close relationships by women. In other words, because anger is perceived as a threat to their relationships they prefer to suppress their anger or stay silent instead of losing their relationships, which means that they submit to pressure of being acceptable and they give up the self in the purpose service protecting their relationships. To put it simply, in terms of the consequences, the matter of anger expression is a double-edged situation for women; however, it inevitably results in a loss. Expressing anger might cause loss of their relationships; self-silencing, on the other hand, is more likely to cause disconnection with their emotion and authentic selves. Van Daalen-Smith (2008) used the metaphor of "chameleon" to describe young women's anger experience. Women learn to be highly adaptive by silencing, avoiding, deflecting and suppressing their authentic selves in order to prevent any emotional and physical harm.

In the light of the descriptive analysis of semi-structured interviews including 60 women, Jack (2001) revealed that the most significant determinant of the ways that women choose to express themselves is their anticipations about others' reactions towards their angry acts. Whether they bring their anger into the relationship or keep it out is described by women as the main issue regarding their anger expression. Below, the prevalent ways of women's expression, its influencing factors and consequences will be presented in detail.

1.4.1. Forms of Women's Anger Expression

1.4.1.1. Direct Expression of Anger

One of the ways for women to express their anger is direct expression. Jack (2001) identified that some women bring anger into their relationships positively and

directly. Women express themselves with the purpose of removing the obstacles for intimacy and/or correcting inequality or violation in their relationships. This way includes women's expressing their feelings and ideas in a constructive conversation. According to many women's narratives in Jack's (2001) study, being able to express anger positively is associated with both feeling securely attached and the existence of relative equality in the hierarchy of social structure with others who provoke anger in women. Women stated that expressing their anger directly within relationships has an effect on their positive self-regard and feeling of well-being, additionally, doing that seems to provide a positive effect on their interpersonal relationships. Sense of empowerment was also reported by these women. In line with this, in the study of Thomas, Smucker, and Droppleman (1998), even though women did not mention it frequently in their narratives, a number of them described a few situations in which they expressed their anger overtly and felt powerful due to the possibility of recovering damaged reciprocity in their intimate relationships.

Another anger related pattern in women is the aggressive expression that ranges from physical to verbal aggression. Whether they use verbal or physical aggression, their purpose is more likely to be defined as hurting, displacing or retaliating against someone. When women bring their anger into the relationship in an aggressive way, they are less likely to struggle to communicate or find a solution; instead, the anger seems to arise from feeling disconnected to others and venting anger aggressively plays a role in furthering disconnection in relationships (Jack, 2001). Eatough et al. (2008), based on their qualitative phenomenological investigation on women's anger and aggression, concluded that many women reported that they had acted aggressively in their lives even though it occurs less often.

The physical aggression that women engage in mostly include slaps, punches, kicks or throwing things at someone (e.g., plates). In the study of Eatough et al. (2008) women stated that they behave physically aggressive to protect others; as a provocation; because of losing their control and for the purpose of getting revenge. In

the direct expression forms of anger, verbal aggression is most frequently used by women and they see it almost as a part of their ordinary way of communication; for example, shouting is not considered aggressive behavior by them. Women's direct expression more likely includes swearing, raising voice and using words with the intention of hurting others. Some of the studies illustrated that women are more likely to behave aggressively in close relationships (Averil, 1983; Eatough et al., 2008). As Eatough and her colleagues emphasized, in the light of their analysis, verbal aggression is considered quite usual in the interaction with significant others by women.

1.4.1.2. Indirect Expression of Anger

The previous literature on women's anger illustrates that women are more likely to keep their anger inside and/or vent it in an indirect way (Cox, Stabb, & Brucker, 1999; Cox, Van Velsor, & Hulgus, 2004; Thomas, Smucker, & Droppleman, 1998; Jack, 2001; Jaramillo-Sierra, Allen, & Kaestle, 2017). Jack (2001) used the statement of "masking anger" to identify the indirect form of anger expression and illustrated that in this form women aimed to carry their anger into the relationship, but they keep it covert and unspoken. Doing that provides women an opportunity to deny their anger when they face its consequences; in other words, it is a struggle to prevent the possible unfavorable consequences such as revenge. Remarkably, women were aware of the covert anger in their indirect expression, and they emphasized that using this way is related to averting unpleasant consequences in the interpersonal area, or, it resulted from the learned patterns that they experienced in their nuclear family.

Jack (2001) suggested four ways that women use to mask their anger: quiet sabotage, hostile distance, deflection and loss of control. In the quiet sabotage women act as if they do not feel angry because they do not want to behave against gender-based expectations, or to keep themselves safe in a threatening relationship. On the other hand, they resist these gender-related expectations via sabotaging behaviors.

For example, they forget to do something that is requested from them. Because women's anger remains unseen and refused, the relational dilemmas that they experience are more likely to continue. In the hostile distance, women bring anger into their relationships by way of cutting off the communication, sulking and so forth. Distancing lets women convey their disagreement to the relationships but it also enables to deny their anger and prevents unfavorable relational consequences.

In deflection, women convey their anger into a relationship that is not the one that elicits anger. This type of behavior is related to power difference and feeling of fear. One example might be that a woman feels angry with her partner and she vents her anger out on less powerful people such as her children in order to avoid negative outcomes. In addition, more often than not, women deflect their anger from the person whom they are angry with to themselves when they are afraid to vent their anger. As it might be understood, for women, being their own anger's target is safer than direct expression due to its interpersonal costs. Finally, in the loss of control, even though women have a broader range of angry outbursts including yelling, slamming doors and throwing things, they do not direct all these to a person whom they feel angry with, but they exhibit these in the presence of that person and disclaim the responsibility for anger by asserting that they lost their control such as saying, "It was because of PMS". In Jack's (2001) study, because this type of indirect expression (as the others) is not able to solve the relational problem which provokes anger in women, they seldom expressed that they feel positive about their angry outbursts which they claim were triggered by non-relational reasons.

The other act that women identified as a way of losing their self-control is crying. Women transmit their anger into their relationships indirectly by tears and this act is perceived by others as that they are out of control. Crying enables women to attribute the reason for their loss of control to other things rather than anger such as hurt, if they are afraid of having unpleasant interpersonal outcomes. Crying seems to provide a quite important solution for women; it is a much safer way to express their anger

because when they cry they do not offend others or jeopardize their relationships, do not behave against the gender-based expectations involving the notion of how women should be agreeable in the interpersonal area (Jack, 2001).

Even though crying is one of the fundamental factors of women's anger experience and an intense form of expressing emotions, surprisingly, adult crying has not been studied enough by psychologists so far (Vingerhoets, Cornelius, Van Heck & Becht, 2000; Vingerhoets & Cornelius, 2001). Crying has been considered an expression of helplessness and powerlessness for women by most authors (Vingerhoets & Scheirs, 2000; William & Morris, 1996). Eatough et al. (2008) stated that, for women, being incapable of expressing anger, feeling overwhelmed by their anger, and the feeling of humiliation bring about the feeling of powerlessness. Women frequently feel angry and cry because of conflictual issues in their relationships. More specifically feeling incompetent and being refused, loneliness and feeling frustrated are the factors that trigger anger and bring along tears. Also, for many women crying is an effort to control their anger and a hope for relief.

1.4.1.3. Self-silencing – Built-up Anger

As was mentioned earlier, previous literature on women's anger illustrates that keeping anger inside, along with indirect ways of expressing anger, is one of the prevalent ways that women manage their anger (Cox et al., 1999; Thomas, Smucker, & Droppleman, 1998; Jack, 2001; Jaramillo-Sierra et al., 2017).

Some women consciously choose not to express their anger when they face anger inducing matters in their relationships. They keep their anger out of their relationships but they clearly know that they feel angry and use this anger with the purpose of achieving a goal and to be able to take a useful action (e.g., a woman who escaped from an abusive partner defined using her anger that arose from being abused to get a restraining order from the courthouse). Jack (2001) called this pattern of behavior "conscious and constructive" way of keeping the anger out of the

interpersonal relationships. Because expressing anger openly might bring about physical and economic consequences, some women are more likely to choose to act in this safer way and they illustrate that they feel positive regarding using their anger to set a target and take a step to achieve these (Jack, 2001).

Some women portrayed explosive reactions that they engage in out of others' presence such as yelling, throwing objects, slamming doors and crying. In Jack's (2001) study some women's narratives illustrated that being afraid of others' reactions and internalized gender-based expectations regarding women's anger impel women to express their anger only when they are alone. The experience of using this pattern of behavior is considered a frustration by women which results from being unable to express their anger to its actual elicitor.

Several qualitative-based researches regarding women's anger drew attention to the link between gender-related roles and women's pattern of embedding anger in their body (Jaramillo-Sierra et al., 2017). Thomas and her colleagues (1998) in a phenomenological study including 29 Caucasian women between the ages of 21 and 66, having a wide range of occupations, found that one of the major themes was keeping anger inside instead of expressing it overtly. Many other researchers also emphasized anger storage as a strategy that women use to restrain any possibility of anger expression (Cox et al., 1999). Thomas et al. (1998) indicated that unspoken anger results in women's sense of powerlessness and it is associated with damaging their dignity; women generally reported unpleasant feelings about themselves when suppressing anger such as feeling "small" and "diminished". The other crucial observation relates to angry explosions following women's unspoken, built-up anger. Women identified explosive behaviors such as shouting at the top of their voice, hitting or swearing and they define what happened as nearly a dissociative moment in which they experience their angry outburst as if it comes from a "not self".

More often than not, these explosions result in catastrophic consequences for women; their intimates rarely take women's valid complaints seriously because they were expressed in a "hysterical" manner. Therefore, women's angry outbursts are not able to change others' anger inducing behaviors; moreover, as the narratives revealed, women feel an irresistible urge to undo their uncontrolled behavior by apologies and self-accusation. It is so because in these situations women's explosive anger interferes with their learned role of protecting harmony in the family and causes fear of being abandoned by significant others, so it should be sent to a place where it was hidden before. Unsurprisingly, fear of losing intimacy and love are quite compelling obstacles for women's anger expression (Thomas et al., 1998). One of the main findings of Thomas et al. (1998, 2005) was about women's restraining, suppressing and thinking about their anger to solve interpersonal conflict. It is indicated that passive coping strategies such as escape and denial result in hostile feelings and depression-related symptoms; more active coping strategies, on the other hand, are thought to bring about more positive consequences for women's mental health. The associations between women's anger and health will be presented in the following part in detail.

1.4.2. Anger Expression and Mental Health

Cox, Van Velsor and Hulgus (2004) investigated the relationships between women's anger expression and mental health symptoms in a study including hundreds of college female students who were from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. They concluded that many of the women were prone to anger storage and the stored anger was found to be significantly associated with women's anxiety level. Cox et al., in the Anger Diversion Model (1999), suggested that one of the patterns that women use to handle their anger is "internalization" which refers to women taking the responsibility for any situations in which their anger is elicited, and they struggle to suppress or deny their anger. In the internalization process women

also have ruminations, feel guilty about their angry reactions, or punish themselves for it. In addition, Cox et al. (2004) characterized internalization as a strategy for dealing with anger. The other important finding from the study was that women who are more prone to internalize their anger experience more somatic symptoms as well.

In parallel with findings of Cox et al. (2004), other authors also remarked on the associations between anger suppression and women's somatization (Liu, Cohen, Schulz, & Waldinger, 2011) and depressive symptoms (Rude, Chrisman, Burton Denmark, & Maestas, 2012; Kopper, & Epperson, 1991; Munhall, 1994). Additionally, women who contain and avoid their anger are at higher risk for various physical diseases such as cancer and cardiovascular problems (Harburg, Julius, Kaciroti, Gleiberman, & Schork, 2003). Even though women's anger is the probable source of their physical (e.g., blood pressure) and psychological health (e.g., depression), and has a crucial effect on their social life and close relationships (Thomas, 2005), research on women's anger experience and expression is limited (Jaramillo-Sierra et al., 2017).

Thomas, in more than 15 years of research regarding women's anger concluded that Turkish women are more anxious for many reasons compared to American women; they report distinct tendency to anger, high level of stress, increased levels of depressive symptoms and higher anger-related somatic reactions. Thomas suggested that all of these might be explained by greater oppression that women face in Turkish society. While middle-class and married women are allowed to easily express their anger towards female friends or lower-class housemaids, they are totally inhibited from expressing anger to higher-status husbands (Thomas & Atakan, 1993; Thomas 2005). It was also stated that women's intense use of somatic anger expression might be explained by cultural characteristics of Turkish society. As women's overt complaints about their physical symptoms or somatizations are socially acceptable in Turkey, women are easily able to complain about an anger-induced headache, irritability and tension, particularly to their female friends (Thomas, 2005).

1.4.3. Psychodynamics of Women's Anger Experience

Lerner (1980), a therapist who wrote about the intrapsychic determinants of women's anger in the light of her years of clinical work with adult female clients, emphasized the importance of understanding the fear of female anger which is shared by both women and men. From a baby's and young child's experience, mother is the one who has all the authority and power. Through the child's socialization process, mother as the main caregiver, is responsible for not only satisfying child's impulses but also forbidding the expression of these impulses. For a young child, all the authority and control are in the woman's hand. Mothers and other women (such as babysitters and teachers) are the providers of rewards, punishments and narcissistic injuries that are part of the socialization process of small children. Therefore, both adult women's and men's fear of female anger and power might be considered inevitable. It is not easy to clearly understand the greater fear and need for the prohibition of women's anger because, from past to present, women have been considered the "weaker sex" and it has been emphasized that they have needed to be protected by powerful men. However, as mentioned, all men were in the arms of physically bigger and stronger women at one time. The little boys' early vulnerability and dependency generates deep love and, at the same time, irrational fears regarding women's power and rage. This initial dependency of young boys on their mothers is the primary source of a large number of men's later need for controlling and devaluating women. Thereby, many men are prone to disown this familiar early dependency by trying to transform their wives into their daughters who are vulnerable and need to be protected (Turkel, 1992).

Women's irrational fears about their own destructiveness and power are embedded in the feminine strategies involving the behavior of "letting the man win" which refers to women pretending that the men are the boss and refusal of their own anger or competition against men. Because shared parenting has become more

widespread lately, it might be expected that the irrational fears of women's anger and aggression shared by both women and men may dissipate over time (Turkel, 2000).

Bernardez is the first theorist who attempted to critically explain the intrapsychic and cultural elements regarding the difficulties of women's anger experience and expression (Lerner, 1980). Like many others, she also emphasized that in the socialization process, boys are encouraged to experience power and show aggression; girls, on the other hand, are encouraged to be agreeable and cooperative. Despite individual exceptions, both women and men unconsciously conform to these gender-based expectations and, tend to behave in a socially acceptable way. Although women and men are not aware of it, man is the chosen sex to discharge the anger that woman experiences but cannot vent because of being inhibited from it by society (Bernardez, 1996). In this gender role division, women are expected to suppress and introject their anger. Many women react to angry men by attempting to reduce their anger and soothe them. In the relational dynamics between women and men, women's ability to soothe "the angry man" has considerable significance. In parallel with this, unconsciously, women play an important role in expressing many emotions for men that they feel but are inhibited from expressing them, for example, grieving for separation and loss, feeling of vulnerability, hurt and shame. Women are more likely to cry and they are rarely concerned about being considered weak or stupid; they also react more empathetically to others' sorrow in comparison to men (Turkel, 2000).

Lerner (1980) emphasized the importance of separation-individuation difficulties in understanding women's anger experience. It was thought that girls experience more difficulty in separating from their mothers than boys. First of all, girls have similar anatomy with mothers and mother is the person that girls ought to both separate from and identify with. For boys, it is different and easier because they are not similar to their mothers anatomically and society encourages them to declare their differences. She discussed the dynamics of hurt which is mostly interwoven with

anger in women's experience. She stated that feeling angry is associated with one's sense of being separate, unlike and alone. Expressing anger is a signal of differences, being separate from a person with whom we are in a relationship. A woman, while she is confronting someone with anger does not feel like one's wife, one's daughter or a child's mother anymore; she is independent and all alone at that moment (Lerner, 1980).

As Bernardez (1978) reflected, being angry at someone creates a feeling of loneliness and thus, results in a person being separated from the elicitor of the anger for a while. In such moments women feel terrified because of losing connection and their anger expressions are mostly accompanied by crying, feeling of guilt and sadness. Thereby, anger is compromised or totally invalidated by these. Women's feeling of hurt, regardless of how it is expressed (by crying, being critical to themselves, etc.), is distinctly opposite to the anger experience. A woman who switches from anger to hurt and crying in the middle of her angry opposition is withdrawing from her assertion of being independent and alone. Feeling hurt and showing it to others serves to keep the object closer and to mark the significance of this object (she or he) for a woman. The feeling of hurt involves the relational "we" instead of the independent "I", contrary to the feeling of anger. Put simply, because of the unconscious fear of losing the love object, women experience difficulty with understanding the feelings of being separate and alone which are embedded in the feeling of anger. Thereby, expressing anger triggers this fear quickly and women try to take back their behaviors and the love object, by tears, apologies, expressing feeling of hurt or experiencing depressive symptoms. For some women, being alone is unsafe because it threatens the unconscious tie with the mother who is deeply vulnerable to rejection and has difficulty accepting her daughter's separation and having autonomy. Therefore, this unconscious tie is maintained by the way of the daughter's staying as the unseparated and hurt child. In conclusion, the main dilemma about women's anger is their difficulty in gaining independence and having

autonomy from their mothers. Lerner emphasized one of the old saying, "A son is a son till gets a wife; a daughter is your daughter for all her life." (p. 141). This saying strikingly exhibits the deep intimacy between mothers and daughters, but it also points up the difficulty for girls in achieving autonomy from their mothers (Lerner, 1980).

Fişek (2018) stated her point of view about the difference between Western and Eastern perspectives in understanding individuals. She emphasized that the understanding of Eastern perspective focuses on the psyche and inner world of the individuals. Besides, maybe more than these, it focuses on the social structure and cultural features in one's psychological development. On the other hand, the Western perspective emphasizes the importance of the intrapsychic dynamics rather than social and cultural features in understanding individual's development. The role differences that result from the familial hierarchy are less likely considered by Western perspective. Briefly, while Western perspective focuses on the individual the Eastern perspective focuses on the patterns that are transmitted to the individuals who live in that society. Fişek mentioned a psychological organization called "familial self". This psychological organization refers to one's functioning in relation to hierarchical closeness relationships that is created by family, affinity, community and extended society (Roland, 1988, p. 18). Fişek (2003), stated that, as it might be expected, in Turkey, individuals who fit the traditional structure are more likely to tend to have a familial self. Also, in parallel to this tendency, s/he is more likely to relate others based on closeness that is provided his/her by social connections. On the other hand, in the Western societies, individuals become closer to each other through their personal self and autonomy.

Fişek (2003) emphasized that in Turkey, both gender-related hierarchy and intergenerational hierarchy have somewhat weakened over time, on the other hand, the protection and caring of these higher in the hierarchy and closeness continue to remain strong in the family structure. Change seems to constitute different relational

styles in individuals' personal development than before. Above-mentioned changed factors that Fişek emphasized naturally bring about a change about familial self; while individuals still have the rights and obligations related to their roles in the family, on the other hand, they are also more likely to own their desires as individuals and also feel close to their families through respect and commitment. Fişek defines the self which is developed after mentioned social changes as a familial self that becomes close through commitment but individualize as well.

Fişek mentioned the representations that came from the hierarchical relational patterns as "macro representations". These representations are defines as conscious and open to question due to they are coded in the explicit memory and they can be verbalized. On the other hand, "micro representations" that are related to closeness dimension and refer to basic, nonverbal and implicit existential expectations and obligations. For this reason, these are difficult to question for individuals. Thereby, while individuals who have individualized familial self pattern are able to question and change the explicitly learned macro representations, on the other hand, they have difficulty to disclose and question the micro nonverbally internalized relational representations. Therefore, even they challenge the hierarchical rules it might be difficult to realize and question the expectations about closeness. As a result, it is possible to mention about a plurality that refers to an affective familial structure based one symbiosis-reciprocity and also involves more conscious decisions. Fişek stated that this type of self be inevitably multifaceted fragmental and may contain contrasts and conflicts This argument seems to explain why individuals in Turkey experience inner conflicts between the desires and struggles of being separated, autonomous and of keeping close to others.

Traditionally, in Turkey, individuation in familial self is a fact that develops in time and it is predicted by social definitions and socially and culturally constructed structural input as well. Especially, this structural input takes its source form the balance between the hierarchy and closeness in the family. As a result, In Turkey, as

in other Eastern countries, a child develops a relational sense of self based on symbiosis-reciprocity. This sense of self involves changeable attitudes and behaviors depending on the different hierarchical relationships and social context; it is also permeable when the closeness comes into the forefront in the relationship.

Fişek put and emphasis on the gender as an unquestionable hierarchical factor of separation in Turkey. As Lerner, she also drew attention to the importance of this factor in male member of society. She stated that even the boys have very close and satisfying bonds with their mother, from the very beginning, it is certainly stressed that he is a boy and he is different from his mother. Thus, for boys, the dynamic of symbiosis-reciprocity involves being separated at the same time.

METHOD

2.1. Participants and Sampling Method

The criteria of participation in this study was being between 30 and 50 years of age middle-class, without headscarf, with a high-school or bachelor's degree. The important factors that was taken into consideration in the criteria determination process were that first, it was aimed to reach women with more life, working and relationship experience in order to gain more comprehensive understanding; for this reason, the age criteria was set as between 30 and 50. Second, it was aimed to exclude the effect of the religious training in woman's socialization as much as possible; for this purpose, "without headscarf" criterion was determined because wearing headscarf might be considered a sign for conservatism.

Snowball sampling method was used to reach participants. Following the Istanbul Bilgi University Ethics Committee's approval, study was announced to the primary investigator's close environment. By the guidance of people in the close environment, participants who were thought to meet the criteria of the study were invited to participate. Initially, a pilot interview was conducted for the preparation of the study, with the purpose of finalizing the interview questions. 8 female participants who live in various areas of Istanbul were interviewed. Age range of the participants was between 34 and 49 years; four were high school graduates and the other four had a bachelor's degree. Six women had been working in a full-time job. Half of the participants were married and they had at least one child. Three women were divorced and one of them was remarried; these women had children from their previous marriages. Three of the participants reported no current romantic relationship. The participants are identified with randomly assigned names to ensure confidentiality (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Information about Participants

Participant	Age	Education	Marital Status
Gamze	44	High School	Divorced
Yeliz	45	High School	Divorced
Selda	35	University	Single
Aylin	42	High School	Married
Beyza	36	University	Single
Sinem	34	University	Married
Nermin	49	University	Married
Oya	40	High School	Married

2.2. Procedure

Semi-structured interviews were used for the data collection process. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in participants' houses and workplaces, except for one which was carried out in the cafe with relatively proper conditions, because it was not possible to arrange an appointment in the participant's house or any other private place. All interview questions (see APPENDIX 2) were asked to each participant. The informed consent (see APPENDIX 1) was given before the interview to assure voluntariness. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes to 60 minutes. Interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants and then transcribed by the primary investigator. For ensuring confidentiality, identifying information of the participants was removed.

2.3. Data Analysis

Thematic Analysis Method was used to analyze the data, with the purpose of evaluating participants' subjective experience of anger. This method was defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) as "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data." (p. 79). Due to its flexibility on being used with any theory the researcher chooses, thematic analysis method provides rich, detailed and complex description of the data.

During the data collection process, the primary researcher took notes that reflected her thoughts and feeling after each interview. MAXQDA Software was used for coding interviews and generating the themes. The transcripts were read several times at the beginning of coding process with the purpose of gain an understanding of details considering the initial reflections of primary investigator. The general categories of information were specified and open codes were formed. Some segments emerged based on the first couple of transcriptions; because some of these were not referred by other participants they never turned into a code. At the end of this process cross case analysis was done in the purpose of comparing and associating emerging themes. Throughout re-reading process of the transcriptions super-ordinate themes and sub-ordinate themes were revised discussing by the research team. In this process the research team helped to generate more representative themes.

2.4. Trustworthiness of the Study

With the purpose of increasing trustworthiness of the study, all interviews were recorded and notes were taken in order to gather detailed information. In the coding process, another investigator re-coded the data and the initial codes and themes were discussed and reformed until the super-ordinate and sub-ordinate themes were generated with consensus by the research team that involves primary investigator and supervisors of the research, to make the research reliable.

2.5. The Researcher's Point of View

As a primary investigator of this study I have always had special interest in emotions, how they are elicited, experienced, regulated and expressed. I have always been curious about how gender socialization process influences individuals' sense making of their emotions. More specifically, my special curiosity on women's anger experience emerged and intensified in time. As a female member of the society we live in, I have always wondered about women's anger-related experiences and the way we express or avoid their feeling of anger. I have observed many women who define themselves very "emotional" and easily cry in public when feel upset about something but also define themselves proudly as a woman "without anger". I have been curious about how anger is separated from other emotions for some women and the consequences of this separation, where the avoided anger goes, and if it does not go anywhere, what happens to it.

On the other hand, I have observed that some other women have different attitudes about their anger and deal with it differently. My observations based on my nuclear family and close environment increased my curiosity and impelled me to deeply focus the psychological and social roots of this complicated emotion by way of investigating the unique experiences of the homogenous group of women in order to gain a better understanding on this subject.

RESULTS

Four super-ordinate themes derived from the thematic analysis related to women's subjective anger experience; *these are, anger as an undesirable feeling, anger as a justifiable feeling, anger as an experience embedded in the interpersonal context, anger as a gendered experience.* Three super-ordinate themes derived related to women's anger expression; these are, *direct expression of anger, indirect expression of anger and unvoiced anger-self-silencing.* The super-ordinate themes are frequent in half or more of the participants and some of the sub-ordinate themes are more unique to the smaller number of people. In the following part, the super-ordinate themes and related sub-ordinate themes will be explained in-depth with the relevant examples of excerpts from the interviews.

3.1. SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE OF ANGER

One of the main goals of this study is to deeply investigate and understand women's subjective experience of anger by focusing on their sense making process. Super-ordinate themes that were identified are, *anger as an undesirable feeling, anger as a justifiable feeling, anger as an experience embedded in the interpersonal context, anger as a gendered experience.* Super-ordinate themes and related sub-ordinate themes will be presented below.

3.1.1. Anger as an Undesirable Feeling

First sub-ordinate theme represents unpleasant associations of anger in women's mind and their tendency to keep this unpleasant feeling away consciously or unconsciously. Remarkably, it is seen that women are more likely to perceive the statement of "anger expression" as a direct physical aggression and/or verbal aggression at least:

33

"Inv: Well, what do you think about men's expression of their anger?

I think it is silly, I mean, eventually, I have always believed the equality of women and men; for sure, inevitably, men are physically stronger but my idea is like that; the biggest thing a man can do to me is to beat me but he will never have the second opportunity to do that, my husband and my friends know that.

"Inv: Then, you mean physical violence as a men's anger expression, right? Or, are there any other expressions of anger?

No, I mean physical violence. I mean, if I think about men's physical power, what else they can do? The biggest thing they can do is to commit physical violence" *(Oya)*

"As I said, the man learned this from his family and then he applies this as he experienced. Or, maybe his later social environments pushed him and he became a violent person. I mean, as to me, men's showing anger is wrong, women's showing is wrong too, yes, this manner is totally wrong.

Inv: I mean, the thing you mean by "showing" is kind of physical…(interrupted).

Yes, I meant physical violence." *(Aylin)*

"Inv: You just mentioned about men, I wonder, what do you evaluate the men's expressing their anger?

I think men are very good at expressing their anger by yelling, sometimes by smashing something. I mean, I have these kinds of experiences because of my husband." *(Yeliz)*

"Inv: Do you mean that yelling at someone is an anger expression? I understand that you mentioned that kind of thing.

Yes, I see things like that, yes people yell, I mean, who would spill out his/her anger without yelling… Who would come here, sits calmly and say, "you did this to me"? Okay, maybe you can say that too sometimes but I said so because these are related matters." *(Selda)*

As it might be understood from the excerpts, women are more likely to understand the anger and anger expression as a physical and verbal aggression especially when their sense making is inquired about men's anger. Nevertheless, generally speaking, statement of anger or anger expression seems to be perceived as negative, maybe, even destructive rather than positive and constructive concept by women.

3.1.1.1. Distancing from the Anger

For participants, unsurprisingly, anger is a feeling that is very familiar but unacceptable as well. It is familiar because it emerges in many contexts due to a various range of reasons but it is also an unpleasant feeling that is frequently followed by other feelings such as guilt and regret. For women, anger seems to be least likely to be accepted as a desirable feeling unlike other feelings:

"As much as I can, I try not to use my anger unjustly; but as a human being, a person uses anger sometimes, for nothing, or it might be used unjustly. I can't

deny that I feel regret sometimes, I mean, when I realize something I say to myself, "yes it was unnecessary Selda, you shouldn't have reacted that way", I feel regret." *(Selda)*

Nermin defines her feeling as "a deepest regret" that following one of her angry outbursts that was directed to her son. When she recalls this experience, she interprets her angry outburst as an achievement of her deeply hidden intent to hurt her son. The emotional pain of hurting a loved one and regret that make her promise not to act in a similar way once more are seen in the below excerpt:

"That time, I figured out this: I did what I did in order to hurt him. I will never do such thing to hurt someone ever again. (…) I succeeded, by the way, but the one who suffered was me because I still feel deep regret when I remember what happened and I feel sad for my son, I feel sad because I did such a thing to him." *(Nermin)*

The following two excerpts illustrate Aylin's effort to hide her anger against her family so that she does not experience unpleasant feelings such as guilt and regret:

"Sometimes, there were things that I felt angry about, but honestly, I swallowed my anger, I kept quiet towards them. I didn't show them my anger or my feeling of offence." *(Aylin)*

"Sometimes, probably because I think, "if they misunderstand me, if it will be disrespectful to them"; to be honest, I choose to be silent." *(Aylin)*

"Inv: You are worried that if your anger would be regarded as disrespect towards them.

Yes, because I say to myself, "that would be disrespectful if you speak, you better keep quiet". They are mother and father and they are old; I mean, when I get older, maybe I will think about something the way they think, I mean, of course we won't think as we think now, it is the same for you (she means investigator), or for others. My thoughts, when I was eighteen years old were totally different from now; I am forty-two years old. Sometimes, there are many things that you say "if only I didn't do that the way I did", well, maybe being silent is much better than the regret. *(Aylin)*

In these excerpts, Aylin's sense making of her experience exhibits the anticipating of having regret no matter which way she chooses to express her anger. In other words, presumably, what matters is not how she reveals her anger against her family; in her experience, it is the possibility of revealing anger itself that causes the anticipation of feeling regret.

Distancing from the anger experience and expression through different strategies is widely common among the participants. It might be the result of intention to avoid the painful feelings and guilt as in Aylin and Nermin's situations or it might be due to the different reasons that will be presented later.

Gamze repeatedly underlined the total absence of the anger and violence in her personal life and social environment:

"I mean that, well, I can only mention about what I see on the TV, I don't know, someone yells, attacks, women use violence, too. I mean, I can mention about these. In my social environment, as an example, maybe I can show just

one woman who yells when she becomes angry, there is no any woman doing that, there is no violence or aggression, in my environment…

Inv: What do you think happens so that women react by yelling there?

Well, I don't know, they may get angry and yell at their husbands or they may get angry and yell at their children. This is it, there would be nothing more than that. Actually, this is about the personality, as I said, because anger and violence doesn't exist in my life probably I let the similar people enter my life, Probably, I choose similar people. This is all that comes to my mind." *(Gamze)*

Even though she first emphasized the total absence of violence in her life, at a different point in the interview, she stated that she hits her children with a slipper when she is angry. But it seems that she does not regard her manner as engaging in any serious aggressive behavior:

"Well, if you ask me whether I beat my children, I would say: "yes I hit with the slipper" but it is not serious violence that can be called torture. I used to throw a slipper to their hands or backs, naturally, you get angry… I was doing that, but it wasn't like, I don't know, "hitting the child with the belt, burning the child's body". We see these on the TV, I have never done these kinds of things to my children." *(Gamze)*

It might be deduced from the above excerpt that Gamze engages in a physical aggression but she seems to normalize her act by comparing it with more serious aggressive behaviors such as burning children's bodies or hitting children with a belt. This normalization might serve to keep anger away and foreign, to reduce the

importance of her angry act and to minimize the unpleasant feelings such behavior might bring about.

Another woman, Beyza points out that she is not likely to become angry in her romantic relationships; the below excerpt illustrates her emphatic stance that surpasses her anger:

"I'm not really getting too angry in relationships, if the relationship should end, it ends and everyone goes their own way. So, I don't find anything to be angry about it because everyone is trying to live the relationship they want and tries to build a relationship based on their desires. When some things don't become true, actually, I don't find anything to be angry about it. I have not had big problems in my relationships, that's why I have never felt angry, even, when my friends have gotten angry at them (ex-boyfriends), I used to say, "don't say so, they aren't like that", I mean, I have defended them." *(Beyza)*

Some of the participants indicated how they are against the use of direct physical and verbal aggression. As Gamze, Oya also stressed the absence of violence in her life and explains how she is against:

"Even my children say, I haven't even slapped my children so far, and I won't. You know, to me violence is something that can never existed in my life." *(Oya)*

"I mean, whoever you see, whoever you talk to, they definitely have beaten their child in the past or they are beating them now, as if it is normal, as if it is

necessary… When we talk to friends about our children, I realize we are the only parents who don't beat their children and actually it seems very sad to me." *(Oya)*

The other women also refer to the annoyance of engaging in or witnessing physical and verbal aggression. Selda illustrates how disturbing it is to witness someone's (especially men's) physically aggressive behavior and insult:

"When that kind of thing happens, everything gets broken for me, ummm, it gets out of line. I focus on that person's insult. I mean, okay, you may be angry, maybe you are right in your anger. I mean, for men… okay I don't say that men are right to get angry just because they are men. I don't also say men aren't right; yes, maybe you are right in your reaction, getting angry is normal, I am okay with it. But if you present your anger by insult or hurting others by targeting their weak points, there, things are broken for me…*(Selda)*

Gamze states that how behaving in verbally and physically aggressive manner does not fit to her personality:

"This is the same for my business life, I am not a person who likes arguing. I mean, shouting doesn't fit my personality, fight doesn't fit my personality and I don't like it." *(Gamze)*

3.1.1.2. Anger as an Ambivalent Feeling

Anger is an ambivalent feeling that frequently makes women question themselves and makes them feel confused regarding their experiences and behaviors. They are often preoccupied with this and try to be sure about the impact of their anger on others before they show it; or they question the justness of their anger after they

expressed it to others, or, on the contrary, some of them tend to be self-critical because of their unexpressed angry feelings after what happened. Sinem identified her preoccupation about the possible influences of her anger on others before she expresses it:

> "Inv: Well, what do you think about expressing your anger as a woman? I mean, let's say, something happened and you become angry; if we talk about whether you express it or not, what do you feel about it?
>
> So, actually, usually, this is the thought in my mind, "will it be right or wrong to express it?". I think about other's possible reaction if I express myself, "yes, that person made me feel resentful but the things I want to say will also offend that person?", I am preoccupied with these thoughts." *(Sinem)*

Beyza narrated her effort to understand the person whom she is in the relationship, complaining about giving too much. She also stressed feeling almost no anger in the relationships. The below excerpt illustrates her process of self-questioning:

> "I'm not really getting too angry in relationships; I do this, umm, I'm trying to understand the person that I am in a relationship with. I give too much, but I get angry at myself when the relationship ends, I say to myself, "Why have you behaved like a fool?" But after that, I say, "maybe that's how it had to be for that time, that's how I should have behaved, so I behaved that way." *(Beyza)*

Gamze spoke of regret related feelings because she was not able to vent her anger on her co-worker enough:

"Inv: What has been in your mind, while you were crying?

Well, I said: "why didn't I grab that woman's hair and smash her?"

Inv. You got angry with yourself?

Yes, I got angry with myself because I didn't do that." *(Gamze)*

Yeliz is another woman who questions herself about her way of behaving. When her attitudes towards other women's anger expression are asked, the confusion about her own anger experience becomes more apparent:

"Well, as I said, it would be different for everyone. Some people get angry quickly, some of them live it inside as I do, I really don't know whether we do the right thing or not." *(Yeliz)*

On the other hand, for one of the participants, self-questioning comes after an aggressive reaction. Beyza described her unpleasant feelings and questioning herself and asking her friends to understand whether she is right after she was verbally aggressive towards customer in her workplace:

"Yes, I felt bad, after what happened; I started to think, "was there anything that I did wrong? Why it was so, why the things went that way?" Yes, I thought about all of these." *(Beyza).*

"My thought about what happened today is that I think men also have problems because, not only me, he had a problem with one of my co-workers too. I asked my friends as I did sometimes, "did I raise my voice, was it me who made a mistake?" They said, "no, it was not your fault, the man behaved

like that, he already seemed like he had issues at the beginning". But these kinds of situations can bother you all day." *(Beyza)*

As the excerpts reveal above, showing her anger by verbal aggression seems to be experienced as an uncomfortable condition; although she thinks that she is right, she still both ruminates about her act and asks her friends for their feedback to be able to convince herself as to her being right.

3.1.2. Anger as a Justifiable Feeling

As was emphasized previously, anger as a conflictual experience that is associated with the unpleasant experiences and its expression is frequently accompanied by disturbing feelings. However, there is an exceptional condition where women make sense of their anger differently: Unsurprisingly, for women, perceived injustice towards themselves or others is most likely to provoke anger and that prompts them to be involved. Even though the sources of injustice differ from women to women and even some of them are not able to state specific topics or situations as an example for it, the main point seems to be perceiving injustice itself for women.

3.1.2.1. Unjust Treatment-Moral Judgement

In the case of the violation of their moral values, being treated unfairly or seeing others, especially significant others, being treated unfairly by someone frequently cause anger and motivate women to step in the situations in which their anger is triggered. Beyza states that although she has always tried to be good worker at her job she has been treated by a customer as if she does not do her job well enough. The following excerpt exhibits her anger that probably arises from feeling of being treated unfairly:

"Inv: Well, what was about his behavior that made you angry most?

I mean, he implied that I don't want to my job properly, I mean, it was like, he meant, "I am here but you don't want to solve my problem and you consume my time for nothing". His manner disturbed me because I have never had that attitude about my job, I have always been trying to do be nice towards whoever came to me. I believe I am able to do it, because, I have been working in this position for four years, yes, that manner bothered me the most." *(Beyza)*

Aylin shared an incident which in she became extremely angry because her daughter's teacher gave her daughter a wrong grade by mistake. Aylin underlined her difficulty of understanding the teacher's mistake and mentioned about her reaction to him:

"I don't have any tolerance for injustice, it doesn't matter what the issue is; it might be about my job, or my mother and father… no one can treat me unfairly, I never let that happen.

Inv: It seems that injustice makes you angry?

Exactly, it makes me angry. For example, one day my daughter went to school and brought her exam paper to me and I saw that the teacher took ten points off her grade; I looked at the paper and say, "why did he do that?" I went to school and talked to him and he said that he made a mistake; "how can you make a mistake on this, this is not one point, two points, this is ten points…" I get angry with this kind of thing. (…) You know, 'pay attention, you are a teacher, you are an educator, you educate these children, when children make that mistake you may yell at them, if you make the same mistake then you should accept your mistake gently.'" *(Aylin)*

"How do I express it… umm, I experienced it in person, I said, "I glanced at my daughter's paper and I noticed that you took off her grade, why did you do that? I want to find out the reason as her parent." When he checked it, he realized and he said that he made mistake. When you hear it from him of course you get angry but he is a teacher and you should respect him, what can you say to him? You say, "This is not one point, two points, this is ten points, and you missed it" You know, I passed it over with a humor and I say laughingly, 'hopefully you won't make the same mistake again'" *(Aylin)*

Especially in the last excerpt, it can be seen how perceived injustice both towards her daughter and obviously herself became a provocation for anger and motivated her on showing her anger in order to correct teacher's mistake. She added: "If the teacher would show me an extreme reaction instead of apologizing and accepting my rightness I would show him a much more harsh response." Aylin, as previously presented, has shared her reluctance to show anger to her family, that she is worried about having regret of hurting them. However, as it might be seen in her first extract above, she emphasizes that she does not let anyone to treat unfairly towards herself even it is her mother or father. It might be concluded that, when it comes to unjust treatment, anger seems to become a more acceptable feeling for her.

Selda emphasized whether she is sure about being right is very important before showing an explosive angry response to others. She also underlined that she doesn't feel regret at all when she believes in her rightness in contrast to cases that she is not sure about it:

"Usually, in romantic relationships, I react seriously only if I believe that I am right and my partner usually knows it. I mean, he knows me, he knows when I

react seriously, he knows I usually prefer talking, so, he knows that I give such serious reaction only if I am right on something, yes." *(Selda)*

"For example, I am mad at something, let's say it is my mother; I always give my parents as an example because I live with them, okay? At that moment, my mother doesn't actually ask anything or doesn't say anything important but at that moment I was thinking about something different that made me angry. Then, my mother keeps talking, I answer, "no", when she says one more thing then I raise my voice but actually she is not the person that I am angry at. (…) At these times, I may feel regret, I say to myself, "what you did wasn't good S." On the other hand, if I know that I get angry rightfully, then I don't feel regret at all because I deeply know that I am right on that." *(Selda)*

Oya emphasizes that the matter of being right depends on the context and she gives an example of a couple's fight and due to the man's affair with a woman other than his wife. She adds that she gives her support to the wife in this situation because she sees this situation as unjust and probably morally unacceptable:

"Inv: You said "justness", can you explain it more? I mean, what makes justifiable a woman's anger expression? What do you think?

Women are always right actually (laughing), I mean, I think it depends on the subject. For example, it might be a fight between husband and wife, something might be happening between them… actually, I am not sure what kind of example can be given for it… As I said, in a couple fight, a woman might find out her husband's having an affair and I run into a fight about it, in such situations I directly support woman." *(Oya)*

She also states that if the woman being treated unfairly is someone she loves like a family she becomes angry as much as her friend:

> "When the other women express their anger… if the woman is a family and she is right or if it is my friend that I love so much, a friend who is close to me as a family and she reacts to something, she gets angry when I am with her, first I would try to calm her down but, at the same time, I would get angry as much as her." *(Oya)*

As it might be seen, she emphasizes her sensitivity for others' cases if it is about injustice. Seemingly, her attitude becomes more apparent in the case of a significant other's experience of injustice; and she feels angry as much as them.

3.1.2.2. Protecting Others

Seeing someone is being treated unfairly and seeing their inability to defend her/him are the important anger provoking issues for women. Also, these prompt women to get involved in a situation with the purpose of ending this unjust treatment. Especially, if the person being treated unfairly is in women's close social networks, the intensity of anger and the severity of the reaction women give seem to increase. Aylin narrated her anger turning into intense rage about the sexual and physical abuse of children. She stressed the difficulty to imagine the possibility of these things happening to her own daughter and how she might become blinded by anger if this happened:

> "I mean, if my daughter is the subject I think I can express myself in all ways. I mean, nothing, I consider about nothing at that time because as I said, my daughter is my entire world, by the way, my husband also thinks the way I think. Well, I don't even think about my husband, he would be blinded by

anger if T. is harmed, god save us! Both we would be blinded by anger. I can't even imagine. I saw parents whose children were kidnapped, beaten and so on, I say, "god!" I feel as I am nearly going mad.

Inv: It is hard to even imagine.

It is hard to even imagine, how mothers and fathers can continue to live after something like that happened? What kind of conscience does a man who rapes and kills three years old child have? What kind of mercilessness is it? I mean, if that man is given to me I would kill him without thinking, yes, I can say it to you." *(Aylin)*

Beyza is a woman whose family has gone through so much physical and emotional difficulties in the past. She emphasizes, as Aylin does, that the possibility of her loved ones becoming hurt probably makes her live a state of blind rage and prompt her to interfere in any situation with the purpose of protecting her family members:

"As a family, we are very close to each other. For example, for me, the most important thing is family. Family is the thing that I am mostly concerned about. When one of my family members gets hurt, I might get very angry.

Inv: Suffering of someone you love may make you get very angry…

Probably, the only thing that makes me angry is that one of my family members gets hurt. I think that causes my most extreme anger. In those times, as it might happen to some people, I might get blind rage; I have never experienced it but it is possible for me. Because, my mother, father, my brothers and sisters mean a lot to me. This is so for me. As I said, if one of them gets hurt, seeing that makes me angry. In those times, I can't stay away; I always need to be involved in the situation (laughing). (…) I mean, family is

different. Maybe it is because of our past experiences; sometimes, there might be problems about our grandparents. In those times, seeing my mother and father are being hurt, or seeing my brother and sisters are being hurt because of the problems about our grandparents makes me angry, yes, I feel angry at those times. Most important thing for me is my family." *(Beyza)*

Some women state how their anger is prompted by seeing individuals badly treated in a situation and how they need to get involved to protect the person who cannot defend herself/himself. Aylin describes her anger towards other people who witness violence toward a woman but do not interfere in these situations. She emphasizes the influence of thinking about the probability of being the one who goes through the same things on her motivation to get involved in these kinds of situations:

"Actually, I get angry with people remaining unresponsive. I mean, you see, something is happening next to you, for example, a woman is beaten, how can you remain unresponsive? I can't. I mean, I would interfere to break up the fight. I can't watch it without doing anything, I would feel guilty about it. How can I know that the same thing won't happen to me one day?" *(Aylin)*

"I mean, if something is happening next to me I would get involved in it, without thinking. I say to person using violence as, "what are you doing?" and I interfere in it. If the person is right and she/he can't defend her/himself about it I would support her/him in that situation." *(Aylin)*

Aylin is one of the participants who argued for the absence of the violence not only in her nuclear family but also in her extended family. She identified the nonviolence as a value which transmitted to her from the family. When living without

violence in the family through generations is considered, it might be deduced that remaining unresponsive in violent situations towards vulnerable people most probably interferes with Aylin's transmitted moral values as well. Beyza also considers it remorseless and insensitive to be unresponsive towards a person who is badly treated and not capable of expressing her/himself:

> "I mean, if a person is able to express her/himself, if s/he explains her/himself somehow I don't interfere because that person can express her/himself already. It is not important if the other person listens to her/him. In such situations I don't need to get involved it. But, sometimes, people attempt to express themselves through using physical control or violence instead of talking; that means something bad is happening there, in those times, necessarily you need to get involved in that incident. (…) A bad incident is happening there. Moving away as if nothing is happening seems remorseless to me. Okay, maybe I don't call it remorseless but doing so is callous and uncaring. If people who are witnessing situations like that would interfere in the first place, maybe that fight would not even start at all. I mean, I always stop, watch and interfere when I see something like that." *(Beyza)*

From these excerpts, it may be inferred that being unresponsive goes against Beyza's moral values. In this sense, Beyza is similar to Aylin, who feels responsible in those situations for a person who is vulnerable and she criticizes others because they don't prevent the event at the beginning.

3.1.3. Anger as an Experience Embedded in the Interpersonal Context

One of the remarkable findings of the current study is that women's anger frequently emerges in the interpersonal context; women are more likely to get angry with their significant others such as family members. They are prone to get angry at

situations in which they feel unsupported in domestic responsibilities and their subjective experience is unrecognized by others. The other anger provoking matters in the interpersonal area for women is to realizing their inability to have influence on others. Women are most likely to become angry but are less likely to express it to others in such situations.

3.1.3.1. Unshared Domestic Responsibilities – Feeling unrecognized

Unsurprisingly, some women's anger is more likely to be provoked by their families' attitudes which make women feel being left alone with the housework and feeling unrecognized for their difficulties and tiredness because of domestic responsibilities. Additionally, unrecognized occupational difficulties, unsupported personal decisions and their families' or others' disrespect for their efficacy are the other anger inducing matters in the interpersonal context. Gamze mentioned that her anger increases and she yells at her children most days when she arrives home because they do not help her with the housework and they ask her for preparing dinner; she feels overwhelmed with her job and household chores:

> "Okay, I don't have dinner at home except my off days because of my concerns about the gaining weight. You know, all women have these concerns. Personally, I am concerned about it. But I cook for them (children), I expect them help me, but when they don't help me I get angry, yes, I feel angry those times, that's it. (…) "I'm getting tired… okay, maybe we are not very busy at work during these seasons but still, I am so tired of life. I always think about the bills, cooking… and, also when children say to me, "there is nothing to eat in the house", yes, I yell at them, not too much, it is not like scream but my voice is raised a little in those times. I mean, I say, "you are grown men now, you can make pasta at least", yes." *(Gamze)*

"How I experience my anger… I mean, I say to myself, "it would be better to take slipper and hit them in the butt like my children are young children, but, they are not. They are adults anymore, 19 year old man… What else can I do? If he does not understand me, I don't want to understand him, either. I don't want to understand people anymore, not only others; I don't even want to understand my children. Because, I feel so tired of life. I am tired, I get tired. I believe, I can express my feelings to my children in some way. Or, if they can't understand my feelings via looking my behaviors, then I think, I can't explain myself.

Inv: Okay, when do you express or not express your feelings?

My feelings… is it about love or anger, what is about?

Inv: Whatever comes to your mind. We can think for all emotions. What do you do with your love and anger?

I see. Anger… I get angry when they (children) do not understand me, yes." *(Gamze)*

These excerpts illustrate Gamze's burnout as a person who always tries to understand and meets others' needs and not being one who is understood by others. The anger seems to arise from the frustration that Gamze experiences because her expectations about being recognized and being helped are not met, even nearly ignored by her children. Nermin, additionally, narrated a similar experience:

"My son was thoughtless in those times, too. I begin to see myself like this: I return home from my work, I tidy up my husband's room, organize his things; I do the same for my son, I cook after that and so on. I begin to feel as if I am a servant. It was tough because I am not really used to it. I have never experienced this kind of thing before and there was no connection between us;

my husband was living in his world and did not connect with me; my son was also living in his own world. For all reasons, I directed my anger to my son even if he done nothing wrong. I don't remember the exact place but it was obviously in his room, just, I think I used a sentence that I have been trying to forget, I said, "I am not your mother, I am your servant!". Shortly after, my husband came in, because I was totally disconnected, I was screaming at the top of my voice: "from now on, call me a servant! I will wash your things, I will cook for you but there will be no other connection among us!" (*Nermin*)

Nermin's excerpt indicates her angry outburst that derived from her sense of being "servant". She felt that her husband and son were relationally unavailable and disconnected from her and she felt unappreciated by them in spite of her continuous struggle to meet their daily needs. Also, Nermin narrated that, in her young ages, she had desired to marry a man she loved, but her family did not approve her mate selection. She emphasized that the anger and emotional injury emerged from not being understood and her family's disrespect towards her personal decision:

"I felt anger only because they (parents) didn't understand me.

Inv: Have you ever expressed it?

Yes, I talked about it. My husband and I met when I was 24 years old. At the beginning, it was pre-arranged meeting, my parents accepted him to the house, I saw him in my house first. I liked him, but my parents changed their opinion about it. We have seen each other for four years, these happened when I was 26 years old, I think. My parents who trusted me and cared about me in any condition did not do the same thing about this issue and that hurt me. I can't lie, I would want them to approve my love and my opinion about that issue because they raised me very well. I felt very bad because they did not understand and approve me on that issue." (*Nermin*)

3.1.3.2. Being Unable To Influence Others

Others' behaviors that some women find annoying and attempt to change involve another anger related matter. Women's effort to make differences on others' behaviors but observing themselves as a non-influencer cause anger in women and prompt them to show their anger in the forms of shouting and/or being verbally aggressive such as using slang words. Selda mentioned her attempt to make someone change something that she finds disturbing. If she realizes that she does not have any influence on that person, she gets angry and starts being verbally aggressive to increase her influence:

"But, sometimes, I warn people, I say, "let this thing stay there, I put that there and I expect from you to put that there too after you use it". I say one time, second time, third time and I get angry a little. Yes, this was an example of it. (…) But, in time, things build up, because I face the same situation again and again; inevitably, at some point I use some words with anger. Imm… it is kind of a slang word so I don't want to use that word now. I mean, yes you would be making insinuation… sometimes; I did it on purpose, to hurt that person, because I wanted her/him to understand me. This is not the thing I did towards only friends and boyfriend; it might be directed to my family too. But, actually, I like calm. I mean, firstly, I prefer talking, but, as I said before, when I notice that talking to that person doesn't mean anything to her/him I use these ways (making insinuation). I mean, if I talk to that person nicely and she/he replies me same way and tries to do something to fix it, I don't use those ways." *(Selda)*

Nermin also talked about the anger producing aspect of realizing not having impact on her students' deliberate and repeated disturbing acts towards each other and adds how seeing that "drives her crazy" and prompts her to shout at them:

"I mean, if they (students) do something repeatedly and intentionally I really can't tolerate it. I can tolerate making mistakes but I don't have a tolerance for repeated things. They begin to know me a little. In the other situations I would mostly behave in a normal way. (…) If the same manner is repeated despite my repeated warnings I can yell at them. The students understand it by now; when I yell at them they do not resent me. I never say anything humiliating, I don't swear, I don't label them. Even when I do such a thing I apologize to my students after what I said. But when I get angry I scream the place down (laughing). Sometimes, I hit my hand here (the table) with anger and hurt my hand very badly at those times. Yes, I might get really angry sometimes.

Inv: Well what does make you angry that much?

What make me angry… students who hit each other make me really angry. Their ridiculing one another and offending each other or teachers make me really angry. If the students are not aware of what they did or try to normalize their behaviors, it really makes me crazy" *(Nermin)*

As presented in Selda's excerpt above women's tendency to withdraw after seeing that they are not able to change anything in others' behaviors is not a rare occurrence at all. Sometimes it is so, even when the matter is one of the specific topics such as unjust treatment which mostly triggers women's anger and prompts them to take an action:

"Let's say I am right about something and the other person is wrong. If the person insists to prove her/his rightness by raising her/his voice I say "okay" because I know that I am right. I say "okay, I think the way you think" and I keep quiet. Because I know, I am not able to convince that person, no matter what I say that person keep defend her/his own rightfulness." *(Sinem)*

As Selda and Sinem, Yeliz also emphasized her withdrawal when she realizes that she cannot explain herself and not having impact on others' behaviors:

> "It does not matter how you explain yourself if that person cannot understand what you mean. You say one time but she/he cannot understand and keep doing the same thing and I get tired. I say to myself, "why am I talking? I don't need it". Yes, that's it". *(Yeliz)*

3.1.3.3. Anger as a Destructive Feeling in Relationships

Interpersonal relations is the significant context where women's anger most frequently emerged. However, this is the same context that women are most likely experience their anger as an ambivalent and conflictual feeling that is accompanied by many other negative feelings which were presented in the earlier sections. Most women who have participated in the current study tend to focus on the probability of the destructiveness of their anger at different levels. Anger seems to come with its concerns about how expressing it might influence others. If its answer is "probably hurting someone", women's anger is more likely to remain unexpressed. Selda emphasized her sensitivity on choosing words which do not target the others' families, personality features and vulnerabilities while she is expressing her anger to others:

> "Yes, I try to be really careful when I get angry, I try to control myself; I try to be aware of what I say. Yes, sometimes, I say bad words but at least I don't target the delicate family issues of another person. (…) I don't use offensive words about the personality of that person. Yes, I can say, I mean, if I get angry with someone that day, I say to her/him properly, "you are very angry and you are using offensive words towards me now". I can say that but I don't target one's personality and weak points, I believe I don't do it at least." *(Selda)*

Her other extract below also illustrates her pattern of expressing herself; first, using words which are less likely to make others resent, second, doing it when the intensity of her anger decreased. It might be also inferred from the narrative how her pattern of behavior is reinforced by others in the relational context:

"I can say it another time, I mean, for example, while we are drinking coffee. I say it using proper words, sensitively, I say, "I wonder if this habit is a little disadvantageous for you". Yes, I experience these kinds of situations. People usually say, "the manner is important, you can say without making me resentful." (Selda)"

It seems that these extracts reveal the transformation of the emerging anger by controlling into a source that contributes to strengthen her interpersonal relationships.

In the interpersonal context, many feelings such as happiness and sadness are expressed more easily and women are less likely to be preoccupied with these feelings before expressing them. However, if the anger related feelings and expressions are on the table and women predict that someone will be hurt, most of them are more likely to keep their anger inside. In other words, they seem to prefer to be the one who is hurt instead of being the one who hurts others:

"I never feel uncomfortable about showing my sadness and happiness. I mean, I think this is how it should be. But usually, I am not able to show my anger to others. Because I don't want to make others hurt, I can't show my anger to others and I get angry with myself because of it. I say to myself, "I should have shown it". Yes, I get angry with myself about it.

Inv: It seems the other emotions are more comfortable to show but anger is a little harder than those emotions?

Yes.

Inv: What does disturb you about showing it and you choose not to show it?

Others' getting hurt is more important for me. I live it inside in order not to hurt others." *(Oya)*

"Inv: What do you feel about expressing your anger as a woman?

I mean, I cannot express it, I live it inside. It is not only towards woman, I do the same thing towards everyone because I don't want to make others hurt and sad." *(Yeliz)*

As it can be seen in Oya and Yeliz's excerpts, although they feel uncomfortable about their way of behaving, they still continue to behave in the same manner because they give priority to others' feelings in the relationships. Similarly, Sinem states her struggle to figure out the possible influence of her reaction on others even if she feels offended:

"So, actually, these are the thoughts in my mind, "will it be right or wrong to express it?" I think about what other's possible manner will be when I express myself… "yes, that person made me resentful but the things I want to say to her/him will also offend that person?" *(Sinem)*

Like the other women, Beyza also prefers not to express her negative feelings including anger if she predicts that her expression might offend others:

"Well, if it is a thing that might offend others or disturb others, I try not to express it. I don't know, maybe the thing that I intend to say does not make her/him sad but if it is the thing that might offend others I prefer not to say it. If it is my close friend, by the way, you don't say this kind of thing to a person

who is not close to you anyway. Yes, I am careful about not hurting and offending others.

Inv: So, if you notice something that the other person might feel resentful you usually can't be sure whether you express it.

Yes, yes, I usually tolerate it in that moment." *(Beyza)*

Aylin is the other woman who is married for second time and describes a happy relationship with her husband. However, she mentioned that, at a very young age, she divorced her first husband whom her family did not approve of at the beginning. She returned to the house of the family with her newborn daughter. As a woman who stressed the difficulty of returning to family house with her child, she states her preference of silence because of her concern about being disrespectful towards family members who welcomed her after the divorce:

"There were times that I felt angry but I kept silent in those times towards them (family). I mean, I did not show my anger towards them. Maybe I can talk to my husband about his behaviors towards me but I could not talk to my parents. I used to keep silent and go to my room in those times. I mean, we didn't experience these things much, but these happened sometimes with my parents. For me, as a person who has gone through lots of things and tries to live together with parents it is much harder. It is really hard to adapt again to live with them. But, I have never been disrespectful to them, I believe so at least.

Inv: Why do you think it is much harder to express to them and not to your husband?

I don't know. Mother and father… I question myself, if I express myself to them. They would misunderstand what I said. What if I explain myself in a

wrong way, what if it would be disrespectful? Yes, because of these I choose to be silent." *(Aylin)*

3.1.4. Anger as a Gendered Experience

Gender roles that the society attributes to the two sexes are the other anger related matters for the participants. Many women are tired and unsurprisingly prone to become angry because of the gender roles which society imposes on them. For example, unshared domestic responsibilities which have been mentioned in the "Unshared domestic responsibilities-Feeling unrecognized" part are anger inducing issues because women are more likely to experience those as a necessity that comes from being a woman and/or being a mother. In other words, if one reason that makes women angry is being left alone with the housework by a significant other and being unrecognized on their difficulties with these, the other reason is being considered the only responsible person for household chores. As it has been presented earlier, Gamze's excerpts illustrate a woman's angry voice arising from her exhaustion:

> "Actually, it is really simple; I am not a person who gets angry easily. I usually come home at 20.30. My children come before I arrived, about 18.00, it is two hours difference. I come home and my children say to me, "I am hungry, prepare dinner for me!", and I really get angry at this. I mean, I say "you were home, you are an adult anymore, we have something to eat in the house, heat and eat it. Why do you except from me?". Yes, in these situations I raise my voice a little, that's it." *(Gamze)*

Nermin is has worked as a school principal for years. Doing a job that she calls "man job" does not seem to let her to be an exception with regard to women's gender roles. She narrated how she started to feel as if she is a "servant" and her exhaustion gradually increased and brought an anger explosion:

"My son was thoughtless in those times too. I began to see myself like this: I return home from my work, I tidy up my husband's room, organize her things; I do the same for my son, I cook after that and so on. I begin to feel as if I am servant. It was tough because I am not really use to it. (…) For all reasons, I directed my anger to my son even if he done nothing wrong. I don't remember the exact place but it was obviously in his room, just, I think I used a sentence that I have been trying to forget, I said, "I am not your mother, I am your servant!". Shortly after, my husband came in, because I was totally disconnected, I was screaming at the top of my voice, "From now on, call me a servant! I will wash your things, I will cook for you." *(Nermin)*

3.1.4.1. Intrusion into Personal Space

In their social life and in intimate relationships women face others' interferences in their way of living, their way of presenting themselves in the social area. Some women feel intensely the pressure of the society's demand in their personal lives and this pressure is met by women in various ways, such as being submissive with the purpose of protecting themselves from being the target of others' anger or resisting the gender-based pressure in order to protect their personal space or behaving opposite to others' expectations. No matter how women react to gender-based roles, the crucial point is that gender roles cause anger in women. Selda is a woman who talked about the discomfort of living with the family as a thirty-five years old woman; she mentioned that she feels her freedom is restricted in some respects by her family and described her increasing anger that bring about the various forms of expression such as "little" angry outbursts or deliberately staying silent or sulking:

"We can call it restriction of freedom shortly.

Inv: What makes you feel restricted?

I think I want the freedom that 35 years old person would want. I don't want to explain my behaviors to my family in this age. I mean, of course, if I am a parent I would ask something to my child too. I explain to them, "I am going out and I will come at this time", it is okay. But if more question are asked I get frustrated actually. (…)

Inv: What do you feel when these questioned asked you by them?

I really get frustrated these times. I mean, maybe my little angry outburst might result from these. (…) I really don't want to take questions anymore, "who did you go with there?" (…)

Inv: How do you react to their restrictive questions?

Sometimes I don't answer them at all, sometimes I pass over it lightly. However, occasionally, I answer seriously to their questions. I don't get angry very much, I get angry a little. (…) if I am in a hurry I don't answer what they ask but if I get very angry at that moment I say something. After I come back home I keep showing my manner; I sulk, cut off communication so on" *(Selda)*

Gamze is a divorced woman coming from a conservative family who prefers not to explain her private life to prevent her family's angry reactions. She thinks that her family never understands her. She predicts that the society does not have any tolerance about the fact that a divorced woman can have romantic relationships. In the below excerpt her tacit anger towards others' intrusion into her privacy is clear:

"Inv: What happens if they (her children) hear about it?

They get angry with me.

Inv: Why do they get angry with you?

Because the children cannot imagine their mother with any other man. Because of this, the children shouldn't hear about their mothers' private life. I think so. I don't say this only because the society cannot tolerate this. My children cannot tolerate it either. I have also a daughter. If my daughter comes to me with similar thing it would be wrong. I don't know how I can explain it. Okay, I always say to my daughter, "you can tell me if you have a boyfriend" but I can't tell them about mine. Because, it would be reacted to badly, they would misunderstand me. It is hard to explain it. It is all about the society. Because the society reacts wrongly to a woman who got divorced, the children also perceive it inappropriate. I can talk about on behalf of my own children of course. Maybe there are women that are divorced, having boyfriends and their children know this. I don't care about it, because my family shouldn't know, I would be reacted to badly, they would not understand me.

Inv: They don't understand you…

Yes, they don't talk to me about it, they don't understand. They quickly get angry and yell at me. Of course, there wouldn't be violence but all of them get angry and yell. Why do I need to live this? People have privacy, and it is my privacy, I don't share my privacy with my children." *(Gamze)*

"A divorced man walks around easily. Yes, they are free about it. As I just said, I am a woman, I have a private life but I cannot talk about my privacy with others. This is all about the society." *(Gamze)*

Sinem stated that she has always felt a pressure from her mother because she has never been the type of girl that her mother has imagined. She mentioned how her mothers' gendered expectations make her uncomfortable and angry. She also emphasized her resistance to these expectations:

"My mother and I have always had conflicts. Because, I have never been a daughter that she imagines. I have never dressed up nicely as she expected. If she did not try to control me about these, maybe I would be a girl who wears make-up, choose different clothes than I choose now. For example, I always wear pants because I feel more comfortable in pants. She has always said, "be more different, better" and she showed me to others as an example for it. That's why, I have always done the opposite of what she has said to me. (…)

Inv: What does it make you feel? I mean, she expects something, but you want to behave differently?

Yes, I wanted different thing than her and I did it. She was sulking as a reaction to my attitudes. She didn't approve of me. She didn't accept me because I wasn't as she wanted me to be and all these made me feel excluded.

Inv: Have you ever felt angry about it?

Of course. For example, I wear black clothes, she says, "you always wear black!" yes it has always been like that. But I feel comfortable as what I am.

Inv: Well, how were you reacting when you heard what she said?

I was saying that I want to be like that, I am comfortable the way I am." *(Sinem)*

3.1.4.2. Perception of 'Aggressive Man - Compassionate and Delicate Woman'

Anger experience is a gendered emotion for women who think that this emotion belongs to men. The women's narratives illustrate their proneness to compare themselves with men in terms of the way of experiencing and expressing their anger. They consider men as more likely to get angry and to express their anger more verbally and physically aggressive than themselves. While almost every woman in the current study emphasizes men's perceived disposition for anger and aggression,

most of them don't attribute the similar disposition to their own gender; further, some of them describe women as constitutionally "compassionate" and "delicate":

"I mean, in the communication between my father and my uncle their voices are raised. On the other hand, when I observe my sister and mother, I see that when they are in the argument, they speak in a low voice in comparison to my father and uncle. Actually, there you can see the difference in the anger management of women and men.

Inv: What does make a difference? What do you think about it?

I think it is about women's being kinder and more delicate. I mean, this is so in my family but maybe it would be different in others.

Inv: Well, you mentioned being delicate and kind, what do you think that these features result from?

I think these are innate features. Being like that is a quality that was given to women naturally. Women are more compassionate and conscientious and they experience things more slowly and softly. That's why, I don't think that they are prone to become angry that much." *(Beyza)*

"When I think about my observations, I see that, how do men act even in traffic? They engage in a fight quickly, there is no communication and agreement. When I observe my parents, I notice that my father is much more dominant than my mother. Why? Because he is a man! My husband is not dominant that much in the argument. I mean, I don't observe specific anger problem in my husband, or at least he is not behaving that way to me. However, as I said, in traffic, or in the romantic relationships when we observe men, we can see that they are much more dominant and because they think that they are dominant, they might resort to violence; it might be also

verbal aggression and this makes people resentful. That's why, I think they don't have any limit about it, they cannot control their anger mostly. (…) Men are more prone to aggression. Women are not prone to aggression that much, I think it is about their nature. Women are much more oppressed and men perceive themselves more superior than women. That's why they are more prone to aggression and violence." *(Sinem)*

"Okay, they can yell at each other (men). I mean, they are naturally angrier than women. Maybe they were in traffic all day and got tired, okay I understand this. They can solve problems by yelling at each other but I think eventually, they should talk properly and smooth over their issues." *(Aylin)*

"Women are more delicate… Their anger is more reasonable.

Inv: Do you think men's anger is less reasonable?

Imm. Not less reasonable… but I think their behaviors are weird. I mean, they usually insult when they are angry." *(Selda)*

"I think men's behaviors seems usual to us. I mean, when I see men fighting I don't give a reaction as "oooo" because I always see such things. (…) It is quite usual in men. When I see boys that are fighting at very moment I don't even look at them but if I see girls who are fighting I look at and wonder about what is going on there." *(Oya)*

As it might be deduced from the excerpts above, many participants stress the anger and its expression as a constitutional matter for both men and women, and they attribute the uncontrolled verbal expression of anger such as insult and physical

66

expression of it (for example, hitting someone) to men. On the other hand, what they attribute to women is kindness, compassion and delicacy. Supportively, Oya's last excerpt describes how seeing women fighting might be worth watching in contrast to men's fighting. This portrays the surprise that arises from seeing a young woman behaving against the gender-based attributed features related to anger.

Gamze is a woman who mostly accepts the gender roles, although she complains about the restrictions towards women in relation with these gender roles. As one of the women who attribute the expression of anger (especially physical aggression) to men, she emphasizes that she finds inappropriate women's verbal and physical aggression. She thinks that women should prefer to speak instead of being aggressive and she defines women's aggressive behaviors as "primitive":

"In my opinion, a woman who shouts and being aggressive is primitive ("basit", in Turkish), a woman should be dignified ("kadın dediğin ağır olmalı", in Turkish); women should communicate by talking, this is the same for my private life." *(Gamze)*

3.1.4.3. Concern about Being Harmed by a Man

Women mostly consider men's relation with anger not only unpredictable but also uncontrollable. Women's sense making of men's anger makes them watchful in the case of witnessing or getting involved in a situation where men are physically and/or verbally aggressive. Women's perceived threat about being harmed by "aggressive" men is the main determinant of how they react in those threatening occurrences involving men's aggression; women's expressions illustrate that they are more likely to prefer to stay away from those aggressive behaviors because they perceive the uncertainty of outcomes and they do not feel safe:

"Actually, I don't fear others' anger that much. Both women and men can express their anger. Men can do that too, but for some men, this expression

might be different. In those situations, you would want to withdraw sometimes because they cannot control their anger and physical contact begins. In such situations, I would need to withdraw from that situation. I have never experienced that kind of situation, I hope I will never experience that. Yes, men's anger seems more serious to me. I think they have more serious anger problems." *(Beyza)*

"Inv: How do you react when you see a man who expresses his anger?

To be honest, if men are angry and fighting I prefer to walk away. Because, we just don't know what is going to happen next; everything is possible, there might be knife, gun, anything…" *(Aylin)*

"If I see that he is out of control, then I don't pay attention at all because it is a man. You cannot predict what he is going to do with his intense anger. Yes, that's why, I don't pay attention that much." *(Yeliz)*

3.1.4.4. Women Bearing Life's Burden

Some women referred to the gender-based roles and responsibilities as a source of their anger, as mentioned above. However, many of them were more likely to stress the tiresome difficulty of carrying the whole burden alone. Gamze, Yeliz and Sinem described being women as a difficult experience due to the burden that comes with their heavy responsibilities:

Inv: How difficult is being a woman, can you explain more?

How difficult… I mean, it is like, women are bearing life's whole burden. It is not the same for men. They are responsible for only economic issues. They are responsible for meeting the economic needs of the family. But, women are

responsible for many things such as taking care of children and household chores. It is difficult in all ways." *(Gamze)*

"In my opinion, in this days and age women are carrying a heavy burden. Especially this is so for us, divorced mother. Responsibilities are heavy. Fathers are not supportive, unfortunately. Although your children are grown up now, you still cannot have moral and material support." *(Yeliz)*

Sinem and Gamze emphasized the tiredness that comes with their daily routines and complained about the difficulty of not having time for themselves because of their responsibilities as a woman and a mother:

"Inv: What kind of difficulties do you experience?

Both my work and household chores… It is difficult to make time for yourself and having social life. Actually, I am a people person but my work gives me a hard time about my social life. You know, I worry about becoming an asocial person. I try to make time for myself and having time with my friends, but it is difficult.

"Inv: What kind of difficulties does the experience of being woman cause in your social life?

I mean, I ruminate about the things that I should have done. I say to myself "you should have cooked or you should have done the laundry". I can't stop thinking about these. My mind is always busy with the household chores." *(Gamze)*

"I am not able to do something for myself. I mean, I am a literature teacher and I don't have time to study and read a book. For example, if I prepare a presentation for students, I am able to do it after the other things were done in the house. That's why I mostly feel so tired and this affects my life in general actually." *(Sinem)*

In addition, Sinem stated the suppression that women experience in many areas of their lives:

"No matter you went to college and you have a profession; there is difference in the different areas in life. Business life, domestic life, social life…. Women have been oppressed. People see women as, "you are a woman after all." *(Sinem)*

As it might be inferred from the excerpts above, even though women underlines the difficulty of having gender-based responsibilities and restrictions, many of them are less likely to associates these difficulties with their anger experience. However, as it will be presented in the "explosion following built-up anger" part in-depth, women's narratives illustrates that repeated frustration resulting from gender-related roles is likely to induce women's anger and to causes anger explosion towards others in the long term.

3.2. THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER

Super-ordinate themes that emerged in the analysis of the participants' narratives about the expression of anger are, *direct expression of anger, indirect expression of anger and unvoiced anger-self-silencing.* Super-ordinate themes and related sub-ordinate themes will be presented below.

3.2.1. Direct Expression of Anger

The current study concluded that women use various ways of direct expression. One of the ways that they prefer to use is constructive talking with the purpose of expressing their anger and solving the problems that provoke their anger. There is also anger explosion that follows built-up anger and distancing from others as an angry reaction. These direct expression forms and related issues will be present in detail below.

3.2.1.1. Constructive Verbal Expression

As was presented above, most participants repeatedly emphasized that they are against especially physical aggression and that the talking is the most preferred used way of expressing anger. Consistent with the above-mentioned argument that involves women's perceiving anger as a gendered emotion, some women explained talking as a necessity of being a proper woman; or some others considered it as the only functioning way of expressing anger and problem solving:

> "Yes, indeed. I always prefer talking. I have always said that the way people communicate should be by talking. We cannot get somewhere by shouting at each other, getting angry, fighting… we don't need all these. Yes, I believe so. (…) This is the same both in my private life and in relationships with my friends. I always prefer to solve problems by talking." *(Gamze)*

Oya is one of these women. She describes herself as someone who likes to find solutions by talking things when there is a conflict, and notes the unpleasantness of women being physically aggressive towards one another:

> "If it there is a fight between women, it is the ugliest thing, as to me. Women usually get ugly while they are fighting. We can see the view that is not proper for women. (…) When I think about it, I picture high school girls

71

fighting and their grabbing each other' hears. In my opinion, it is not proper for women. I rather like to solve things by talking, that's why, seeing such views don't seem to me pleasant." *(Oya)*

"I am against anger if the matter is disagreement in the work place. In such situations, you explain yourself, defend your opinion; I explain myself and defend my own opinion and I try to find a compromise in my dialog with you." *(Oya)*

Yeliz and Sinem also stated their preference of talking to express themselves:

"I am not a person who engages in fight in daily life. I live things inside; I keep silent until the last moment. If I need to talk, I do it nicely; I say nicely what I need to say. I never get angry and shout." *(Yeliz)*

"Inv: Well, what do you mean by expressing your anger? Can you explain it more?

Of course, I don't mean fighting, I mean talking and discussion on something. Because, fighting is not a solution. I don't mean that when you get angry you throw things to the wall. Yes, I am focusing on talking." *(Sinem)*

Beyza another woman who prefers talking as a way of problem solving in the relations with the family:

"We usually talk when something happen as, "you said that but I don't think it was true". Yes, we talk such things with my family members.

Inv: Then?

The issue usually gets solved. I mean, actually we don't live serious angry outbursts in relationships with my family members." *(Beyza)*

In Aylin's excerpt below, her attitude about talking about problems is clear; however, it may also be inferred from her expressions that being verbally harsh and talking with raised voice is not considered an aggressive manner by her:

"Inv: You said "harsh manner". Can you explain it a little more?

Of course, I don't beat the teacher (laughing). It is not possible for me. But, I meant that I would talk in a harsh manner, raise my voice. This is the most extreme thing that I would do. But nothing happened other than that. I am totally against it; no matter what, even if you are right at that situation, there shouldn't be such thing as a beating, there shouldn't be such thing as violence. It is my opinion because we are raised that way and we try to teach our daughter the same thing; people should solve their issues by talking. We have this in our family life. If we decide on something we ask our daughter too. I mean, if there is a problem, it is solved by talking. Of course, I show my manner clearly to prevent facing the same mistake again but I don't resort to violence." *(Aylin)*

3.2.1.2. Explosion Following Built-up Anger

Built-up anger is a common experience in reaction to the anger inducing situations; many women emphasize the pattern of patience for many things which induces anger in them because of many different reasons. As it will be presented below, women's sense making of the concept of patience refers to staying silent and/or tolerating. However, it also refers to metaphorically "boiling water" that includes women's resentment and holding of grudge which frequently ends up in an explosion of all the anger that has remained unexpressed until that day. Sinem

describes the process in which she tries to soothe herself silently instead of venting her anger and the explosion that frequently follows this silent process:

> "I am an introvert. Of course, this is different for my job. I can behave very differently in the classes. I mean, I didn't know it before but my job showed me that I am a patient person. However, mostly I keep my feelings inside. I keep silent. I try to calm myself by living the things inside of me. But, at some point, I usually explode (laughing). *(Sinem)*

> "When my husband doesn't help me on something and I get angry, I respond by being silent, not yelling or anything else. But, in time, keeping silent brings about an anger explosion. Because of remaining silent until that day, at the end, I get hysterical. Yes, that is what it is for me." *(Sinem)*

Nermin and Selda remarked the recurrence of the anger provoking events that becomes intolerable after a while and causes angry outburst:

> "As the others, I tolerate things until when I get angry. But while you are tolerating something you are holding onto a grudge at the same time, because a person doesn't get angry suddenly. Things happen again and again, and at some point, an explosion arises. In those times, if people behave in an insulting manner rather than communicating to express their anger, it will cost something, in my opinion. That's why people should be careful." *(Nermin)*

> "When I see something I usually grumble about it. I correct it by grumbling and I change it the way I want to. If something does not change, then I give up my demand and say, "okay, you use it the way you want if you can".
>
> Inv: You give up.

Yes, sometimes, I might give up in the end.

Inv: Well, how all these do affect your anger expression?

I think, I build it up and then I react seriously in the end.

Inv: What do you mean by serious?

I mean, of course I don't smash things. For example, the incident A happened, then incident B happened and C incident followed it; at the end, I raise my voice, but I don't insult people and I don't swear." *(Selda)*

Selda's excerpt above illustrates the explosion following her built-up anger resulting from the repeated frustration of being unable to influence others; it is seen that her first reaction is to quit trying to change something, but this is followed by the behavior that she describes as overreaction such as shouting.

Gamze narrates that one of her workmates tried to accuse her for being a thief. Although she felt angry at her she did not engage in any aggressive behavior towards this person. She added that when the other incident occurred related to first one, she was out of her patience and she began to scream in the store with a lot of customers around:

"She tried to slander me for being a thief. (…) Then she did the worse to Y (workmate). She slandered her for cheating on her husband. In that time, I get angry but I keep it inside. Despite what I heard I kept silent. While she was leaving the workplace she said to me, "the one who slanders you was Y, not me, you think it was me". When I heard it, this was the first time to resort to violence. I mean, sorry, the violence is not the right term, I call it anger, my anger emerged there. The store was very crowded. I said to Y, "come up here right now!", she said, "what happened?", this time I screamed and said to my other friends, "shut up!". I said again to Y, "come up now!" I wanted to

confront them as well. As I said, I am not a person who easily gets angry, but when I hear a word about me I would confront people about it. Because, I need to understand what happened. (…) I have always known that Y didn't do such thing to me, but I said to her, "you slandered me for being a thief", and I said to the other woman "come here and explain quickly" but I was screaming at the top of my voice." *(Gamze)*

3.2.1.3. Distancing from the Relationship

Anger is a feeling that carries ambivalence for women, and its direct expression, especially in a verbally or physically aggressive way is confusing because it might cause many other unpleasant feelings such as regret as was mentioned above. Also, not all of them but some women are prone to distance themselves from the relationships in which they expressed their anger directly:

"If I express my anger, the others always know that I am out of patience. My friends always say to me, "you are so patient, and the point you at which you are out of your patience is clear." *(Oya)*

"Others' getting hurt is more important for me. Hurting others is the worst thing to do for me. I don't mean the business life of course, I mention about my friends and relatives. If they don't do something very bad to me I don't prefer to hurt them. I express my anger only if they push me. On the other hand, expressing my anger means the end of that relationship for me." *(Oya)*

Oya's statements illustrate her patience towards others and the consequences of her built-up anger. In other words, Where Oya expresses her anger directly is the same point that the relationship ends. Expression of anger and the maintenance of a relationship seem to be incompatible.

Selda describes how she is against people's especially verbally aggressive behaviors in the relationship and how she has a difficulty to comprehend insulting behaviors, especially when they are directed at others' weaknesses. From her perspective, it is difficult to continue the relationship after people express their anger by using those insulting words to each other:

"I mean, if you maintain the relationship, for example, with your family members, friends or boyfriend, you shouldn't use insulting words that much. Because if you insult someone like that, then you should end your relationship with that person. (…) I mean, it is ridiculous. Getting angry is understandable but you cannot use insulting words towards each other. A person should respect her/himself first. We need to ask ourselves, "I insult him, say bad things; then, why I am still in a relationship with this person?" I mean, if that person doesn't mean anything to you, or you consider her/him a loser, then, why do you maintain your relationship?" *(Selda)*

3.2.1.4. The Other's Behavior as a Factor Influencing the Expression of Anger

Remarkably, when women are angry towards someone or something, the way they behave mostly depends on the other's behaviors. Especially in situations that involve women's perceived injustice towards themselves or others and the other person reacts in a disagreeable, even aggressive manner, then women are most likely to behave more aggressively; they speak harshly or sometimes engage in insult and they frequently shout:

"If the other person becomes angry and raises her/his voice then we might have an argument. But if the person reacts calmly I usually grumble for a few minutes, I raise my voice. After that, I usually calm down." *(Selda)*

Oya talked of that when she sees a woman who beats her child, she becomes blinded by anger and obviously interferes in the situation. She states that if the mother of the child reacts negatively and speaks harshly even though she had warned her only kindly, Oya raises her voice and becomes more threatening:

> "If I said calmly, "don't do that to your children" she might have said, "this is not your business" and continue what she was doing. I experienced such things before. At the beginning I have sad kindly, "why are you doing that? Don't do that", many women have responded to me, "this is not your business, and this is my child". In these situations, I used to raise my voice and said, "if you are capable of doing this, then come and do it to me". (…) Yes, this is a kind of test. You warn someone kindly at the beginning; if she doesn't understand, then you behave in the way that she understands." *(Oya)*

Beyza also described how a customer's manner affected the way she expressed her anger; even though at the beginning she tried to explain the matter politely, as the customer started to behave in an insulting manner, she also began to respond to him in the same way:

> "I talk to the man loudly because if the person raises her/his voice then my voice also begins to raise unfortunately. Actually, I feel angry at myself about it but sometimes the others also express themselves very loudly. (…) He insulted me and I insulted him back (laughing). Then, he reported it. But his reporting what I said is not important because I believe that I am right. I treated him as I should. Sometimes, we treat others just the way that others treat us. That was an example." *(Beyza)*

Aylin is another woman whose anger is more likely to be provoked by unjust treatment; she emphasized that she probably behaves more harshly if her daughter's teacher responded harshly to her due to her feedback about a mistake with grading:

> "You said, "if the teacher reacted negatively I reacted differently", how would you have reacted?
> Of course, I would have been spoken harshly. I spoke kindly and passed it over with humor. But if he reacted that way I would have gotten tough with him." *(Aylin)*

3.2.1.5. Consequences of Direct Expression

Expressing anger in the way women choose to express it bring about both many positive and negative experiences; occasionally, the way women prefer might be very determinative in terms of consequences and for women's feelings about having expressed their anger. Sinem and Nermin reported that their raised voice makes others react in a similar way; they underline its influence on shifting the other's reaction from a more positive way to a negative way such as shouting:

> "It is mostly about my reaction. If I react loudly, the other person also reacts negatively. But if I am sympathetic at that moment or I behave more normal way, if I express myself more easily, others also respond to me positively. If I raise my voice, the other might perceive it as if I want to fight with her/him and she/he might think that I am trying to dominate her/him. Naturally, in those situations the others usually withdraw." *(Sinem)*

> "My son has never been a child to slams the door in our faces. But, if I raise my voice he also might raise his voice. We never insult each other, but sometimes yell at each other. There are times that we get angry and yell. However, usually these times don't last long." *(Nermin)*

As was was presented previously, women's anger is intensified when they observe that they are not able to make differences in others' behaviors. Occasionally, realizing that expressing their anger is not helping increase their influence results in withdrawal. In other words, it seems that they do not mostly feel positive and empowered about expressing themselves:

"Inv: How do others react when you say and demand something?

It does not make much difference actually; I mean, sometimes, something goes the way I want for a while but sometimes I notice it does not. If something does not go the way I want, then I give up and don't say anything." *(Selda)*

When Selda's above excerpt considered with her before mentioned statements that points her struggle to increase her influence on others, it might be inferred that her anger comes from being ineffective transforms into a feeling of tiredness in time.

Beyza talked about how she had an argument with a customer and she responded with shouting and insulting words in the same way but when she realized that she was not able to convince him then she withdrew:

"I believe that I have done my best about it, but he doesn't agree with me. We think differently; actually, there is nothing to do about it. When voices raise, naturally you try to be silent. I said, "okay, you are right about it but I am not able to do what you want, you can keep talking but I won't listen to you anymore". By saying this I tried to silence myself actually." *(Beyza)*

On the other hand, direct anger expression, especially speaking harshly and loudly makes possible to increase influence on others for some participants:

"What can you say? "dad why don't I take care of my daughter? This a child, she is very active child, what can I do? If you want you can take care of her". Yes, I lived these things with my father in the past because of my daughter. I used to say to my daughter that I cannot buy something to her, and my father used to buy it without asking me and I used to get angry and said, "dad why did you do it?" (…)

Inv: Did you feel angry about it?

Yes, I used to feel angry but it was not like a fight of course. But I have always shown my reaction to him on this issue. I was saying "don't do that, my daughter might be a spoiled child" After a while, he started to understand me and he did not interfere with the rules about my child." *(Aylin)*

"I feel sad because she (her mother) does not understand me. Because it is my mother, she can say anything she wants to me. Because she is much older now, she is acting in selfish manner and is never satisfied. She always wants to be the center of attention. I cannot always show an interest to someone (laughing). That time, I was beaten by a dog. My mother got very sad about it. After all these happened I lived a nervous breakdown and behaved aggressive a little unintentionally. (…) I wanted something from my husband and he didn't bring it to me and I also felt angry about it. Then we went to our house. After a while my mother called me and said, "are you okay? You are angry now, you have been hurt, don't treat your husband badly". This time she (her mother) began to behave in a nonassertive manner. If you don't show your reaction… It is sad. Even if it is your mother, she cannot understand your difficulty until you show your reaction that way." *(Nermin)*

"Inv: What happened there? That woman said to you, "this is not your business" and then withdrew and explained to you her situation. What affected her behavior?

It is probably because of my reaction. I reacted loudly, angrily. Maybe she feared that I would show a more serious reaction and she might feel ashamed in the school.

Inv: You are saying, your reaction affected her behavior?

Yes, exactly. (…) If I said calmly, "don't do that to your children" maybe she might have said, "this is not your business" and continue what she was doing. I experienced such things before. At the beginning I have sad kindly, "why are you doing that? Don't do that", many women have responded to me, "this is not your business, and this is my child". When I have raised my voice and said, "if you can do, come and do it to me". (…) Yes, this is a kind of test. You warn someone kindly at the beginning, if she doesn't understand it then you behave the way she understands." *(Oya)*

Especially Nermin and Oya's excerpts above illustrate the gained awareness about possible consequences of being more aggressive on others; their statements indicate that the way they express their anger seems to make them feel empowered.

3.2.2. Indirect Expression of Anger

Expressing anger indirectly is very common among the participants. They describe a variety of covert or passive aggressive behaviors including being offended and stop talking to others or giving short answers, sulking and behaving capriciously. Gamze is one of the three divorced women who sulked and stopped talking when she was angry at her husband during their marriage. She mentioned that she switched the

target of these behaviors from the husband to her children after she divorced her husband:

> "I mean, my ex-husband was not a man who shouts at others. When we had an argument, it was always finished at some point.
>
> Inv: How did it finish?
>
> We never used to continue it. But I was sulking in these times, I was showing my reaction by doing that. Yes, after a short argument, I used to cut off communication and become silent. That was my reaction." *(Gamze)*

> "I usually don't yell at someone. I mean, I don't resort to violence but I sulk. Because I don't have a husband now, I am behaving capriciously towards my children. Yes, I do so." *(Gamze)*

As Gamze, Selda also reported that she sulks and stops talking or gives short answers in order to makes others understand her anger towards them:

> "When I get angry at something I might sulk or cut off communication or give short answers to that person with the purpose of making that person understand my anger. I do so because I think for that moment, there is no proper way to explain myself, I don't want to talk to others in such moments." *(Selda)*

The other women also emphasized similar reactions:

> "If you are a working mother you really need to get help from your husband because we share this life. For example, when my husband doesn't help me

with something and I get angry, I don't show it by directly shouting at him. Rather, I give my reaction by keeping silent." *(Sinem)*

"I used to fight with my sister and we used to get cross with each other. My parents also were sulking when they were angry with us. As far as I can remember, we used to cut off our communication for a while during those times." *(Oya)*

In the indirect form of expression, anger is brought to the relationships in some ways, but it is mostly kept covert or silent; however, the mentioned silence is not a passive but an active behavior and carries women's expectations about being understood and being able to change something that they are angry with.

Oya stated her use of appreciative words as a way of declaring her anger towards her children and she considered this the "worst punishment" for them:

"It developed over years. For example, my son is 17 years old, and he can understand what he has done right or wrong by looking at my eyes; it is the same for my daughter. I said, "well done" if they do something bad and make me sad. Actually, it is the worst punishment for them." *(Oya)*

3.2.2.1. Crying

Crying is both an experience and act that is lived through the body and frequently accompanies women's anger as it does for many other feelings. For the participants, crying is a reaction to their feelings of helplessness, powerlessness; in other words, feeling incapable of influencing the external world. Besides, crying is an attempt to regulate women's intense feelings, such as anger and is a way of relief for women.

Aylin states how she feels angry and cries because she can't do anything about violence in the external world:

> "Well, usually, I am not a person who becomes angry quickly and yells at people, I have never been this kind of person. But, mostly I cry because of the sad things that others experience. All these violent acts that I watched in the TV… I am crying due to my anger because I am incapable of doing anything about all these; maybe I can do something for my daughter, my husband and my acquaintances but, I am seeing violence to animals, to women or to children everywhere, but we can't do anything for these. Well, as a society we go after things like a sheep and we keep quiet." *(Aylin)*

Aylin's statements illustrate how the feelings of powerlessness and helplessness are experienced intensely and are followed by tears in her experience.

Crying is an attempt to regulate the intense feelings and hope for relief for women. Aylin emphasizes the regulating and soothing function of crying for her:

> "Sadness… probably, I feel sad, or I cry because of the anger, as well, I mean, I cry when I become angry at something, yes, I cry and I cry, then I pull myself together and after that, I sit and become to think more reasonably." *(Aylin)*.

Just as Aylin, in Oya's experience of crying serves an emotion regulation when she is angry. Moreover, it also serves to express her anger in a less threatening way that might allow her to avoid the negative relational consequences:

> "Usually, probably by crying… Women, me, for example, when I become extremely angry I cry because if I don't cry I might say words that hurt others.

Instead of that, I mean, I need to empty my anger in some way and I empty it through crying." *(Oya)*

Gamze shared a story of her argument with one of her co-workers and talked about how she cried because of her intense anger:

"Yes, it got on my nerves. I went to the boss's room and cried. I said to myself, "why didn't I grab that woman's hair and smash her?" I got angry at myself because I didn't do that. After a while I got calm down, as I said, I am relieving by crying. I got calm down, I drank a coffee and I smoked a cigarette." *(Gamze)*

Gamze complains about not being physically aggressive towards her co-worker and this makes her feel powerless; sense of being unable to have that kind of influence accompanied by tears which make her get some relief. The above excerpt seems to illustrate all the above-mentioned functions of crying for women.

When women's narratives are evaluated, it can be seen that women usually do not state that they cry in someone's presence, from this point, crying might be an act that is not considered a goal-directed way of the bringing women's expectation into their relationships in contrast to other indirect strategies they use to show their anger.

3.2.3. Unvoiced Anger – Self-silencing

Preferring to be silent for various reasons is frequently reported by the participants in this study. Women are more likely to stay silent when they become angry due to their apprehension of offending and hurting people they care about. For some women, on the other hand, the reasons of choosing silence result from their

feeling of frustration and tiredness related to predicting and/or observing their struggles are not able to be effective. As was previously presented in part on "anger as a destructive feeling in the relationships", the reason why Aylin is worried about being disrespectful and making her family resent, her anger mostly remains unvoiced towards them. Likewise, Oya, Yeliz and Beyza are the other women who prefer to remain silent when they are concerned that their anger might offend people with whom they are in a relationship. Beyza mentioned her weariness and unwillingness to explain herself when she is angry at someone:

> "I get angry but as far as I can understand I mostly keep my anger inside. There are situations when I get angry and sad, but even my best friends don't notice it because I live it internally. I am not a person who shows her anger to her friends and talks about it.
>
> Inv: You don't express it that much?
>
> I can explain this way, I don't want to struggle to explain myself. Sometimes, I feel tried to explain myself. I prefer solving it in my mind, all alone." *(Beyza)*

Yeliz's statements below illustrate her preferred silence that is due to her frustration about not being able to make changes on her ex-husband's disturbing behaviors by expressing her anger:

> "My children were saying to me, "mom, why are you bearing it? Say what you feel and think". But, it does not matter how you explain yourself if that person cannot understand what you mean. You say it once but she/he cannot understand it and keeps doing the same thing and I get tired of it. I say to myself "why am I talking? I don't need this". Yes, that's it." *(Yeliz)*

Some women described specific situations in which they chose to behave and communicate in nonassertive (alttan almak, in Turkish) manner when they perceived a threat to their safety, or they did not have any hope to explain themselves to the person they were arguing with:

"First of all, I try not to behave assertively in such situations (in the case of men's aggression) with men. But, if I see that he is out of control, then I don't pay attention" *(Yeliz)*

"Actually, that man came before and his expectation was met but he demands different thing. I said to him that I am not able to do it. He opposed to me saying, "everyone does it, why can't you?" after that, our voices begin to raise. I believe that I have done my best about it but he didn't agree with me. We thought differently about it, actually, there was nothing to do about it. When voices raise, naturally you try to be silent. I said, "okay, you are right about it but I am not able to do what you want, you can keep talking but I won't listen to you anymore". By saying this I tried to make myself silent actually." *(Beyza)*

As was seen in the last excerpt, even though Beyza believed the opposite, she almost submissively accepted other's argument because she felt nearly helpless on convincing that person of her own argument.

3.2.3.1. Turning against the Self

As was mentioned previously in the sections on "anger as an undesirable feeling" anger is an ambivalent feeling that is accompanied by many other unpleasant feelings, therefore, for some women self-silencing is the destination. As it might be inferred by these women's statements their unvoiced anger is not able to be digested, processed and redirected into constructive goals but turned against the self. Women

reported that they feel angry and are critical towards themselves after an incident in which they chose to be silent in relationships with others. Some other women identified specific somatic reactions that are attributed to their unexpressed anger. Gamze feels angry at herself because she suppresses her anger and she emphasizes her desire to scream in order to release her built-up anger at the seashore away from anyone's presence:

> "I don't know that I am a person without anger. Actually, my posture is an irritable one. But, sometimes I suppress my feelings; that's why I get angry with myself, I cannot deny it. I say to myself, "scream a little". I will do that someday. I will scream at the seashore." *(Gamze)*

Similarly, Yeliz illustrated her self-questioning and self-directed anger that result from choosing to be one who becomes sad instead of making others sad in the relationships. She also emphasized her awareness of psychosomatic problems that result from her buried anger.

> "I ruminate about it even I know that I am one hundred percent right. I start to think when I go to the bed, I say to myself: "I know, this person is not right but why I can't say, why I can't do it, why would be the one who get sad?" I think about it by myself but when it comes to telling others about my anger I say to me: "never mind, don't make that person sad and so on" I am giving too much." *(Yeliz).*

> "Well, I have had lots of diseases (laughing). I mean, migraine started, I have a herniated cervical disk, pinched nerve… I have these problems because I keep all things inside of me. I don't easily reveal the problems, I am very patient. In the end, I never let things end up with a fight. I mean, if I need to

end the marriage, I just let it end. I mean, without fighting, I finished it like that." *(Yeliz)*

Selda mentioned that she separated from her long-term boyfriend a while ago and that after they separated, she learned that her boyfriend had been having an affair throughout their relationship. Although she felt angry, she did not try to contact him because she believed in the meaningless of questioning his disloyalty after an ended relationship. Selda underlined the bodily changes such as weight loss that she associates with her unexpressed anger:

> "I felt angry of course, but there is not someone whom I could vent my anger at. The only person that I showed my anger to was him and after the relationship ended, it seemed unreasonable to call him and say, "You did this to me, I saw this, and s so on". It would have been ridiculous. I did not want to contact him again because I absolutely knew that he couldn't give me a satisfactory answer and I knew what ever he said to me I would have not felt satisfied. (…) I mean I didn't need to have an answer. I said to me, "Okay, this ends after all, you hear this now". Of course, I have gone through so much after I heard it; I have lost a lot of weight; I was 120 pounds that time.
>
> Inv: You mentioned kind of depressive symptoms?
>
> Yes exactly, I tried to say all that, but I don't know the psychology term. Yes, I didn't express my anger through angry acts that time, rather I lived all the ways I just described." *(Selda)*

DISCUSSION

In the discussion, review of the results of the current study will be presented and connections will be made with the relevant literature. The main purpose of this study was to deeply investigate women's experience and expression of anger; with the goal of examining how women experience anger subjectively in different contexts that they find themselves in; and how they make sense of expressing their feeling of anger. The participations of the current study comprise eight middle-class women without headscarf, age 34 to 49 years old, with a high school or a bachelor's degree. Semi-structured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews were used for data collection, and Thematic Analysis Method (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to analyze the data. Based on the research questions about subjective experience of anger and the expression of anger, several super-ordinate themes emerged. The super-ordinate themes of *subjective experience of anger* were, *anger as an undesirable feeling, anger as a justifiable feeling, anger as an experience embedded in the interpersonal context, anger as a gendered experience.* Super-ordinate themes of *the expression of anger* were, *direct expression of anger, indirect expression of anger and unvoiced anger-self-silencing* respectively.

4.1. SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE AND EXPRESSION OF ANGER

In the current study, few women described their bodily sensations and cognitive changes that they experience when they are angry. Whereas, Eatough et al. (2008), emphasized the body as a key point of the anger experience; anger, identified as a feeling that is lived in the body. In their study, women referred to some cognitive and bodily changes that accompanied their feeling of anger such as having difficulty on clearly thinking and on controlling their behaviors as usual; experience of hot flushes, sweating, shaking and losing control of body. As it will be mentioned as a limitation of the study in the later parts, it might be related to quality of the interview questions

which focus on the expression aspect of women's anger rather than the experience aspect of it.

Anger is a feeling that is elicited in many contexts by a variety of reasons in women's life. However, this frequently and easily provoked emotion is not being welcomed by women. Parallel to previous literature, the current study illustrated that anger is rarely experienced as a pure sense by women; it is interwoven with the other unpleasant feelings such as hurt and sadness, and frequently it is followed by feeling of guilt and regret when it is expressed. For some participants, even thinking about expressing their anger result in concerning about the possibility of feeling guilt and regret (Thomas, 2005; Eatough et al., 2008).

Women in this study, regardless of their educational level, were more likely to perceive the statement of "anger expression" as a direct physical aggression and/or verbal aggression at least. Somehow, expression of anger seems to refer to negative associations rather than positive associations in the women's sense making of their anger, and was not socially and personally acceptable for many women. Some of the participants repeatedly emphasized the absence of anger and violence in their life; one of them is a mother who beat her children in the past and she normalized her act comparing it with more serious aggressive behaviors such as burning children's body. The discrepancy between her statements and actions is remarkable and it refers to, first, immatureness of her perception regarding anger and its expression because she seems to consider more destructive aggressive acts as an aggression and her sense making of aggression does not involve hitting the children with a slipper. Second, it refers to her struggle to distance herself from anger and aggression by the way of turning her aggressive act into innocent one. This normalization process might be considered to be in the service of keeping anger out and making it foreign and "absent" as she has stated in her narrative. Similarly, many other women seem to disapprove to engage in any verbally or physically aggressive behaviors or witnessing others behaving in such manner. In some women's narratives, pride seems to

accompany their voice while they were expressing how they disapprove of anger-related acts.

The experience of anger is an ambivalent one for many women. Women's narratives revealed that they were mostly confused about feeling angry and behaving with anger. They are frequently preoccupied with and try to predict the possible consequences of their anger expression. When they do express it, this time, they question whether they were right in their angry behavior. On the other hand, being unexpressive also has unpleasant consequences; they criticize themselves because they are not able to be more assertive in conflictual situations which make them often feel powerless as a result.

While anger is predominantly associated with unpleasant feelings, there is one exceptional condition in which women are less likely to be confused and do not step back: perceived injustice towards themselves or others. According to the literature, perceived injustice is one of the essential sources that provokes anger in individuals (Thomas, 2005; Daalen-Smith, 2008; Izard, 2010; Potegal & Stemmler, 2010). Thomas (2005) and Daalen-Smith (2008) specifically emphasized that unfair treatment is a distinct determinant of anger elicitation in women. Parallel to their findings, the current study reveals that unfair treatment and violation of rights are the substantial sources of women's anger. On the other hand, Thomas (2005) stated that although women's anger is elicited when they are treated unjustly they still feel confused about whether they feel anger or hurt and have difficulty on naming their feeling. However, in the current study, many women seemed very sure about what they feel in the case of injustice; it was anger that they felt and frequently their anger motivated them to take action and be involved in situations to make right the thing they felt wrong and unjust.

According to Miller (1983), in gender socialization process, girls are taught that healthy women feel almost no anger, that they do not even need it. The only

condition that make women's assertion more acceptable is defense of others such as their children. Maybe this is a limited conceptualization. It is true that seeing others, especially weak ones and significant others being treated unfairly and being harmed is a predominant trigger for women to take action. However, in contrast with Miller's suggestion, in the current study, many women narrated situations in which they have been assertive to demand their own rights as much as they do it for others. One of them clearly stated that no one violates her rights, not even her family. This might be considered a hopeful finding and it might indicate a change over time from women being only the protector of others to defender of their own rights. Even though anger is an ambivalent and conflcitual emotion that is followed by other unpleasant feelings in women's experience, for some women, anger become less conflictual when they believe their rigthness on something, and even for some of them, expressing their anger in order to demand their rights is associated with a sense of empowerment.

Many studies revealed that women's anger is more likely to be elicited in the interpersonal context (Turkel, 2000; Averill, 1983; Lerner, 1985; Mace, 1976; Scherer & Tannenbaum, 1986; Jones & Peacock, 1992). The findings of the current study showed findings consistent with previous literature. Women narrated that they are more likely to become angry in their relationships with others, especially with their close intimates. Parallel to Turkel's findings (2000), women's anger emerges when they feel not being heard or they cannot hear others. They become angry when their subjective experiences are not recognized and not appreciated; unrecognition of their difficulties and tiredness in household chores and occupational issues, disrespect for their personal decisions are some of the anger inducing issues in women's relationships with their loved ones. For some women, feeling disconnected from their intimates is also a painful, and anger generating matter. According to the relational theorists this might be associated with women's learning of "being in connection" within female socialization process and the posed to the connectedness by self-assertion (Miller & Striver, 1977).

Previous research has shown that not being heard and not being taken seriously, not being treated importantly by significant others is another important trigger of anger for women and the source of feeling powerless in their experience (Daalen-Smith, 2008). The findings of the current study seemed to reveal similar results. Women are more likely to become angry when they are not able to influence others. Feeling not being taken seriously and being incapable of changing something disturbing in others' behaviors seem to intensify their anger and make them engage in more serious reactions such as shouting and being verbally aggressive with the purpose of increasing their influence on others. Repeated efforts and unachieved goals on making change in others frequently bring about tiredness and withdrawal for some women; they give up trying and prefer to stay silent. Being unable to have an impact on others' behaviors might reinforce their feeling of powerlessness and make them feel more powerless than before.

As was mentioned above individuals with whom women get angry are mostly their significant others such as romantic partner/husband, children and parents. Daalen-Smith (2008) argues that expressing anger to someone close causes unpleasant relational consequences for women. Because women more likely to consider their anger a threat to their intimate relationships, they choose to become silent in order to protect their bonds with others. The current study's findings seemed to support this argument. Participants seemed to experience their anger as most destructive when the context was the relationships with their loved ones. They expressed their preoccupations about the possibility of hurting someone they loved with their angry reactions and emphasized the silence they choose in order to prevent others' being hurt. As one of them expressed, "the important thing is other's not being hurt, in order not to hurt others I keep it inside of me" *(Oya)*. Many women's narratives revealed their giving priority to others' feelings even in the situations that they felt hurt because of others' behaviors. Strikingly, even though women's narratives point out the relationship between their anger expression and the

preoccupation about hurting others, it could not be easily specified that how the nature of the relationships with significant others affect women's anger expression. In other words, as it might be inferred from their narratives, the most important thing that determine whether women express their anger or how they express it seems the closeness of the relationship. Some women describe hierarchical qualities of the relationships with their parents and mentioned about the effect of these qualities on their unwillingness to express their anger to parents. Some of these women also stressed that they express their anger more easily towards their husbands with whom women don't consider that they have a hierarchical relationship. Some others' narratives indicate that they are more comfortable about showing their anger to their children. However, these inferences do not seem to be a representative for all the participants in the study. Rather, the significance of the person with whom women are in a relationship seems to more determinant on women's anger expression.

Where does women's belief in the destructiveness of anger come from? The answer to this question might be the key aspect of understanding women's sense making of anger. The literature presented relevant findings that might help explain the women's perceived destructiveness about their anger. The feminist theorists and researchers are most likely to understand the women's dilemma in their anger experience as an outcome of the feminine socialization process. Lerner (1980), based on her clinical observations with adult female clients and other contemporary research in the field, stated that women grow up in the mostly unsupportive social environments in which they are not provided an opportunity to express their anger freely and this, in the long-term affects negatively the development of women's self-assertive attitudes. Similarly, Turkel (2000) argued the femininity stereotypes that do not include women's possible destructive parts as a human being. The description of healthy woman involves dependency, submission, nonaggressive and noncompetitive features; this description excludes women's assertiveness and aggressive expression and as a result, it excludes the possible inhibition of women's anger related acts.

Consistent with Lerner and Turkel's arguments, the current study concluded that women are more prone to attribute themselves the qualities of compassion and delicacy while they attribute aggressiveness to men. Some women's emphasis on this difference being by "nature" is remarkable in their understanding of anger and aggression. They seem to perceive anger as a matter of disposition. In this regard, these women's attribution of constitutional compassion and delicacy to women might be considered a deep internalization of femininity stereotypes that define women as nonaggressive. Women's internalized femininity stereotypes that create the image of compassionate and nonaggressive woman also disapproves of the anger and aggression in women. This process might explain women's nearly irrational fear of their anger and fear of its destructiveness on their relationships. From this perspective, it might also be easier to understand women's struggling to distance themselves from their anger.

Additionally, Lerner's (1980) discussion is quite enlightening in understanding women's fear of anger and their struggle to keep anger away from their relationships. She emphasized the importance of the separation-individuation issues in understanding women's anger experience and she reminded us an old saying, "A son is a son till he gets a wife; a daughter is your daughter for all her life." (p. 141.) This saying is a good indicator of the deep intimacy between mothers and daughters and it also refers to the difficulty of women on achieving autonomy from their mothers. Especially in countries as Turkey, traditionally, majority of people are prone to have close bonds with their family members, and with the changing life conditions, the grandparents, particularly, grandmothers become the major supporters of child rearing because their daughters work in full time jobs. When these qualities of society of Turkey are considered, it is clear that the separation-individuation issues are more needed to be paid attention in making sense of women's anger experience in Turkey. Based on Lerner's statements, it might be suggested that women may be more likely have difficulty in achieving their autonomy from their mother in Turkey. In this

regard, participants' experiencing anger mostly as an undesirable feeling and their struggle to keep this feeling away from themselves and their relationships might be discussed based on the probable influence of separation-individuation issues on women's anger experience.

In spite of the changing social structure in Turkey over the years, it might be stated that some elements of culture are changing slower than the others. Maybe gender related characteristics and its conscious or unconscious representations in people's experiences and social life can be considered slow changing elements in the culture. In Turkish, there are sayings such as, "anasına bak kızını al" and "ananın bahtı kızına". These sayings emphasize how the society attributes similarity to mothers and daughters in Turkish culture. When the society's attribution to women that mostly encourage the similarity with their mothers is considered, it might be expected how separation from mother might be a challenging and problematic issue for women in Turkey.

Bernardez (1978) stated that being angry with someone creates loneliness and makes the person feel separated from the elicitor of anger for a while; likewise, Lerner (1980) emphasized that expressing anger is a signal of difference and feeling separate from a person whom we are in a relationship with. Therefore, a woman who confronts someone in anger does not feel as one's wife, one's mother or more importantly, one's daughter anymore; at that moment, she is independent and all alone. The natural aloneness and separation in the experience of anger is unbearable for many women. Anger is the feeling that is responsible for being distant from the love object for a while. For women, who had learned to grow in connection and traditionally encouraged to maintain the bond and connection with the significant ones, tolerating the distance from the love object and being separate and alone is quite a compelling issue. All of these seem to provide an explanation for ambivalence in the participants' anger experience and their struggle to distance from it. Thomas et al. (1998) drew attention to women's irresistible urge to undo their angry outbursts by

apologies and self-accusation. In the current study, most women did not narrate stories that they tried to undo what they did with anger. However, consistent with Bernardez's (1978) statements, many of them identified self-questioning, guilt and regret following their angry acts, and others, based on their past experiences, stated their worry about feeling regret if they were to express their anger to others. Such unpleasant feelings might indicate the unbearableness of feeling disconnected and separate from their love objects.

Even though the arguments of Bernardez, Lerner and some other Western theorists provides valuable contributions towards understanding the participants' intrapsychic dynamics associated with anger experience, it is also very important to take the social and cultural structure which women raise and live in, into consideration in understanding their sense making of anger. Fişek (2018) draws attention to difference between Western and Eastern perspectives towards understanding individuals' inner psychological development, noting the emphasis on the social and cultural features in the Eastern perspective in contrast with the emphasis on the intrapsychic dynamics of the Western perspective. Accordingly, focusing on the typical characteristics of Turkey that are related to Eastern culture seems to be critical if we want to understand the experiences and sense making of women who have grown up in this culture. In Turkey, individuals who fit the traditional pattern are more likely to tend to develop a "familial self" that refers to a psychological organization involving one's functioning in relation to hierarchical closeness relationships that are created by family, affinity, community and extended society (Fişek, 2018). Fişek (2003), also emphasized that in Turkey, both gender-related hierarchy and intergenerational hierarchy have somewhat weakened over time, but that on the other hand, the protection and caring of those higher in the hierarchy and closeness continue to remain strong in the family structure. Change enables individuals to question the explicitly learned representations such as hierarchical rules, but the individuals might still be expected to have difficulty

disclosing and questioning the nonverbally internalized relational representations and expectations about closeness.

In Turkey, as in other Eastern countries, a child develops a relational sense of self based on symbiosis-reciprocity. This sense of self involves changeable attitudes and behaviors depending on the different hierarchical relationships and social context; it is also permeable when the closeness comes into the forefront in the relationship. As Fişek (2018) argues, with the changing structure in the culture, the expansion towards an individualized familial self be inevitably multifaceted fragmental and may contain contrasts and conflicts. This argument seems to explain why individuals in Turkey experience inner conflicts between the desires and struggles of being separated, autonomous and of keeping close to others. In the light of above-mentioned arguments it seems that the findings of the current study that underline women's negative associations and ambivalence about their anger need to be discussed from a broader perspective than women's difficulty with separation-individuation from their mother.

The narratives of the participants indicated that many of them have very close relationships with their family members; the participants are very sensitive about the expectations and approval of their family members and even question and feel frustrated with the attitudes and the intrusion of family towards their lifestyles and personal decisions. In many women's narratives, struggles to preserve the balance between hierarchy and relational closeness could be easily heard. On the one hand, they have their own desires and preferences and many women keep doing what they desire even if their family objects to it; nevertheless, some of them do not consider a proper thing to declare their disapproval to their family. As a solution and to preserve the balance, some of them seem to hide their disapproval and lie. One of the participant stated that she has a boyfriend but she does not prefer to declare it to her family because she believes neither her extended family nor the children would listen and try to understand her because she is a divorced women. *(Gamze)*. Another said

that she has been smoking for years, but she has never told this to her family because she knows her mother is totally against this *(Sinem)*.

The way some women use to preserve the balance seems to trigger ambivalent feelings such as anger and guilt. In this regard, when the findings of the current study are considered, it could be stated that the participants have an individualized familial self pattern and experience conflicts between the desires and struggles of being separated autonomous and of keeping being close to significant others. When the emphasized relationship in the previous literature between anger and separation-individuation is considered, it might be suggested that the findings related to women's worry and fear about their anger in the relational context and the possible unconscious belief about the destructiveness of their anger might be related to their fear of the ruining the balance between the hierarchy and relational closeness. The same reason might explain the unbearableness of the intensity of anger. Women stated their ambivalent feelings about expressing the anger towards their significant others and for many of them the anger remains unspoken because of the possibility of hurting another. On the other hand, keeping quiet also is not a positive experience for them and mostly, makes them feel powerless. This conflict might be evaluated in accordance with Fişek's arguments about individualized familial self pattern.

The participants, at a conscious level, seem to become angry and challenge some family-related expectations and some behave the opposite way. However, many women feel negative about it; not being approved and supported in their preferences by family members is unpleasant for them. Feeling both separated and content at the same time about what they believe and how they act seem to be challenging experience for them. Anger-related feelings seem to be a center of all these when the possible unconscious associations between anger and fear of object loss are taken into consideration. In the light of all these, it is clearly seen that overt expression of anger might be considered disturbing and disrespectful of boundaries in the hierarchical close relationships for the participants (Fişek, 2003), as one of them explained that

she prefers to be silent because she worries about expressing her anger towards parents might be perceived as disrespectful. One indicator of a lack of separation-individuation is the fear of upsetting the other; being angry at or upsetting the mother are synonymous with upsetting oneself. Doing the same with the father is near impossible.

Like many scholar, Bernardez (1996) also emphasized that in the socialization process, men are encouraged to have power and to express their anger; whereas, women are encouraged to be agreeable and cooperative. Unconsciously, both women and men are more likely to conform to these gender-based expectations and they are prone to behave the way society expects of them. In this process, expectedly, man is the chosen sex to discharge the anger that women experience but cannot express because of being prohibited for it by society. Turkel (2000) drew attention to the importance of understanding the complementary function of women and men in the relational dynamics. Unconsciously, woman as a person who is responsible for soothing "the angry man" expresses many emotions that man feel but are socially inhibited from expressing such as grieving for separation and loss, feeling of vulnerability, hurt and shame.

The current study seemed to provide information that agrees with Turkel's statements on women's and men's complementary function in experience and expressing their emotions, especially their feeling of anger. The narrative of the participants indicated that women experience anger as a gendered emotion that belongs to men. Women tend to compare themselves with men in terms of the way of experiencing and expressing their anger. They are more likely to consider themselves agreeable and many of them emphasized how they are against violence. Some of them, proudly referred to the absence of anger and aggression in their lives. Many women underlined that talking is a most preferred and used way in their anger expression. For some of them, talking is a necessity of being proper woman. For

some others, it is the only functional way to express their anger and solve the problems.

On the other hand, when the subject is men's anger and aggression things seem to change. Even though women declared that they find inappropriate men's aggressive behaviors, they are more likely to consider it ordinary occurrence. Anger and the physically and verbally aggressive way of expressing it seem to be accepted by women as a "man's thing". When it is considered with their self-perception of being nonaggressive, constitutionally compassionate and delicate as a woman, it might be evaluated as women's struggle to maintain the traditional complementary function between women and men. Men's anger and aggressive tendencies might be more ordinary and acceptable at the unconscious level for both sexes because these tendencies may serve to release women's anger through men. In this regard, it might be considered that, for men, women are the channel of experiencing the emotions that they feel but are inhibited to express such as hurt and feeling of vulnerability. Therefore, it might be stated that participants of the current study were mostly comfortable at expressing their feeling of hurt and sadness, if they were sure that they won't hurt the others.

The previous literature illustrated that women are more likely to keep their anger inside or express it indirectly (Cox et al., 1999; Thomas, Smucker, & Droppleman, 1998; Jack, 2001; Jaramillo-Sierra et al., 2017). Parallel to literature, the current study found that indirect way of expressing anger is a quite common among women. Jack (2001) referred to the 'hostile distance' form of indirect anger expression. In hostile distance, women bring anger into the relationships by way of cutting off the communication, sulking and so on. Women's distancing from the relationships in this way lets them convey their disagreement about the relationships but it also make possible to deny their anger and avoid unfavorable relational outcomes. Consistent with Jack's arguments, many participants referred to the pattern of cutting off communication, sulking and some other related behaviors especially in relationships

with their close intimates. Doing that, women bring their anger into the relationship but also kept it covert or silent. However, this pattern of behavior may not be considered a passive strategy because through this strategy, women convey their expectation and demand to change something that elicited their anger. On the other hand, in contrast with Jack's arguments, participants of the current study did not refer to clearly an effort to avoid the negative relational consequences as a reason for using indirect expression strategies. However, their use of these strategies might be related to the existence of the similar patterns in their nuclear family while they were growing up. The women who used indirect way of anger expression did not describe their experience or its consequences negatively. Even for some women, it might be advantageous way to express anger because many of them seemed to be aware of using these strategies to show their anger and the persistence of using these strategies might indicate the possible pleasant consequences of them even if women did not clearly identify them.

According to the previous literature, crying is one of the essential parts of women's anger experience and an intense form of expressing emotions. In spite of that, interestingly, studies on adult crying is limited (Vingerhoets, Cornelius, Van Heck, & Becht, 2000; Vingerhoets & Cornelius, 2001). The majority of the authors have considered crying an expression of helplessness and powerlessness in women's experience (Vingerhoets & Scheirs, 2000; William & Morris, 1996). Eatough et al. (2008) also emphasized that women became angry and cry because of the conflictual issues in their relationships; feeling rejected, lonely, frustrated and especially feeling powerless make them angry and bring about tears. Also, they underlined that for many women, crying is an effort to control their anger and hope for relief. Within the scope of the current study findings consistent with the literature were revealed. When the women's narratives about their crying episodes are considered, it seems that crying is both experience and expression form for women. It is experience because many women emphasized its complimentary function; majority of the times feeling

of anger is accompanied by tears in women's experiences and it is lived through the body. On the other hand, crying also might be considered an expression because women vent their anger through tears. Jack (2001) underlined that crying is a safer indirect way to bring anger into the relationships for women because it is not against to gender-based expectations, for this reason, it does not offend other and not jeopardize women's relationships.

In the current study, many participants emphasized that they cry when they feel angry. However, as far as it might be inferred their narratives they mostly cry out of others' presence. In other words, for participants, crying seems to be a way of expressing their anger but it might not be the way of bringing their anger into the relationships differently from Jack's participants. It seems that majority of the time it is experienced and expressed alone. Parallel to emphasis of Eatough et al. (2008), for many participants crying is a reaction to their feelings of helplessness and powerlessness; in other words, feeling incapable of influencing external worlds elicits anger and not surprisingly, it is accompanied by tears for some women. For many women, at the same time, crying is an attempt to regulate and control their intense feelings such as anger and it is a way of relief.

Jack's (2001) study illustrated that some women portrayed explosive reactions that they engaged in out of others' presence such as yelling, throwing objects, slamming doors and crying. It is emphasized in that study that being afraid of others' reactions and internalized gender related expectations about women's anger impel them to express their anger only when they are alone. Jack (2001) indicated that women considered using this pattern of behavior a frustration because there, the anger is not expressed toward its actual elicitor. Participants of the current study did not define explosive reactions they engaged in out of others' presence such as yelling, throwing objects and so on. However, crying alone is might be an example of it in women's experience.

Jack (2001) also indicated that women's expectation about others' responses is very important to decide how they express their anger to others. Bringing anger into the relationship or keep it out is quite confusing issue for many of them. Parallel to Jack's indications what women do with their anger frequently depends on the others' behaviors, when they feel treated unfairly by others, and witnessing one's being treated unfairly provoke them to engage in a situation, and if the person reacts in the disagreeable and aggressive manner, women are more likely to behave more aggressively; they speak harshly, sometimes they use insults and they frequently raise their voices in the purpose of providing justice.

Previous literature drew attention to a link between gender related roles and women's pattern of embedding anger in their body (Jaramillo-Sierra et al., 2017). Many authors emphasized that storing anger in the body instead of expressing it overtly is quite common among women (Thomas et al., 1998) and it is a strategy that women use to restrain any possibility of anger expression (Cox et al., 1999). Consistent with the literature, participants of the current study reported that they prefer to be silent when they feel angry with others, unsurprisingly, because they worry about hurting and offending people they care about. For some women, feeling of frustration and tiredness associated with predicting and/or observing that their struggles are not able to serve their initial expectations bring about silence. In addition, a number of women portrayed situations in which they behave in nonassertive manner (alttan almak, in Turkish) because they perceived a threat to their safety or they did not have any hope to explain themselves to others.

Study of Thomas and her colleagues (1998) revealed that unspoken anger end up feeling powerless and it is associated with the damaged dignity for women. Women mostly reported unpleasant feelings such as feeling small and diminished in the case of suppressing their anger. Current study revealed quite consistent findings. Anger was mostly undesirable and ambivalent for many women as was mentioned earlier. For this reason, as it might be expected, anger is a feeling that is mostly accompanied

by unpleasant feelings and for some participants self-silencing is the destination. As Thomas et al. emphasized, keeping anger unspoken has costs for women. They rarely feel positive about it; they frequently feel angry and are critical towards themselves when they choose to be silent in the relationships with others.

Moreover, as far as was inferred from women's narratives, unexpressed anger is not able to be digested, processed and redirected into constructive goals, in contrast to some authors' findings in the literature. The unvoiced anger is mostly turned against the self by the participants of the current study; some of them identified specific somatic reactions that they consciously associate with their unexpressed anger such as physical diseases including migraine, herniated cervical disk and pinched nerve, and mental health difficulties including depression. In this respect, the current study seems to reach to some findings supporting the previous literature which emphasized associations between anger suppression and women's somatizations and depressive symptoms (Cox et al, 2004; Liu, Cohen, Schulz, & Waldinger, 2011; Rude, Chrisman, Burton Denmark, & Maestas, 2012; Kopper & Epperson, 1991; Munhall, 1994).

Thomas et al., based on the years of study on women's anger emphasized Turkish women's distinct tendency towards anger and high level of stress, their higher levels of depressive symptoms and higher anger-related somatic reactions. She underlined that the greater oppression that women face in the Turkish society might lie behind it (Thomas & Atakan, 1993; Thomas, 2005). As a matter of fact, within the scope of the current study, it was initially expected to reach broader results referring to the relationship between women's anger experience and their physical and mental health. However, only two of the participants reported anger-related physical and psychological difficulties. Thomas and Atakan also indicated that women are allowed to easily express their anger to female friends or lower-class housemaids but they are inhibited from expressing it to higher-status husbands (Thomas & Atakan, 1993; Thomas 2005). The married participants of the current study did not define any

difficulty in expressing anger to their husbands even if they are higher-status. Now, twenty-five years have passed since their study and different findings seem to be revealed by the current study. It is obviously questionable but it might be also hopeful difference because, at some level, this finding might refer to that women become taking more egalitarian positions in their relationships, today, in our society.

The comprehensive study of Thomas et al. also revealed that women's unspoken, built-up anger might be followed by angry outbursts such as shouting at the top of their voice, hitting or swearing. In consistent with the study by Thomas et al., the current study found that many women emphasized how patient they are in the relationships and it seems that it is a reason to be proud for some women. As was mentioned, many women's anger remains unspoken and it is not digested and processed constructively by them. Therefore, it has not gone anywhere but it builds up in time and for some of them, when they are out of patient, the unspoken anger is followed by explosive behaviors such as shouting. For some of them these angry explosions bring about the other unpleasant feelings such as guilt and regret.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CLINICAL PRACTICE

The results of the current study might have some notable implications for clinical work. Women's expressions indicated that many of them are quite familiar with expressing their emotions, especially to their female friends. However, these emotions involve happiness, sadness and hurt rather than anger. It seems like anger is not the feeling that women spontaneously and easily talk about. Maybe, the essential issue is about recognizing and accepting the existence of this feeling. Many women, majority of the time, cannot be sure about what they feel. Anger is not experienced in any pure sense; rather, it is interwoven with many other feelings such as sadness and hurt. They are frequently confused about their anger-related experiences and question themselves about the legitimacy of their angry reactions. As Turkel (2000) emphasized, women experience gender-based inequalities in their daily life that make them feel more powerless and angrier and they need for more power and autonomy. For the therapist, it could be important to keep in mind that many participants experience being woman as bearing life's burden. Their repeated frustration resulting from gender-related roles in daily life more likely to bring about anger and explosion towards others in the long term. Therefore, while working with women, it might be important to be aware of the social roots of anger. As Turkel stated, not being aware of this and the disapproval of the society on women's anger might make therapist blame women about their difficulties in expressing anger or underestimate women's difficulties on it.

The previous literature's emphasis on the possible relationship between the separation-individuation issues and women's anger could be noteworthy for the clinical work as well (Lerner, 1980; Bernardez, 1978). It might be useful to take into consideration the separation anxiety and fear of object loss in understanding of women's perceived destructiveness and possible irrational fear of their own anger in the therapeutic process. Unpleasant associations with anger make women try to

distance themselves from this feeling. Women rarely understand and process their experience of anger. In parallel with this, self-silencing is quite common among them as a dysfunctional and unhealthy solution. As the literature indicated and some of the participants referred in the interviews, unexpressed and unprocessed anger gets associated with somatic symptoms and psychological difficulties. In this regard, it could be an important suggestion for clinical process to understand the obstacles for expressing anger and work on naming and processing it.

Feminist author Chemaly (2018) argues that maybe what is needed is an emphasis on the importance of emotional competency for boys and men as well as for girls and women.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study intended to deeply investigate women's subjective experiences and expressions of anger. The study is important because it is the first qualitative study investigating women's subjective experiences of anger in Turkey. Using a qualitative method and thematic analysis provided an opportunity to understand the anger experiences of a specific group of women in-depth.

As a limitation, it would be useful to note that, the interview questions of this study begin with the questions of "What kind of experience is it being woman do you think?" and "How do you feel about expressing your feelings as a woman?" There is not any initial question focusing on women's anger experience directly, and questions continue with a focus on different aspects of the emotion of anger. Questions that emphasized "expression" rather than "experience" of women's anger might have led to missing points in experience-related matters and may have negatively affected gathering more detailed information on some aspects of women's anger experience. For example, the body and cognition might be two of the less detailed points about women's anger experience. In the current study, few women described their bodily sensations and cognitive changes that they experience when they are angry.

The other limitations of the study could be the nature of the sample. The sample was homogenous but through the analysis process it was realized that the group could have been more homogenous for the specific topic as anger experience. Even though the participants live in a same society, exposed relatively to similar gender socialization, the sense making of their anger might be different at different ages. A married woman with children might have different anger inducing experiences than a working single woman who lives with her family. For the future studies, it might be useful to take this limitation into consideration; setting a more homogenous sample

could make easier to gather more information about the commonalities in the women's subjective anger experiences. On the other hand, it is also important to study larger and more heterogeneous samples to get a more representative understanding of women's experience and expression of anger in Turkey.

Another limitation of the study is about quality of the interview questions. The questions are set for investigating women's anger specifically, and the essential purpose was to gather information about how they experience and express their anger as a woman live in this society. The quality of the questions based on the purpose of the current study might have impact on women's consideration and narratives about their experiences. In other words, the statement of "as a woman" that is emphasized in the questions might prime women to understand and approach to anger experience in association with the gender-related roles.

Relationship between anger and women's physical and psychological health seem to be one of the important topics in the context of women's anger. However, as the literature indicated, (Cox et al, 2004; Liu, Cohen, Schulz, & Waldinger, 2011; Rude, Chrisman, Burton Denmark, & Maestas, 2012; Kopper and Epperson, 1991; Munhall, 1994) research on women's anger is limited. This topic needs more research because it is associated with women's physical and psychological health and as the literature and the current study clearly illustrated, it is one of the key aspects of understanding women's difficulties in social life and close relationships.

.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to gain a deep understanding about women's experience and expression of anger. It focused on women's subjective experience in different context that their anger is triggered and the attitudes about expressing their anger were examined. Considering the lack of qualitative research on this topic in Turkey, the study was designed to provide in-depth understanding of the topic. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 8 women to gather detailed information about their anger experiences.

The results of the study provided mostly consistent findings with the previous literature. Anger seems to an undesirable feeling for women that is rarely experienced as a pure sense and in the case of its expression, it is frequently accompanied by other unpleasant feelings such as guilt and regret. There is an exceptional condition that women rarely feel confused about their feeling of anger: perceived injustice towards themselves or others. In such cases, women express their anger to provide justice for themselves or for others in the different forms from verbal aggression to speaking harshly or raising their voices. Sense of empowerment accompanied their anger expression in these situations. Women's anger experiences found to be associated with the traditional gender-related expectations. Women's anger is frequently emerged in the interpersonal context but they also feel fragile about expressing their anger in relationships with their intimates. Women are more likely to use indirect strategies to express their anger than direct expression forms but talking emphasized by many of them as most used and functional way to show anger. Lastly, self-silencing and built-up anger are found to be common among participants. Self-silencing is the destination for some of them in order to avoid negative relational consequences.

REFERENCES

Allen, J. G., & Haccoun, D. M. (1976). Sex differences in emotionality: A multi-dimensional approach. *Human Relations, 29*, 711–722.

Archer, J. (2000). Sex differences in aggression between heterosexual partners: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *126*, 651–680.

Archer, J. (2002). Sex differences in physically aggressive acts between heterosexual partners: A meta-analytic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 7*, 313–351.

Archer, J. (2004). Sex differences in aggression in real-world settings: A meta-analytic review. *Review of General Psychology, 8*, 291–322.

Archer, J., & Lloyd, B. B. (2002). *Sex and gender*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Averill, J. (1983). Studies on Anger and Aggression: Implications for Theories of Emotion. *American Psychologist, 38*, 1145-1160.

Averill, J. R. (1982). *Anger and aggression: An essay on emotion*. New York, NY: Springer Verlag.

Averill, J. R. (1993). Illusions of anger. In R. B. Felson & J. T. Tedeschi (Eds.), *Aggression and violence: Social interactionist perspectives* (pp. 171-192). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Barrett, L. F., Robin, L., Pietromonaco, P. R., & Eyssell, K.M. (1998). Are women the more emotional sex. *Cognition and Emotion, 12*(4), 555–578.

Baumeister, R. F., Stillwell, A., & Wotman, S. R. (1990). Victim and perpetrator accounts of interpersonal conflict: Autobiographical narratives about anger. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59,* 994–1005.

Bernardez, T. (1978), Women and anger: Conflicts with aggression in contemporary women, *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 33*(5), 215-219.

Bernardez, T. (1987).Women and anger: Cultural prohibitions and the feminine ideal. *Work in progress, Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies.*

Bernardez, T. (1996). Conflicts with anger and power in women's groups. *Women and group psychotherapy*, 176-199.

Bettencourt, B. A., & Miller, N. (1996). Gender differences in aggression as a function of provocation: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 119*, 422–447.

Biaggio, M. K. (1980). Assessment of anger arousal. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *44*(3), 289-298.

Boratav, H. B., Sunar, D., & Ataca, B. (2011). Emotional display rules and their contextual determinants: An investigation with university students in Turkey. *Turk Psikoloji Dergisi*, *26*(68), 90-101.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Brody, L. R. (1993). On understanding gender differences in the expression of emotion: Gender roles, socialization, and language. In S. Ablon, D. Brown, E. Khantzian, & J. Mack (Eds.), *Human feelings: Explorations in affect development and meaning* (pp. 87–121). New York: Analytic.

Brody, L. R., & Hall, J. A. (2008). Gender and emotion in context. In M. Lewis, J. Haviland-Jones, & L. Feldman Barrett (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions* (pp. 395–409). New York: Guilford.

Brody, L. R., Lovas, G. S., & Hay, D. H. (1995). Gender differences in anger and fear as a function of situational context. *Sex Roles, 32,* 47–78.

Buss, D. M. (1989). Conflict between the sexes: Strategic interference and the evocation of anger and upset. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 5*, 735–747. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Campbell, A. (2006). Sex differences in direct aggression: What are the psychological mediators? *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 11,* 237–264.

Chemaly, S. (2018). *Rage Becomes Her: The Power of Women's Anger*. Simon and Schuster.

Cox, D. L., Stabb, S. D., & Bruckner, K. H. (1999). *Women's anger: Clinical and developmental perspectives*. Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel.

Cox, D. L., Van Velsor, P., & Hulgus, J. F. (2004). Who me, angry? Patterns of anger diversion in women. *Health Care for Women International, 25,* 872-893.

Deffenbacher, J. L., Oetting, E. R., Thwaites, G. A., Lynch, R. S., Baker, D. A., Stark, R. S., Thacker, G., & Eiswerth-Cox, L. (1996). State–trait anger theory and the utility of the trait anger scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *43*(2), 131.

Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Undoing gender. *Gender & Society, 21,* 106-127.

Eagly, A. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Eagly, A. H. (1997). Sex differences in social behavior: Comparing social role theory and evolutionary psychology. *American Psychologist, 50*, 1380–1383.

Eagly, A. H., & Steffen, V. J. (1986). Gender and aggressive behavior: A meta-analytic review of the social psychological literature. *Psychological Bulletin, 100*, 309–330.

Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (1999). The origins of sex differences in human behavior. Evolved dispositions versus social roles. *American Psychologist, 54,* 408–423.

Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2011). Feminism and the evolution of sex differences and similarities. *Sex Roles, 64,* 758-767.

Eagly, A. H., Eaton, A., Rose, S. M., Riger, S., & McHugh, M. C. (2012). Feminism and psychology: Analysis of a half-century of research on women and gender. *American Psychologist*, *67*(3), 211.

Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Diekman, A. B. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal. In T. Eckes & H. M. Trautner (Eds.), *The developmental social psychology of gender* (pp. 123–174). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Eatough, V., Smith, J. A., & Shaw, R. (2008). Women, anger, and aggression: An interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *23*(12), 1767-1799.

El-Sheikh, M., Buckhalt, J. A., & Reiter, S. L. (2000). Gender-related effects in emotional responding to resolved and unresolved interpersonal conflict. *Sex Roles, 43,* 719–735.

Fehr, B. (1996). *Friendship processes.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fehr, B., Baldwin, M., Collins, L., Patterson, S., & Benditt, R. (1999). Anger in close relationships: An interpersonal script analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*, 299–312.

Fischer, A. H. (1993). Sex differences in emotionality: Fact or stereotype. *Feminism and Psychology, 3,* 303–318.

Fischer, A. H., & Evers, C. (2011). The social costs and benefits of anger as a function of gender and relationship context. *Sex Roles, 65,* 23-34.

Fischer, A. H., & Roseman, I. J. (2007). Beat them or ban them: The characteristics and social functions of anger and contempt. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93,* 103–115.

Fischer, A. H., Rodriguez-Mosquera, P. M., Van Vianen, A. E. M., & Manstead, A. S. R. (2004). Gender and culture differences in emotion. *Emotion, 4*, 87–94.

Fişek, G. O. (Eylül, 2003). *The traditional self and family in flux: Opportunities and risks engendered by change*. Seminer sunumu. Transkulturelt Centrum, Stockholm, İsveç, 23 Eylül.

Fişek, G. O. (2018). *İlişki içinde "ben"*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.

Frank, E., Carpenter, L. L., & Kupfer, D. J. (1988). Sex differences in recurrent depression: Are there any that are significant? *American Journal of Psychiatry, 145,* 41-45.

Frodi, A. (1977). Sex differences in the perception of a provocation: A survey. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 44,* 113–114.

Frodi, A., Macaulay, J., & Thome, P. R. (1977). Are women always less aggressive than men? A review of the experimental literature. *Psychological Bulletin, 84*, 634–660.

Funabiki, D., Bologna, N. C, Pepping, M., & FitzGerald, K. C. (1980). Revisiting sex differences in the expression of depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 89,* 194-202.

Funkenstein, D., King, S., & Drolettte, M. (1954). The direction of anger during a laboratory stress-inducing situation. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 16,* 403–413.

Gilligan, C. (1990), Joining the resistance: Psychology, politics, girls and women. *Michigan Quarterly Review, 29*(4), 241-251.

Greenglass, E. R., & Julkunun, J. (1989). Construct validity and sex differences in Cook-Medly hostility. *Personality and Individual Differences, 10,* 209-218.

Harburg, E., Julius, M., Kaciroti, N., Gleiberman, L., & Schork, A. (2003). Expressive/suppressive anger-coping responses, gender, and types of mortality: A 17-year follow-up (Tecumseh, Michigan, 1971-1988). *Psychosomatic Medicine, 65,* 588-597.

Harris, M. B. (1991). Effects of sex of aggressor, sex of target, and relationship on evaluations of physical aggression. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 6,* 174–186.

Harris, M. B. (1994). Gender of subject and target as mediators of aggression. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 24,* 453–471.

Hochschild, A. R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology, 85*, 551-575.

Hyde, J. S. (1984). How large are gender differences in aggression? A developmental analysis. *Developmental Psychology, 20*, 722–736.

Izard, C. E. (2010). The many meanings/aspects of emotion: Definitions, functions, activation, and regulation. *Emotion Review, 2,* 363-370.

Jack, D. C. (1991). *Silencing the self: Women and depression*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard

Jack, D. C. (1999a). *Behind the mask: Destruction and creativity in women's aggression.*

Jack, D. C. (1999b). Silencing the self: Inner dialogues and outer realities. In T. E. Joiner and J. C. Coyne (Eds.), *The interactional nature of depression: Advances in interpersonal approaches.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Jack, D. C. (2001). Understanding women's anger: A description of relational patterns. *Health Care for Women International*, *22*(4), 385-400.

Jacobs, G., Phelps, M., & Rohrs, B. (1989). Assessment of anger expression in children: The pediatric anger expression scale. *Personality and Individual Differences, 10,* 59–65.

Jaramillo-Sierra, A. L., Allen, K. R., & Kaestle, C. E. (2017). Young women's anger in romantic relationships: Gendered rules and power. *Journal of Family Issues*, *38*(13), 1825-1851.

Jones, M. B., & Peacock, M. K. (1992). Self-reported anger in adolescents. *Health Values: The Journal of Health Behavior, Education & Promotion. Journal of Sociology, 85,* 551-575.

Kopper, B. A. (1993). Role of gender, sex role identity, and type A behavior in anger expression and mental health functioning. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 40,* 232-237.

Kopper, B. A., & Epperson, D. L. (1991). Women and anger: Sex and sex role comparisons in the expression of anger. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15*, 7-14.

Kring, A. M. (2000). Gender and anger. In A. H. Fischer (Eds.), *Gender and emotion: Social psychological perspectives* (pp.211–231). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lerner, H. G. (1980). Internal prohibitions against female anger. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 40*(2), 137-148.

Lerner, H. G. (1985). *The dance of anger*. New York: Harper & Row.

Lerner, H.G. (1977). The taboos against female anger. *Menninger Perspective, 8*(4), 4-11.

Liu, L., Cohen, S., Schulz, M. S., & Waldinger, R. J. (2011). Sources of somatization: Exploring the roles of insecurity in relationships and styles of anger experience and expression. *Social Science & Medicine, 73,* 1436-1443.

Lohr, J. M., Hamberger, L. K., & Bonge, D. (1988). The relationship of factorially validated measures of anger-proneness and irrational beliefs. *Motivation and Emotion, 12,* 171–183.

Mace, D. (1982). *Love and anger in marriage*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing.

Mace, D. R. (1976). Marital intimacy and the deadly love-anger cycle. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, *2*(2), 131-137.

Matsumoto, D., Takeuchi, S., Andayani, S., Kouznetsova, N., & Krupp, D. (1998). The contribution of individualism vs. collectivism to cross-national differences in display rules. *Asian journal of social psychology*, *1*, 147-165.

Matsumoto, D., Yoo, S. H., & Fontaine, J., Sunar, D., Bolak-Boratav, H., Ataca, B. and 53 other 'Cultural Display Rules of Emotional Expressions members of the research team (2008). Mapping expressive differences around the world: The relationship between emotional display rules and individualism versus collectivism. *Journal of cross cultural psychology*, *39*(1), 55-74.

Matsumoto, D., Yoo, S. H., & Fontaine, J., Sunar, D., Bolak-Boratav, H., Ataca, B. and 53 other Cultural Display Rules of Emotional Expressions' members of the research team (2009). Hypocrisy or maturity? Culture and context differentiation. *European Journal of Personality, 23,* 251-264.

Miller, J. B. (1983). *The construction of anger in women and men*. Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies, Wellesley College.

Miller, J. B., and Stiver, I. P. (1997), *The Healing Connection: How Women Form Relationships in Therapy and in Life*, Beacon Press, Boston, MA.

Munhall, P. L. (1994). The transformation of anger into pathology. *New York: National League for Nursing Press*, 295-322.

Potegal, M., & Stemmler, G. (2010). Cross-disciplinary views of anger: Consensus and controversy. In M. Potegal, G. Stemmler, & C. Spielberger (Eds.), *International handbook of anger: Constituent and concominant biological, psychological, and social processes* (pp. 3-8). New York, NY: Springer.

Peplau, L. A., & Gordon, S. L. (1985). Women and men in love: Sex differences in close

relationships. In V. O'Leary, R. Unger, & B. Wallston (Eds.), *Women, gender, and social psychology* (pp. 257-291). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. relationships. In V. O'Leary, R. Unger, & B. Wallston (Eds.), *Women, gender, and social* relationships: An interpersonal script analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*, 299–312.

Richardson, D. R., Vandenberg, R., & Humphries, S. (1986). Effect of power to harm on retaliative aggression among males and females. Journal of Research in Personality, 20, 402–419.

Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & society*, *18*(4), 429-450.

Roland, A. (1988). *In search of self in India and Japan: Toward a cross-cultural psychology*. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rude, S. S., Chrisman, J. G., Burton Denmark, A., & Maestas, K. L. (2012). Expression of direct anger and hostility predict depression symptoms in formerly depressed women. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 44,* 200-209.

Scherer, K. R., & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1986). Emotional experiences in everyday life: A survey approach. *Motivation and Emotion*, *10*(4), 295-314.

Sharkin, B. S. (1993). Anger and gender: Theory, research and implications. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 71*(4), 386-389.

Shields, S. A. (2002). *Speaking from the heart: Gender and the social meaning of emotions.* Cambridge University Press.

Spielberger, C. D. (1999). Manual for the State Trait Anger Expression Inventory-2, STAXI-2. Odessa, FL: PAR.

Spielberger, C. D., Jacobs, G., Russell, S., & Crane, R. S. (1983). Assessment of anger: The state-trait anger scale. *Advances in personality assessment*, *2*, 159-187.

Spielberger, C. D., Johnson, E. H., Russell, S. F., Crane, F. J., Jacobs, G. A., & Worden, T. J. (1985). The experience and expression of anger: Construction and validation of an anger expression scale. In M. A. Chesney & R. H. Rosenman (Eds.), *Anger and hostility in cardiovascular and behavioral disorders* (pp. 5-30). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Sunar, D., Bolak-Boratav, H. ve Ataca, B. (2005*). Emotional display rules among Turkish students: Status and context effects*. American Psychological Association yıllık toplantısında sunulan sözel bildiri, Ağustos, Washington, DC.

Thomas, S. P ., & Atakan, S.(1993). Trait anger, anger expression, stress, and health status of American and Turkish mid-life women. *Health Care for Women International, 14,* 129–143.

Thomas, S. P. (1989). Gender differences in anger expression: Health implications. *Research in Nursing and Health, 12*, 389-398.

Thomas, S. P. (1993). *Women and anger*. New York: Springer.

Thomas, S. P. (2005). Women's anger, aggression, and violence. *Health Care for women international*, *26*(6), 504-522.

Thomas, S. P., Smucker, C., & Droppleman, P. (1998). It hurts most around the heart: A phenomenological exploration of women's anger. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 28*, 311-322.

Thomas, S. P., & Williams, R.L. (1990, April). *Gender differences in modes of anger expression: Health implications.* Paper presented at the 11th Annual Meeting of the Society of Behavioral Medicine, Chicago, IL.

Tremblay, R. E., Japel, C., Perusse, D., Boivin, M., Zoccolillo, M., Montplaisir, J., & McDuff, P. (1999). The search for the age of 'onset' of physical aggression: Rousseau and Bandura revisited. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health, 9*, 8–23.

Turkel, A. R. (1992), Reflections on the development of male chauvinism. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 52*(3), 263-272.

Turkel, A. R. (2000). Commentary: The "Voice of Self–Respect": Women and Anger. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, *28*(3), 527-539. University Press.

Van Daalen-Smith, C. (2008). Living as a chameleon: Girls, anger, and mental health. *The Journal of School Nursing*, *24*(3), 116-123.

Vingerhoets A. J., Cornelius R. R., Van Heck G. L., Becht, M. C. (2000). Adult crying: A model and review of the literature. *Review of General Psychology 4*, 354-377.

Vingerhoets, A. J. Cornelius R. R. (2001). *Adult crying: A Biopsychsocial approach*. East Sussex: Brunner-Routledge.

Vingerhoets, A. J., & Scheirs, J. (2000). Sex differences in crying: Empirical findings and possible explanations. *Gender and emotion: Social psychological perspectives*, *2*, 143-165.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1,* 125-151.

Williams, D. G., & Morris, G. H. (1996). Crying, weeping or tearfulness in British and Israeli adults. *British Journal of Psychology*, *87*(3), 479-505.

Wolf, K. A., & Foshee, V. A. (2003). Family violence, anger expression styles and adolescent dating violence. *Journal of Family Violence, 18,* 309–316.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Informed Consent Form

Onam Formu

ÇALIŞMANIN ADI: A Phenomenological Study: Understanding Women's Experience and Expression of Anger.

ÇALIŞMANIN KONUSU VE AMACI:

Bu çalışmanın konusu kadınların öfkeyle ilgili deneyimlerinin araştırılmasıdır. Amaç çalışmaya katılan her bir kadın katılımcının öfkeyi deneyimleyiş şekillerini derinlemesine araştırarak anlamak ve öfkeyi ifade etme konusuna nasıl yaklaştıklarına ve bunu nasıl anlamlandırdıklarına dair derinlemesine bir kavrayış geliştirmek.

ÇALIŞMA İŞLEMLERİ:

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul etmeniz durumunda sizinle ortalama 1 – 1,5 saat sürmesi beklenen bir görüşme yapılacaktır.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILMAMIN OLASI YARARLARI NELERDİR?

Yapılan çalışmaya katılmanız durumunda görüşme süresince konuşulacak konuya ilişkin deneyimleriniz ve kavrayışınıza dair farkındalığınızın artması, kendi deneyiminize dair daha önceden fark etmediğiniz yeni bilgileri keşfetme fırsatınız olacağı umulmaktadır. Yanı sıra bu araştırmanın sonuçlarının içinde yaşadığımız toplum için faydalı olması hedeflenmektedir.

ÇALIŞMAYA KATILMAMIN OLASI RİSKLERİ NELERDİR?

Bu çalışmaya katılmanız durumunda katılımcı olarak belli bir deneyiminize dair derinlemesine bilgi paylaşımı yapmak yer yer duygusal olarak rahatsız edici olabilir. Görüşmenin süresi uzun gelebilir. Bazı sorular içerik olarak bir miktar rahatsız edici gelebilir. Belirgin bir rahatsızlık hissetmeniz durumunda görüşmeye bir süre ara verilebilir.

KİŞİSEL BİLGİLERİM NASIL KULLANILACAK?

Bu formu imzalayarak araştırmaya katılım için onay vermiş olacaksınız. Bununla birlikte kişisel bilgileriniz çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında açıkça kullanılmayacaktır. Görüşmede verdiğiniz cevaplar ve araştırma süresince görsel/işitsel cihaz kullanılarak edinilen her türlü bilgi yalnızca bu araştırma kapsamında kullanılacak, başka hiçbir amaç için kullanılmayacaktır.

SORU VE PROBLEMLER İÇİN BAŞVURULACAK KİŞİLER:

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak Boratav: hale.boratav@bilgi.edu.tr
Klnk. Psk. Yük. Lis. Öğr. Fidan Önen: onen.fidan@gmail.com
.

Çalışmaya Katılma Onayı

Bu bilgilendirilmiş onam belgesini okudum ve anladım. İstediğim zaman bu araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi biliyorum. Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyor ve bu onay belgesini kendi hür irademle imzalıyorum.

Tarih ve İmza:

APPENDIX 2: Interview Questions

1. Sizce kadın olmak nasıl bir deneyim?

2. Kadın olarak duygularınızı (eşinize, çocuğunuza, arkadaşlarınıza) ifade etmekle ilgili nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
   - Hangi durumlarda duygularınızı ifade edersiniz, hangi durumlarda etmezsiniz?
   - Peki duygularınızı ifade ettiğinizde genelde nasıl tepkiler alırsınız?

3. Kadın olarak öfkenizi ifade etmekle ilgili nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
   - Sizce bu bahsettikleriniz öfkenizi ifadenizi etkiliyor mu?

4. Diğer kadınların öfkelerini ifade etmelerini nasıl karşılarsınız?
   - Diğer kadınlar öfke gösterdiklerinde buna nasıl tepki verirsiniz?

5. Erkeklerin öfkelerini ifade etmelerini nasıl karşılarsınız?

6. Öfke sizin ailenizde nasıl deneyimlenirdi, nasıl ifade edilirdi?

7. Peki, hem kendinizi hem de ailenizi düşündüğünüzde, sizce kadınların öfke ifadesini etkileyen ne gibi şeyler var?

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research on Humans)

Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Fidan Önen

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Understanding Women's Experience and Expression of Anger
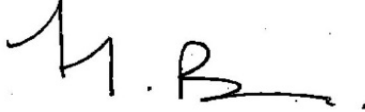
Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20024-98

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected	
	Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 10 Eylül 2018
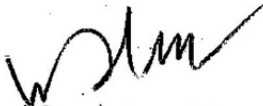
Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair
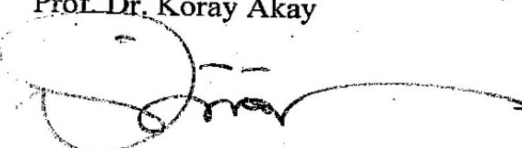
Doç. Dr. Itır Erhart
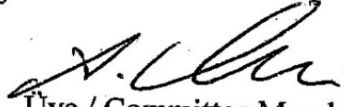
Üye / Committee Member

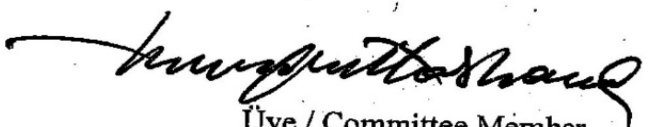Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Koray Akay

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci