



"Of course, we'll never actually use it against a potential enemy, but it will allow us to negotiate from a position of strength."

—Dr. John Page

hostile aggression

Aggression that springs from anger; its goal is to injure.

instrumental aggression

Aggression that aims to injure, but only as a means to some other end.

Humanity has armed its capacity for destruction without comparably arming its capacity for the inhibition of aggression.

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predator studies its prey: Social and silent aggression involve separate brain regions. In humans, psychologists label the two types "hostile" and "instrumental" aggression. Hostile aggression springs from anger; its goal is to injure. Instrumental aggression aims to injure, too—but only as a means to some other end.

Most terrorism is instrumental aggression. "What nearly all suicide terrorist campaigns have in common is a specific tactical and strategic goal," concludes Robert Page (2003) after analyzing all suicide bombings from 1980 to 2003. That goal is "to compel liberal democracies to withdraw military forces from territory that the terrorists consider to be their homeland." **Terrorism is rarely committed by someone with a psychological pathology,** note Arie Kruglanski and his colleagues (2009); instead, terrorists seek personal significance through, for example, attaining hero or martyr status. Terrorism is also a strategic tool used during conflict. In explaining the aim of the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden noted that for a cost of only \$500,000 they inflicted \$500 billion worth of damage to the American economy (Zakaria, 2008).

Most wars are instrumental aggression. In 2003, American and British leaders justified attacking Iraq not as a hostile effort to kill Iraqis but as an instrumental act of liberation and of self-defense against presumed weapons of mass destruction. Adolescents who bully others—either verbally or physically—are also engaged in instrumental aggression, because they often seek to demonstrate their dominance and high status. In the strange hierarchy of adolescence, being mean and disliked can sometimes make you popular and revered (Salmivalli, 2009).

Most murders are hostile aggression. Approximately half erupt from arguments, and others result from romantic triangles or from brawls that involve the influence of alcohol or drugs (Ash, 1999). Such murders are impulsive, emotional outbursts, which helps explain why data from 110 nations show that a **death penalty has not resulted in fewer homicides** (Costanzo, 1998; Wilkes, 1987). Some murders and many other violent acts of retribution and sexual coercion, however, are instrumental (Felson, 2000). Most of Chicago's more than 1,000 murders carried out by organized crime during the prohibition era and the years following were cool and calculated.

WHAT ARE SOME THEORIES OF AGGRESSION?

Understand and evaluate the important theories of aggression.

In analyzing the causes of aggression, social psychologists have focused on three big ideas: biological influences, frustration, and learned behavior.

Aggression as a Biological Phenomenon

Philosophers have debated whether our human nature is fundamentally that of a benign, contented, "noble savage" or that of a brute. The first view, argued by an eighteenth-century French philosopher **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** (1712–1778), **views society, not human nature, for social evils.** The second idea, associated with the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), credits society for restraining the human brute. In the twentieth century, the "brutish" view—that aggressive

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