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CROSS-GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES
IN THE UTILIZATION OF
DEFENSE MECHANISMS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate cross-generational differences in the utilization of defense mechanisms. It was hypothesized that young males would show higher degrees of "Turning Against Object", "Projection", and "Turning Against Self" defenses than adult males on the defense mechanisms Inventory scale. It was also hypothesized that adult males would show higher degrees of "Principalization and Intellectualization" and "Reversal" defenses than young males on the Defense Mechanisms Inventory scale. The defense mechanisms were measured by the Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI) which was given to 55 Boğaziçi University male students and their fathers from various socio-economical and educational backgrounds.

The general results suggest that the utilization of defense mechanisms is a function of age and there are cross-generational differences, as hypothesized, in the usage of ego defenses. The "Turning Against Object" scores of young males are significantly higher than that of adult males, the "Reversal" scores of adult males are significantly higher than that of adult males on the DMI scale. Dividing the sample according to income levels and fathers' education levels does not make any discrimination in either case. The "Projection"

and "Turning Against Self" scores of young males are significantly higher than that of adult males and this relationship is found to be more significant for Upper-Middle income level groups in both cases. This relationship is also found to be more significant for the "Turning Against Self" scores of all young males and high education level adult males. The "Principalization and Intellectualization" scores of adult males, similarly, are significantly higher than that of young males, and this relationship is found to be more significant for Upper-Middle income level groups while the education level of adult males does not make any difference.

These results suggest that there is a developmental hierarchy for the maturation of defenses due to age and due to changes in social norms and attitudes, young males utilize defenses more loaded with aggression and simplicity, while adult males' defenses are in a sense more mature, and therefore more complex.

DEFENSE MECHANISMS

During the past few decades of scientific observation, study and research into human behavior, a group of internal psychological processes has become increasingly recognized. These are "defensively intended endeavors of the ego utilized by the psyche, (Laughlin, 1970). They are rather readily identifiable and are repeatedly encountered by the observer of human psychology. Known familiarly as the ego defenses, their aim and goals are directed toward facilitating individual adaptation and self-protection. They are evolved automatically by the psyche in order to avoid psychic pain and discomfort, (Laughlin, 1970). While discussing defense mechanisms, three precautions should be kept in mind.

1. Defense mechanisms are psychological constructs inferred from observations of the way people behave. They are useful ways of summarizing underlying processes of observed behavior. But although some of the mechanisms are validated by experimental evidence, others are yet to be verified.

2. Labelling a person's behavior by the use of defense mechanisms may provide useful descriptive information, but may not be a thorough explanation of the behavior. A complete analysis requires understanding the needs that cause the person to rely on defense mechanisms in dealing with the

environment and the encountered problems.

3. All defense mechanisms can be observed in the everyday behavior of so called "normal" people. Used in moderation, usually they increase satisfaction and adjustment in living and are therefore helpful modes of adjustment. It is only when specific mechanisms become the dominant modes of problem solving that they indicate personality maladjustment, (Hilgard, Atkinson, 1975).

Bearing these precautions in mind, the theory of defense mechanisms has only been applied to individual observations of human behavior. Toward the end of twentieth century however, scientists of the human mind have felt the urge to consider defenses more objectively and scientifically in order to be able to measure them and produce more general statements about defenses utilized by groups of people rather than individuals. Goldine C. Gleser and David Ihilevich (1969) have concentrated on the operational definition, classification and measurement of defense mechanisms and have recently come up with an objective instrument for measuring defense mechanisms, The Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI), which is the basic instrument in this study. This study aims to measure the cross-generational differences in the usage of defense mechanisms, seeking evidence for the indication that age is an influential factor in the differential use of defense mechanisms.

PAST AND PRESENT

When psychology emerged as an independent scientific discipline in Germany during the middle of nineteenth century, it defined its task as the analysis of consciousness in the normal, adult human being. It conceived of consciousness as being made up of structural elements that were closely correlated with processes in the sense organs. The task of psychology was to discover the basic elements of consciousness and to determine how they formed compounds, psychology being referred to as mental chemistry. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) attacked the traditional psychology of consciousness. He explored the unconscious by the method of free association and developed the first comprehensive theory of personality. Freud described the personality as being made up of three major systems: the id, the ego, and the superego. Although each one of these systems has its own functions, properties, components, operating principles, dynamisms and mechanisms, their interaction is so complex that it is very difficult to disentangle their effects, and their relative contribution to human behavior.

The id is the original source of personality from which the ego and the superego later develop. It consists of everything that is inherited, the instinctual drives-sex and aggression. It is closely related to biological processes and

provides the energy source (libido) for the operation of all three systems. Reality testing is the function of the ego. It develops out of the id because of the necessity of dealing with the real world. The ego obeys the reality principle which requires it to test reality and delay discharge of tension until the appropriate environmental conditions are found. The ego mediates between the demands of the id, the realities of the world, and the demands of the superego. The superego is the internalized representation of the values and morals of society as taught to the child by the parents and others, (Hall, Lindzey, 1978).

Freud believed that the conflict between the id impulses and the restraining influences of the ego and superego constituted the motivating source of personality. The desires of the id are powerful forces that must be expressed in some way, prohibiting their expression does not abolish them. A person with an urge to do something for which he is not allowed becomes anxious. Anxiety is a state of uncomfortable tension that the person is motivated to reduce. A way of reducing the anxiety is to push the impulse out of awareness into the unconscious. These methods of anxiety reduction, called defense mechanisms, are means of defending the personality against painful anxiety. All defense mechanisms have two characteristics in common: (1) They deny, falsify, or distort reality, and (2) They operate unconsciously so that the person is not

aware of what is taking place, (Korchin, 1976).

The term "defense" is the earliest representative of the dynamic standpoint in psychoanalytic theory. It occurs for the first time in 1894, in Freud's study "The Neuro-Psychoses of Defence", and is employed in this and several of his subsequent works to describe the ego's struggle against painful or unendurable ideas or affects. Later, this term was abandoned and, as time went on, was replaced by the term "repression". In an appendix to "Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety" (1926), Freud reverted to the old concept of defense, stating that he thought it would be an advantage to use it again, with the notion that repression occupies a unique position among psychic processes. The significance of repression was reduced to that of a special method of defense.

The defensive methods discovered so far by psychoanalysis all served a single purpose - that of assisting the ego in its struggle with its instinctual life. They were thought to be motivated by the three principal types of anxiety, to which the ego is exposed - instinctual anxiety, objective anxiety, and anxiety of conscience, (Anna Freud, revised edition 1968). The psychoanalytic investigation of the mechanisms of defense developed and finally gave way to a new approach, contemporary psychoanalytic theory, the main example being Ego Psychology which is the most striking development in psycho-

analytic theory since Freud's death. Although Freud regarded the ego as the executive of the total personality, it always remained subservient to the wishes of the id. The leader of the new Ego Theory, Heinz Hartmann (1958-1964), however, claims that both the id and the ego defenses do not have to be pathological or negative in character, they may serve healthy purposes in the formation of personality, (Hall, Lindzey, 1978). Hartmann believes that a defense may become independent of its origin in combating the instinct and serve the functions of adjustment and organization, (Hall Lindzey, 1978).

With this new theory, defense mechanisms have become more empirical, objective, scientific topics of discussion where defenses are not only to be referred to as the processes of the neurotic minds or pathologically behaving individuals, but rather processes to be observed and even measured in larger groups of normal, healthy individuals.

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

Defense mechanisms are basic to the current theories of psychology. It is essential to know these intrapsychic processes so that one's knowledge of human development, personality, and behavior may rest on a solid foundation. Familiarity with them is necessary for understanding neurotic and psychotic reactions, character defenses, and the adjustment of so called normal, healthy personality. Karen Horney says:

"A defense is a protective action or attitude directed against danger. A defense mechanism is a specific technique used by the ego to ward off inner or external dangers", (Kelman, 1971). Other definitions do exist but the last attempt is a formal definition. "The ego defense is a specific defensive process, operating outside of, and beyond conscious awareness. It is automatically and unconsciously employed in the endeavor to secure resolution of emotional conflict, relief from emotional tension, and to avert or allay anxiety", (Laughlin, 1970).

Many defense mechanisms have been identified, some with rather tenuous differences. This multiplicity has led to attempts to achieve a more parsimonious classification system. (eg. Blum, 1953, Hilgard, 1949, Miller, 1953, Miller and Swanson, 1960). Most such systems, however, have not provided clear-cut criteria by which the various defense mechanisms might be grouped. The need for such a grouping is apparent both in the area of measurement and research, and in the clinical situation where one may wish to assess the major defense mechanisms of an individual. Since this study utilized the Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI), the classification given by Goldine C. Gleser should be mentioned here. Five clusters of defenses are defined in this classification: (1) Turning Against Object, (2) Projection, (3) Principalization and Intellectualization, (4) Turning Against Self, (5) Reversal, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969).

(1) Turning Against Object:

This class of defenses deals with conflict through attacking a real or presumed external frustrating object. Karen Horney uses the movements "toward", "against", and "away from" people to evolve a loose character typology of people whose foreground neurotic solution in relation to others is compliance, aggressiveness or detachment, (Kelman, 1971). In this category, the term "against" refers to aggression, and such classical defenses as identification-with-the-aggressor and displacement can be placed in this category, (Gleser and Ithelovich, 1969).

Identification-with-the-aggressor: Identification may be defined as "an ego defense or mental mechanism operating outside of and beyond conscious awareness through which an individual, in varying degree, makes himself like someone else, he identifies with another person. This results in the unconscious taking over of various elements of another", (Laughlin, 1970). Such elements may include thoughts, goals, behavior, mannerisms, reactions, attributes, or character traits and emotional feelings. More often, identification is with a "good" figure, someone to whom one looks up, or a respected group. It can, however, be made with a "bad" figure as well. Repressed aggression, hostility and violent impulses together with other possible unconscious factors, help account for such identification with the aggressor. In this instance, the identification

conforms to the rejected secret wishes, moreover, the wrongdoing is not responsibly owned by the wrongdoer since he justifies himself by thinking that he was under the influence of the "aggressor", (Laughlin, 1970).

According to Anna Freud, the person introjects some characteristic of an anxiety object and so assimilates an anxiety experience which he has just undergone. Here, the mechanism of identification is combined with a second important mechanism. By impersonating the aggressor, assuming his attributes or imitating his aggression, the person transforms himself from the person threatened into the person who makes the threat. By modeling on a threatening person, one feels less in danger from him, (Anna Freud, 1968).

Displacement : This defense mechanism is the one that best succeeds fulfilling its function of reducing anxiety. In displacement, a motive whose gratification is blocked in one form is directed into a new channel. Displacement is a primitive ego defense through which feeling is transferred, deflected, and redirected from its internal object to a substitute external one. The emotion, fear, anxiety, drive or complex is thus displaced onto a new person, situation, or object. It is the basic and most prominent dynamism in the evolution of the phobic pattern of neurotic defense. One of the more frequent employments of the mechanism of displacement is the

reassignment of anger, hostility, or resentment toward a different object, situation, or person. Usually this object is safer and therefore less threatening, (Laughlin, 1970), Hilgard and Atkinson, 1975).

(2) Projection:

Included here are defenses which justify the expression of aggression toward an external object through first attributing to it, without unequivocal evidence, negative intent, or characteristics, (Gleser, 1969). Projection involves not only a refusal to recognize one's own motives, but an ascription of them to another. "I don't hate him, he hates me." On this basis, one is not only relieved of responsibility for an unacceptable impulse, but gains justification for actions against the other person, (Korchin, 1976). Through projection, one imputes to others, motives and feelings which are consciously unacceptable and disowned. Psychic pain, anxiety, shame, anger, resentment, hostility, burdensome responsibility, and guilt, each can cause internal emotional conflict and can provide motivation for projection. When this ego defense operates successfully, the feelings so ascribed are reflected toward oneself. Thus, projection is "an ego defense or mental mechanism operating outside of and beyond conscious awareness through which consciously disowned aspects of the self are rejected or disowned and thrown outward to become

imputed to others.", (Laughlin, 1970).

According to Karen Horney, when there is anxiety due to repressed hostility, a process sets in, the individual projects his hostile impulses to the outside world. The first pretense, the repression, requires a second one, he pretends that the destructive impulses came not from him but from someone or something outside. Therefore, as a by function, the projection also serves the need for self-justification, (K. Horney, 1937).

(3) Pircipalization and Intellectualization:

This class of defenses deals with conflict through invoking a general principle that "splits off" affect from content and represses the former. Defenses such as intellectualization, isolation, and rationalization fall into this category, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969).

Intellectualization and Isolation: Intellectualization is the minimization of the emotional component and exaggerated emphasis on intellectual activity and logic. Isolation consists of separating the thought from the related drives and feelings, which normally converge in unitary experiences. Isolating and intellectualizing people will talk about sexual, destructive or other urges but without feeling or consequent action. These defenses are also used when the emotional charge has been too

painful or too great. Divorcing its charge leaves the object emotionally isolated, or neutral. Horney points at the neurotics who blind themselves to the necessity for change by intellectualizing their existing problems. Neurotics find a great intellectual satisfaction in gaining psychological knowledge, including knowledge concerning themselves. This intellectualizing attitude is then used as a protection which prevents them from experiencing anything emotionally, (K. Horney, 1937).

Rationalization: Rationalization is an ego defense through which the ego justifies, or attempts to modify otherwise unacceptable impulses, needs, feelings, behavior, and motives into ones which are consciously tolerable and acceptable. It is employed in the ego's endeavor to reconcile and to mediate. Its defensive aims are to : (1) Lessen emotional conflict, and (2) Secure equanimity through increased acceptance, primarily from oneself, but also by others. Something irrational is made to appear more reasonable to the person concerned, through rationalization. Various kinds of failure, shortcomings, or poor performance can be rationalized, thus satisfying one who seeks to make the unacceptable, acceptable, (Laughlin, 1970).

(4) Turning Against Self:

In this class are those defenses that handle conflict

through directing aggressive behavior toward oneself. Masochism and autosadism are examples of defensive solutions in this category, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969). Horney's typology involves the self-effacing type of person who sets his sights too low and underrates himself. He is almost always in a state of anxiety. To initiate is torture for him, and once the work starts to go well, he begins to destroy it by attempting to "improve" it. He, therefore, works slowly, wastefully, toward exhaustion and despair, (Kelman, 1971). His hostility towards "others" is impossible to express, he thus reduces the anxiety that rises as he represses his hostility, by turning inward the hatred, which related to other people originally. He tortures himself with self accusations and feelings of inferiority, and surrenders his own wishes to the demands made on him by others. To all outward appearance, he has become masochistic since adopting this method of defense. In a frustrating situation, as he is unable to show overt hostility, he reduces tension by believing it was his own fault. He, thus, shows himself to be an "unaggressive" type in the society and becomes accepted by the people surrounding him, (Anna Freud, 1968).

(5) Reversal:

This class includes defenses that deal with conflict by responding in a positive or neutral fashion to a frustrating

object which might be expected to evoke a negative reaction. Defenses such as negation, denial, reaction formation, and repression are subsumed under this category, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969).

Negation and Denial: To deny is to negate or to disown. Through denial, one may seek to disclaim awareness, knowledge, or responsibility. "Denial is a primitive ego defense utilized to resolve emotional conflict and to allay consequent anxiety, by denying one or more of the elements of the conflict.", (Laughlin, 1970). It is the inability to recognize that an experience occurred. It might involve the blocking or distorting of perception. In this process, nothing is done about anxiety except denying it, that is, excluding it from consciousness. The major instances of denial in the adult represent an abnormal type of defense and are often a symptom of serious mental disorder. There may be a denial of the presence of a thought, wish, deed, or need. Likewise, conflicting standards or prohibitions may be thus negated. Negation is the direct assertion that one is not, say angry or hostile, (Laughlin, 1970).

Reaction Formation: It is sometimes possible to conceal a motive from oneself by giving strong expression to its opposite. Such a tendency is called reaction formation. It is taking on behaviors opposite to a denied drive or affect, The hostile person can appear to be excessively kind and considerate. It is the ego defense through which major outward attitudes,

complexes, motives, and needs develop, which are the opposites of consciously disowned ones. For example, hate is replaced by love. The original impulse still exists but it is glossed over or masked by one that does not cause anxiety. Usually, reaction formation is marked by extravagant showiness—the person protests too much—and by compulsiveness. Through the operation of this defense, personally and socially more tolerable and acceptable drives and goals are developed which are the antithesis of the inner hidden ones. Sexual drives, for instance, may be replaced through reaction formation by opposite attitudes of prudishness or excessive morality, (Korchin, 1976, Cansever, 1981).

Repression: Perhaps one of the earliest defenses initiated by the ego against the id is that of repression, which frustrates the discharge of instinctual energy by setting up a block so that the instinct cannot become conscious or directly expressed in overt behaviour. That is, repression acts directly upon the aim of the instinct. No other defense operates upon the aim, so that repression is more sharply differentiated from the other defenses. It is the automatic, effortless, and involuntary assignment of consciously intolerable ideas, impulses and feelings to the unconscious. Anxiety and the threat of anxiety is the active force which brings about repression. It is the most widely used ego defense. It is carried out by the ego as it becomes aware of an instinctual demand, which, if permitted to discharge itself, would endanger the safety

of the individual, By repressing the demand, the painful feelings caused by anxiety are eliminated. Repression can even interfere with the normal functioning of the body. Someone may become sexually impotent because he is afraid of the sex impulse. Being the basic defense, repression once formed, is difficult to abolish and gives way to other minor defenses for the "safety" of the individual, (Hall and Lindzey, 1959).

LIFE SPAN DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENSES

The chronology of behavior within the life span of the individual provides one of the richest sources of data on human variation. Psychological differences between the infant, the teenager, and the adult are fully as striking as the differences in their physical appearance. Much of the psychology of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood has been traditionally devoted to a study of the changes which occur as the individual grows up. The term "growth" has traditionally been used to indicate age changes occurring prior to maturity. Description of changes in emotional, motivational, and attitudinal traits which occur as the individual progresses from infancy to adulthood, form a major part of psychology of childhood and adulthood. A comparison of responses on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) given to

college students and to men of business and profession in the 45-55 year age range revealed significant differences on many items. The answers by the older men indicated diminished physical fitness resulting in decreased aggression, aggressive and adventurous activities, and greater tension about emotional adjustment, (Anastasi, 1958). This finding correlates with the statement that older subjects utilize defenses loaded with less aggression when compared to younger subjects who utilize the defenses of the categories, Turning Against Object, Turning Against Self, and Projection more, defenses that are relatively more loaded with aggression. In the same study, older persons proved less susceptible than younger subjects to the influence of either group opinion or expert opinion, indicating greater conservatism or relative inflexibility of older persons. The longer one has held an opinion, the less inclined he is to change it, (Anastasi, 1958). This finding seems to correlate with the statement that older subjects use defenses of the Principalization and Intellectualization category more than younger subjects, since they are less flexible and impulsive, thus, more likely to intellectualize for their behavior when their already stabilized attitudes or beliefs are challenged in a conflicting situation.

In 1937, Anna Freud observed that "the chronology of psychic processes (defenses) is still one of the most obscure fields of analytical theory", but she had no doubt

that such a chronology existed. Norma Haan was one of the psychologists who, over the years, offered developmental hierarchies for the maturation of defenses. "Mature" mechanisms evolve during late adolescence, in early twenties. In considering the fact that defenses evolve from less mature to more mature, it is also important to realize that the world of the adult is safer since sublimation of aggression due to age makes it so.

George Vaillant (1977) grouped eighteen defenses that he selected according to their relative theoretical maturity and pathological import, and arranged them in four general levels, the first two being immature, mostly utilized by younger people, and the last two being mature, mostly utilized by older people. Such ordering assumes that the maturation of human being is accompanied by the evolution of their adaptive processes from those of Level I into Level IV. The defenses "Projection", "Passive Aggressive Behavior/Masochism, Turning Against the Self", and "Acting Out/Turning Against Object" are in Level II as hypothesized. The mechanisms "Intellectualization, Isolation, Undoing, Rationalization and Principalization", "Repression", and "Reaction-Formation" are in Level III as hypothesized. Level IV includes mechanisms like "Sublimation", "Altruism", "Suppression" and "Anticipation" which are not mentioned in the classification made by Gleser and Ihilevich.

The developmental ordering of defense mechanisms has strong parallels with the sequential ordering of the stages of ego development proposed by Jane Loevinger, and of moral development described by Lawrence Kohlberg, (Vaillant, 1977). In organizing defenses along a developmental hierarchy, there are moral as well as adaptive implications to human growth. The maturation of defenses, like morality, is linked both to cognitive maturation and to the evolution of impulse control. Developmental psychologists, therefore, are persuaded that moral development and ego development appear to be a single process. Prior to the work of Jean Piaget, Freudians agreed that if we but gave them a child until he was seven, his subsequent moral development was assured. As reflected by Heinz Hartmann, modern psychoanalytic theory agrees with Piaget, not Freud, adaptational maturity (and adaptive defenses), not conscience, and the ego, not the externally derived superego, are the agents of morality, (Maier, 1965).

Kohlberg's conclusions are also congruent with a developmental hierarchy of defenses. Kohlberg's sequence of morality moves from a baby's wish to avoid guilt totally (Denial), to a child's wish to project guilt to others (Projection and Turning Against Object), to an adolescent's wish to aggress both to others and to himself (Turning Against Object and Turning Against Self), to an adult's wish to conform to the system (Reversal/Reaction-Formation), and to a

mature adult's wish to respond to the needs of the community (Altruism). The other developmental psychologist who has systematically studied ego development, Jane Loevinger, has suggested that as people mature, they increasingly internalize their conflicts. She sees an important developmental shift occurring when the subject is able to say, "It's my problem, not yours", in effect, this implies a shift from immature to mature defenses. Like Kohlberg and Piaget, she sees the development of the ego as irreversible and stage dependent, (Maier, 1965, Vaillant, 1977).

Erik Erikson also talks about a developing and maturing ego and its functions, in accordance with his psychosocial stages. The crises to be solved when faced at the termination of each developmental stage urges the ego to cope with the conflict of the crises in a more complex, mature, and adaptive way, thus urges the ego to defend itself differently this time. The young, full of unfamiliar aggressive strivings during the stage of "Identity vs. Role Diffusion", is unlikely to know and experience any other ways of channelling his aggression apart from overtly expressing it to his environment if not to himself, (Erikson, 1950). The adult, if developed "healthily" however, is likely to have more self-control, higher self-esteem, and in an environment of interpersonal enrichment, he copes with conflict more by himself, rationalizing the emotions caused by stress, basing his intellect on his previous

experiences, (Klein, 1959).

Socialization, based on several studies, has been proved to be a function of age as well as other variables. A study done by B.B. Whiting and J.M. Whiting, "Children of Six Cultures-A Psychocultural Analysis" resulted in, sociable behavior is not significantly sex-typed. It seems clear though, that this behavior is definitely determined by age rather than by sex. The results show that as children grew older, they scored more and more on the sociability scale, and older children were observed to behave more socially, although the socialization pressure coming especially from the parents were less severe by then, (Whiting, 1975). For observers, age appears to be a very obvious variable in socialization, and recent evidence suggests that at the ages of adulthood, when socialization pressure is minimum, the subject acts with less hostility and aggression, thus, with more manners, adaptive styles of behavior, and in accordance with social norms, (Hall and Lindzey, 1959). The evidence suggests that, older people use the adaptive ego defenses of less aggression and hostility, thus, less Turning Against Object, Projection, and Turning Against Self. The younger people, however, being loaded with pressures of socialization, react to conflict situations with basic aggression, accusing others of conflict arousal, and pitying himself for the consequences, (H. Yavuz, 1974). Scholz describes the youth, similarly, as lacking impulse control and

letting go of aggressive impulses in stressful conditions, (Scholz, 1973).

DEFENSE MECHANISMS INVENTORY (DMI)

When the defense mechanisms are evaluated clinically, either from interview material (Raines and Roher, 1955) or from projective test protocols (Filer, 1952), consensus is minimum. In those instances, where substantial agreement has been obtained from projective techniques (Gardiner, Holzman, Klein, Linton and Spence, 1959), judges inferred a specific set of defenses on the basis of careful training in the scoring procedure. Only a few objective tests have been developed to measure defenses. The most popular are the Rosenweig Picture Frustration Test, The Blacky Defense Preference Inquiry, and Byrne's Repression-Sensitization Scale. All three have demonstrated some stability over time, but their usefulness as measures of the extent to which certain defenses are employed is still open to question. Fry (1949) and Vane (1954), among others, question the validity of Rosenweig's (1950) Picture Frustration Test for assessing defenses. With regard to the Blacky Defense Preference Inquiry, Blum (1956) reports that avoidance is the only defense for which some validity has been established. Byrne's Repression-Sensitization Scale, being a method that provides information on only two defenses,

is likely to be of limited value either for research purposes, or for the clinician, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969).

Projective tests (Rorschach, TAT, etc.), the most commonly used devices in studies assessing defenses, were shown by Filer (1952) to yield unreliable determinations of major defenses as judged by clinical psychologists. The interview, another method frequently relied upon for assessing defenses has been shown to be unreliable for this purpose by Raines and Rohrer (1955). Some studies (Zukmann, 1957) selected subjects on the basis of their diagnostic classification, assuming that certain defenses characterize each diagnostic category. However, diagnosis is usually determined on the basis of a certain constellation of symptoms, and there is no empirical evidence that defenses vary systematically with symptoms, (Ihilevich and Gleser, 1971).

Based on the necessity to develop a more valid, reliable, and objective instrument for measuring defense mechanisms, Goldine C. Gleser worked on the Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI), a paper and pencil test which measures the relative intensity of the usage of five major groups of defenses already mentioned. Underlying the formulation of the DMI is the general assumption that the major function of defenses is the resolution of conflicts between what is perceived by the individual and his internalized values, (Kroeber, 1963,

Miller and Swanson, 1960). The conflict is resolved by a process whereby the ego attacks, distorts, or becomes selectively unaware of certain aspects of the internal or external world. On the basis of this, a classification system was devised which appears general enough to encompass the most important defense mechanisms, Turning Against Object (TAO), Projection (PRO), Principalization and Intellectualization (INT), Turning Against Self (TAS), and Reversal (REV), being previously identified, (Gleser, 1969). It was expected that the five defense groupings would interrelate systematically both in accordance with predictions derived from psychoanalytic theory (Bellack, 1958, Fenichel, 1945, Hartmann, 1952, Rapaport, 1951) and with previously published findings. In general, the studies in which clinical psychologists identified the defensive style corresponding to each response alternative, found high agreement with the classification system used on the test, (Gleser, 1969).

Like most self-report personality tests, the DMI is designed to probe the individual's typical behavior over a number of situations. However, high scores on a particular defense can occur only when a person behaves similarly in a number of situations. This does not imply the assumption that people display stable behavior across different situations. It is assumed, however, that the more extreme the score obtained by an individual on a particular mode of defense, the

more predictable his behavior should be when faced with a conflict in real life. The validation of this assumption increases our understanding of ego defenses and establishes the usefulness of the test, (Gleser and Sacks, 1973).

RESEARCH ON THE DMI

DMI being the major instrument of measurement, studies have been done some of which are "Relationship of Defense Mechanisms to Field Dependence - Independence, by Ihilevich and Gleser, 1971", "Ego Defenses and Reaction to Stress, by Gleser and Sacks, 1973", "Defense Styles in Suicide Attempters, by Scholz, 1973", and "Effects of Sex, Social Desirability, and Birth Order on the Defense Mechanisms Inventory, by Dudley, 1978". Two recently reported studies lend some support to the construct validity aspect of the DMI in the area of medicine and psychiatry. Gur and Gur (1975) reported that persons who scored high on REV (Repressive/Denial Defenses) had significantly more psychosomatic complaints than persons who used affect - expressive defenses of TAO or PRO. Klein, Gonen, and Smith (1975) reported that high TAS and REV scores were consistent with the psychogenic diagnosis of a patient with painful ecchymosis following surgery, (Duldey, 1978). Gleser and Sacks (in their construct validity study, 1973) reported that the DMI adequately predicted actual behavior in a conflict

situation, for males but not for females. One possible explanation for this finding is the influence of a social desirability factor on the female subjects' reaction to the experimental manipulation.

Through the literature of defense mechanisms studied so far, one study concerning the age differences in the utilization of defense mechanisms was conducted by Gleser and Ihlevich in 1969 where two subject groups - The Michigan University sophomore college students and general adult subjects selected unsystematically from middle socio-economic status and employed as probation officers, social workers, vocational counselors, teachers, secretaries, college students, and housewives - were given the DMI and means of their scores on the five defense categories were obtained. The observed trends of differences in the defense styles were assumed to be a function of age. The results were as follows for the males: Young males TAO \bar{x} : 40.9, Adult males TAO \bar{x} : 39.4, Young males PRO \bar{x} : 39.6, Adult males PRO \bar{x} : 38.4, Young males INT \bar{x} : 45.3, Adult males INT \bar{x} : 48.4, Young males TAS \bar{x} : 37.5, Adult males TAS \bar{x} : 34.4, Young Males REV \bar{x} : 36.6, Adult males REV \bar{x} : 39.6. Due to these results, the young males tended to obtain higher scores on TAO, TAS, and PRO and lower scores on INT and REV than did the the general adult subjects. Further evidence that TAO decreases with age while INT and REV increase was indicated by the

correlation between age and male outpatient samples, another manipulation subject group of this study; (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969).

IMPLICATIONS OF THE LITERATURE AND THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

This study is a cross-generational study conducted among fathers and sons, and claims to measure the differences in the utilization of defense mechanisms as a function of age. The findings of Gleser and Sacks (1973) and Dudley (1978) that the social desirability factor plays an important role in the responses given by female subjects to the DMI questions present the main reason why this study was conducted using the DMI male form for male subjects only. The basic literature on which this study was based is a complex of studies mainly done in the U.S.A since no study known so far has measured the age differences in the utilization of defense mechanisms in Turkey.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the literature of defense mechanisms reviewed so far, the specific hypotheses to be tested in this

study are listed below:

- 1- Young males will have higher TAO (Turning Against Object) scores than adult males on the DMI scale.
- 2- Young males will have higher PRO (Projection) scores than adult males on the DMI scale.
- 3- Adult males will have higher INT (Principalization and Intellectualization) scores than young males on the DMI scale.
- 4- Young males will have higher TAS (Turning Against Self) scores than adult males on the DMI scale.
- 5- Adult males will have higher REV (Reversal) scores than young males on the DMI scale.

METHOD

SUBJECTS

The population from which the subjects were selected for this study consisted of male Boğaziçi University students and their fathers.

Several second, third, and fourth year classes of Boğaziçi University, Faculty of Administrative Sciences and Institute of Social Sciences were visited with the permission of class teachers. Male students whose fathers were alive and living in İstanbul were asked to participate in this study together with their fathers. This convenience sample, thus, consisted of 55 male students with an age range of 19-26 and their 55 fathers with an age range of 47-67 from various socio-economical and educational backgrounds. For statistical purposes, this sample was called a correlated sample, matched pairs.

MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENT

The Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI), developed

and standardized by Gleser and Thilevich (1969), was utilized in the present study. The DMI was designed to measure the relative intensity of usage of the five major groups of defenses previously mentioned.

The inventory consists of ten brief stories, two for each of five conflict areas. The conflict areas tapped are authority, independence, competition, situational and masculinity/femininity. The stories are structured in a manner to make possible an examination of the notion that persons will differ in the defenses they use according to the nature of the conflict.

Although there are two forms (masculine and feminine) of the test, for this study only the masculine form has been utilized. After reading each story, subjects were asked to respond to four questions corresponding to four types of behavior evoked by the situation described in the story: (a) proposed actual behavior, (b) impulsive behavior (in fantasy), (c) thoughts, and (d) feelings. Five responses were provided for each question, each response representing one of the five defense mechanism categories listed above. The subjects marked a plus for the response most representative of his reaction and a minus for that least representative. This structured inquiry makes it possible to examine substantive questions regarding the consistency of a person's

defenses over various levels (ie., actual behavior, fantasy behavior, thoughts, and feelings). A copy of the DMI can be found in Appendix A.

The responses marked with a plus sign by the subjects were given the numerical value of two, those marked with a minus sign were scored zero, and the unmarked responses were given the value of one. Thus, the score for any one defense could range from zero to 80, but the sum of scores for the five defenses must equal 200. A scoring template was superimposed over the answer sheet, making it possible to summarize the numerical value of the five defenses across the four levels of behavior. To complete the test itself required between 30 and 40 minutes.

Preliminary work on the DMI includes studies in which clinical psychologists identified the defense style corresponding to each response alternative. In general, these studies found high agreement with the classification system used on the test, (Gleser, 1969). In another study, five clinical psychologists were asked to match each set of five responses with the five defense mechanisms according to the definitions provided. Their judgements agreed with the key for all but 18 responses out of the 240. An examination of these alternatives revealed ambiguities and the responses were revised. Coefficients of stability of defense scores over a three month

period ranged from .69 for INT to .87 for TAO with an average correlation of .76, and from .85 for PRO to .93 for TAO with an average correlation of .89. It was expected that the five defense groupings would interrelate systematically. The intercorrelations were therefore obtained for various samples. TAO and PRO are positively correlated (.29 to .63). Both TAO and PRO are substantially negatively correlated with INT and with REV (-.44 to -.79). TAS is negatively correlated to some slight degree with each of the other defenses except REV. TAS and REV are independent, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969).

Significant correlations were obtained with selected Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) scales on psychiatric outpatients. Another study was conducted on 54 male alcoholics. The investigators predicted that the alcoholics would be high on TAS and REV and low on TAO, and INT, relative to the normals. These predictions were all substantiated at an alpha level of .05 with the exception of INT, for which $p < .10$, (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969). The subjects with extreme scores on REV and TAS were shown to be more field dependent than subjects with intermediate scores on all defenses or those having high scores on TAS or PRO, (Ihilevich and Gleser, 1971).

Reliability, validity, and normative studies thus indicate that this test is a useful instrument for assessing

defense mechanisms.

PROCEDURE

For the present study, the DMI male form was first translated into Turkish from English by the investigator with the cultural differences taken into consideration. The translated form was then presented to two psychologist judges who have a high command of the English language. The judges compared the original form and the translated form together and corrected the translation in high agreement so that it was not found necessary to back translate the original form and compare the items. The translated inventory form finally reflected the original form best in accordance with Turkish cultural characteristics. (Sec Appendix A).

Cultural features such as the economy, social structure, settlement, education presumably determine the behavior patterns of people, and variations in the socio-economic system at the cultural level cause the social behavior of people to be predictably different. Studies by Whiting (1975) and Norma Haan (1977) have suggested that defense style is a result as well as a determinant of social class. Therefore, in this present study, face sheets designed to gather social, cultural, and economical information for

male students (See Appendix B), and for their fathers (See Appendix C) were separately prepared and were given to the subjects together with the answer sheets (See Appendix D) after the DMI questionnaire.

Having taken permission from the class teachers, several second, third, and fourth year classes of Boğaziçi University, Faculty of Administrative Sciences, and Institute of Social Sciences were visited. Male students whose fathers were alive and living in İstanbul were asked to participate in the study together with their fathers. The students were told that the study was a psychological investigation for the purpose of a thesis in clinical psychology. Those who volunteered were given the DMI questionnaire to be used both by the son and the father, and two separate answer sheets designed separately for sons and fathers with related face sheets. The students were asked to fill out the answer sheets at home and give the DMI questionnaire and the fathers' answer sheet to their fathers to follow the same process. The investigator asked the students to tell their fathers what the study was about and instruct them on how they would fill out their answer sheets alone. Then, the students were told to bring back the answer sheets a week later to the same class hour to be collected by the investigator. Having collected the relevant data, the results were coded and analyzed by the investigator utilizing appropriate statistics.

RESULTS

In this present study, the cross-generational differences in the utilization of defense mechanisms were investigated. The means (\bar{x}), mean differences (\bar{x}_d), standard deviations (SD) and (SDd) from the DMI scale scores of the two correlated sample groups, young males (sons) and adult males (fathers), and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for the five defense mechanisms categories are presented in TABLE 1.

TABLE I

The means, mean differences, standard deviations and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for the five defense mechanisms categories.

Defense Mechanisms Category	Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{xd}	SDd	T
T A O	Young Males	55	44.00	5.93	12.24	9.40	9.56
	Adult Males	55	31.80	6.67			
P R O	Young Males	55	44.10	7.56	11.64	10.42	8.20
	Adult Males	55	32.60	6.70			
I N T	Young Males	55	37.80	6.94	11.25	9.04	9.15
	Adult Males	55	49.00	6.11			
T A S	Young Males	55	41.20	8.83	5.96	12.34	3.55
	Adult Males	55	36.00	7.91			
R E V	Young Males	55	32.40	5.83	18.27	12.43	10.81
	Adult Males	55	50.60	7.56			

* Significance level : $p < .0005$

In this chapter, the results concerning each of the five hypotheses will be presented along with the results of analyses based on the monthly income level of the sample groups, and the education level of the adult males.

Hypothesis 1. The first hypothesis stated that young males would have higher TAO (Turning Against Object) scores than adult males on the DMI scale. A one-tailed correlated sample T-test (for matched pairs) was done. The result of the test indicates that the TAO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males. Thus, hypothesis 1 is supported.

The sample groups were divided according to their monthly income level, two groups being the Lower-Middle income level group (0 - 150.000 TL. monthly income). One-tailed correlated sample T-tests (for matched pairs) were repeated for each income level group. The means (\bar{x}), mean differences (\bar{x}_d), standard deviations (SD) and (SDd) from the DMI scale scores of the two correlated sample groups of each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 2.

TABLE 2

means, mean differences, standard deviations of the two sample groups of income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for TAO.

Income Level	Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}_d	SD _d	T
Over-middle income level	Young Males	19	42.42	6.62	9.26	9.07	4.33*
	Adult Males	19	33.47	5.70			
Over-middle income level	Young Males	36	44.86	5.53	13.25	9.08	8.66*
	Adult Males	36	30.92	7.13			

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

The results of the tests indicate that the TAO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males in both income levels. Thus, hypothesis 1 is supported for both income level sample groups.

The adult male sample group was divided according to its education level, two groups being the Low/Moderate education level group (no, primary, secondary, lycée education), and the high education level group (university education). One-tailed two-sample T-tests were repeated between each education level adult males sample groups and all young males. The means (\bar{x}), standard deviations (SD) from the DMI scale

scores of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 3.

TABLE 3

The means, standard deviations of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests for TAO.

Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	T
Young Males	55	44.00	5.93	9.51*
Low/Moderate education level adult males	32	30.97	6.19	
Young Males	55	44.00	5.93	6.32*
High education level adult males	23	32.95	7.28	

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

The results of the tests indicate that the TAO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males from both education levels. Thus, hypothesis 1 is supported for both education level adult males and all young males.

Hypothesis 2. The second hypothesis stated that young males would have higher PRO (projection) scores than adult males on the DMI scale. A one-tailed correlated sample T-test (for matched pairs) was done. The result of the test indicates that the PRO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males. Thus, hypothesis 2 is supported.

One-tailed correlated sample T-tests were repeated for each income level sample groups. The means (\bar{x}), mean differences (\bar{x}_d), standard deviations (SD) and (SD_d) from the DMI scale scores of the two correlated sample groups of each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 4.

TABLE 4

The means, mean differences, standard deviations of the two correlated sample groups each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for PRO.

Income Level	Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}_d	SD _d	T
Lower-Middle Income Level	Young Males	19	41.16	8.59	8.47	11.13	3.22 ^{**}
	Adult Males	19	33.63	5.88			
Upper-Middle Income Level	Young Males	36	45.65	6.96	13.19	8.55	9.16 [*]
	Adult Males	36	32.06	7.09			

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

** Significance level: $P < .005$

The results of the tests indicate that the PRO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .005$) than that of adult males in the Lower-Middle income level sample groups, and the PRO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males in the Upper-Middle income level sample groups. Although, hypothesis 2 is supported for both income level sample groups, the significance is higher for Upper-Middle income level sample groups.

One-tailed two-sample T-tests were repeated between each education level adult males sample groups and all young males. The means (\bar{x}), standard deviations (SD) from

the DMI scale scores of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 5.

TABLE 5

The means, standard deviations of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests for PRO.

Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	T
Young Males	55	44.10	7.56	7.30*
Low/moderate education level adult males	32	32.16	6.98	
Young Males	55	44.10	7.56	7.00*
High education level adult males	23	33.22	6.29	

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

The results of the tests indicate that the PRO scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males from both education levels. Thus, hypothesis 2 is supported for both education level adult males and all young males.

Hypothesis 3. The third hypothesis stated that adult males would have higher INT (Principalization and Intellectualization) scores than young males on the DMI scale. A one-

tailed correlated sample T-test (for matched pairs) was done. The result of the test indicates that the INT scores of the adult males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males. Thus, hypothesis 3 is supported.

One-tailed correlated sample T-tests were repeated for each income level sample groups. The means (\bar{x}), mean differences (\bar{x}_d), standard deviations (SD) and (SDd) from the DMI scale scores of the two correlated sample groups of each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 6.

TABLE 6

The means, mean differences, standard deviations of the two correlated sample groups each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for INT.

Income Level	Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}_d	SDd	T
Lower-Middle Income Level	Young Males	19	39.05	6.86	9.00	9.60	3.78 **
	Adult Males	19	42.63	8.04			
Upper-Middle Income Level	Young Males	36	37.14	6.98	12.50	8.23	8.99 *
	Adult Males	36	52.36	4.79			

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

** Significance level: $p < .005$

The results of the tests indicate that the INT scores of the adult males on the DMI are significantly higher ($p < .005$) than that of young males in the Lower-Middle income level sample groups, and the INT scores of the adult males on the DMI score are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males in the Upper-Middle income level sample groups. Although, hypothesis 3 is supported for both income level sample groups, the significance is higher for Upper-Middle income level sample groups.

One-tailed two-sample T-tests were repeated between each education level adult males sample groups and all young males. The means (\bar{x}), standard deviations (SD) from the DMI scale scores of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 7.

TABLE 7

he means, standard deviations of the sample groups each education level, and the results of one-tailed two sample T-tests for INT.

Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	T
Young Males	55	37.80	6.94	7.39*
Low/moderate education level adult males	32	47.00	4.53	
Young Males	55	37.80	6.94	8.28*
High education level adult males	23	51.78	7.79	

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

The results of the tests indicate that the INT scores of the adult males from both education levels on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males. Thus, hypothesis 3 is supported for both education level adult males and all young males.

Hypothesis 4. The fourth hypothesis stated that young males would have higher TAS (Turning Against Self) scores than adult males on the DMI scale. A one-tailed correlated sample T-test (for matched pairs) was done. The result of the test indicates that the TAS scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males. Thus, hypothesis 4 is supported.

One-tailed correlated sample T-tests were repeated for each income level sample groups. The means (\bar{x}), mean differences (\bar{x}_d), standard deviations (SD) and (SDd) from the DMI scale scores of the two correlated sample groups of each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 8.

TABLE 8

means, mean differences, standard deviations of the two correlated sample groups of each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for TAS.

Income Level	Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}_d	SDd	T
Lower-Middle Income Level	Young Males	19	42.21	8.08	5.47	11.91	****
	Adult Males	19	36.74	6.54			1.95
Upper-Middle Income Level	Young Males	36	40.67	9.20	4.53	12.20	***
	Adult Males	36	35.61	8.55			2.20

*** Significance level: $p < .025$

**** Significance level: $P < .05$

The results of the tests indicate that the TAS scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .05$) than that of adult males in the Lower-Middle income level sample groups, and the TAS scores of the young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .025$)

than that of adult males in the Upper-Middle income level sample groups. Although, hypothesis 4 is supported for both income level sample groups, the significance is higher for Upper-Middle income level sample groups.

One-tailed two-sample T-tests were repeated between each education level adult males sample groups and young males. The means (\bar{x}), standard deviations (SD) from the DMI scale scores of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 9.

TABLE 9

The means, standard deviations of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests for TAS.

Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	T
Young Males	55	41.20	8.83	2.33 ***
Low/moderate education level adult males	32	37.13	7.07	
Young Males	55	41.20	8.83	3.00 **
High education level adult males	23	34.43	8.95	

** Significance level: $p < .005$

*** Significance level: $p < .025$

The results of the tests indicate that the TAS scores of young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .025$) than that of low/moderate education level adult males, and the TAS scores of young males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .005$) than that of high education level adult males. Although, hypothesis 4 is supported for both education level adult males and all young males, the significance is higher for high education level adult males.

Hypothesis 5. The fifth hypothesis stated that adult males would have higher REV (Reversal) scores than young males on the DMI scale. A one-tailed correlated sample T-test (for matched pairs) was done. The result of the test indicates that the REV scores of the adult males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males. Thus, hypothesis 5 is supported.

One-tailed correlated sample T-tests were repeated for each income level sample groups. The means (\bar{x}), mean differences (\bar{x}_d), standard deviations (SD) and (SD_d) from the DMI scale scores of the two correlated sample groups of each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 10.

TABLE 10

means, mean differences, standard deviations of the two correlated sample groups on each income level, and the results of one-tailed correlated sample T-tests for REV.

Income Level	Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}_d	SD _d	T
Lower-Middle Income Level	Young Males	19	33.58	6.46	15.58	10.59	6.23*
	Adult Males	19	49.05	6.66			
Upper-Middle Income Level	Young Males	36	31.78	5.47	19.67	12.94	8.98*
	Adult Males	36	51.42	7.99			

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

The results of the tests indicate that the REV scores of the adult males on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males in both income level sample groups.

One-tailed two sample T-tests were repeated between each education level adult males sample groups and all young males. The means (\bar{x}), standard deviations (SD) from the DMI scale scores of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests are presented in TABLE 11.

TABLE II

The means, standard deviations of the sample groups for each education level, and the results of one-tailed two-sample T-tests for REV.

Sample Group	N	\bar{x}	SD	T
Young Males	55	32.40	5.83	13.61 *
Low/moderate education level adult males	32	51.75	6.56	
Young Males	55	32.40	5.83	8.18 *
High education level adult males	23	49.00	8.76	

* Significance level: $p < .0005$

The results of the tests indicate that the REV scores of the adult males from both education levels on the DMI scale are significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males. Thus, hypothesis 5 is supported for both education level adult males and all young males.

In summary, there is a significant difference in the utilization of defense mechanisms by the two correlated sample groups, the adult males (fathers) and the young males (sons). These significant results do not change when the same groups are analyzed according to their income levels or education levels.

DISCUSSION

The present cross-generational study was conducted among male students attending Boğaziçi University and their fathers. It was designed to measure the differences in the utilization of defense mechanisms as a function of age. The defense mechanisms, being a function of the ego operating outside of, and beyond conscious awareness in order to resolve emotional conflict and avert anxiety (Laughlin, 1970), were classified by many psychologists according to their degrees of sophistication. Since this study utilized the Defense Mechanisms Inventory (DMI) prepared by Gleser (1969), the study was based upon the classification given by her. The need for such a classification was found necessary for the purposes of measurement and research. Five clusters of defenses were defined in this classification: (1) Turning Against Object (TAO), (2) Projection (PRO), (3) Principialization and Intellectualization (INT), (4) Turning Against Self (TAS), (5) Reversal (REV), (Gleser and Ihilevich, 1969). It was anticipated on theoretical grounds, that young males (sons) would have higher TAO, PRO, and TAS scores than adult males (fathers) on the DMI scale. It was also anticipated that adult males (fathers) would have higher INT and REV scores than young males (sons) on the DMI scale. The results indicate that all of these expectations were borne out.

Considering the general finding that there is a significant difference in the utilization of defense mechanisms as a function of age, it can be said that the ego defenses, with their development, are an integral and major part of the concept of dynamic psychology. They are themselves dynamic, it is through their evolution and operation that the development, adjustment, and integration of personality becomes a dynamic process. The key words "dynamism", "development", and "evolution" thus indicate change over time, change due to age and maturation, (Laughlin, 1970). Instinctual drives which are intolerable have a disintegrating effect on the ego. Herein, the development of the ego defense is a major emotional and psychological response to this internal danger that the consciously intolerable wish or drive might not be kept in control. The ego defense has the function of maintaining ego integrity, (Laughlin, 1970). As the individual progresses from infancy to adulthood, changes in his emotional, motivational, and attitudinal characteristics are due to changes in his internal life as well as his environment. Thus, at every stage of human development, the ego faces new conflicts to deal with in order to achieve and maintain ego integrity. The difference in the quality of conflicts thus necessitates that the ego develop more and more sophisticated defenses to deal with them, (Vaillant, 1977).

The difference in the utilization of defense mechanisms by the two generations can also be explained by the effects of social change upon the individuals, their attitudes and behaviors. As the sociocultural norms change over time, the attitudes and the value systems of the society changes accordingly, imposing new expectancies upon the younger generation. The members of the younger generation, therefore, in order to deal with the new socialization pressures imposed upon them, produce different behavior styles, thus different defense styles than that of their parents. This difference is due to changes in the society such as the increased permissiveness regarding the expression of affect. The older males socialized at a time when traditional, inhibitory, politeness oriented attitudes prevailed, whereas now, more permissive, democratic attitudes are present. At least, strong sociocultural pressures of conformity and suppression of affect are less evident for the youth nowadays. Changes as such, thus produce differences in the defense styles of the two generations.

The interpretation of the findings will be discussed by taking each defense category independently.

The TAO scores of the young males on the DMI scale were found to be significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males. The conflict or anxiety arousing situation

to which the individual responds with a defensive behavior style or attitude is usually a situation which also arouses frustration and needs high tolerance. Hardship, pain, anxiety, and frustration are unavoidable aspects of life. Frustration tolerance is to be able to endure without undue arousal of aggression, self-pity or complaint, without extreme or overt hostility. The adult is in general more tolerant of frustration than the youngster, he deals with the frustrating aspects of life in a more tolerant, less aggressive manner, (Wilbur and Muensterberger, 1965). On the other hand, the displacement of aggressive affect is the chief fundamental psychic process at work with young persons who utilize TAO ego defense in order to avoid psychic pain. This is the mechanism of making the external object "bad", while the self is considered "good" and "blameless", (Wilbur and Muensterberger, 1965). The result, thus, indicates the presence of aggression in the choice of defense mechanisms by the young.

The effects of socio-economic status upon the individual's emotional life are of special interest to psychologists. Psychological studies have revealed social class differences in many aspects of human behavior, (Anastasi, 1958). When the data obtained from young and adult males were analyzed, however, no significant difference was found between the results of two income level groups, the Lower-Middle and Upper-Middle income level groups.

Another discrimination was made by dividing the adult males according to their education levels, and comparing their results with all young males. The education level of the adult males, however, did not produce a significant difference in the utilization of defense mechanisms by the adult males. These discriminations, then, did not change the major findings for the TAO ego defense category, one possible explanation being the strength of the relationship concerning the TAO scores of young and adult males.

The PRO scores of the young males on the DMI scale were found to be significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males. To be a "grow-up" in a sense implies feeling a certain security in the control of one's impulses, and having some considerable independence of external moral authorities, relying on one's own judgement rather than on others' support or approval. Adults, then, have a better incorporation of social values, nevertheless, they can more openly express their disagreement with, and resentment of authorities, and thus have less need to project their hostility on to others or out-groups, (Wilbur and Muensterberger, 1965). The young persons, however, have a greater veiled hostility to project in order to avoid the anxiety produced by the frustrating situation involved. According to Hilgard and Atkinson (1975), some of the immediate reactions to frustration are restlessness, tension, aggression, apathy, fantasy, and

stereotypy. Individuals show considerable variability in behavior when their goal-seeking behavior is blocked and they become frustrated. Frustration, thus, produces anxiety which must be dealt with. There are variations in the way adults and young persons deal with frustration. Young persons are generally observed to reduce feelings of anxiety by projecting the anxiety producing drive onto others and neutralizing themselves, while older people utilize more sophisticated ego defenses loaded with relatively less aggression.

There was a difference of significance, however, when the results of two income level groups were analyzed. The young males of the Upper-Middle income level group had higher PRO scores than their fathers ($p < .0005$), and the significance of this relationship was higher than that of Lower-Middle income level young males and their fathers ($p < .005$). One possible explanation of this finding can be found in Anastasi's interpretations of Barker's and Wright's studies (1958) which indicate the fact that middle and upper socio-economical status parents tend to demand more conformity than lower socio-economical status parents from their children and may thereby induce frustration and produce higher anxiety in their children. The children, then, in order to reduce the excess anxiety, learn to cope with it by projecting it onto others as a defense. Upper socio-economic level homes are more rigid in their social norms and sociali-

zation demands upon the child, (Anastasi, 1958).

The educational level of the adult males did not make any difference in the significance of the basic findings concerning PRO.

The INT scores of the adult males on the DMI scale were found to be significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males. Through the utilization of intellectualization and rationalization, a more effective wall can be maintained against the conscious recognition of certain aspects (ideas, thoughts, feelings, impulses, or needs) of one's self-image which are objectionable. Through the operation of this mechanism, a given emotional complex which is conflictual and self defeating is maintained and protected by being shielded from conscious awareness. Since rationalization provides the ego with plausible, acceptable reasons for actions and motives, and via rationalization, appeasement of the conscience or superego and society is sought, it is often employed to maintain one's self-esteem. Therefore, intellectualization, rationalization and similar ego defenses are utilized more by adults than young persons, since adults pay relatively more importance to maintaining their self-esteem in the face of the society, trying to be and look more socially acceptable, even when they are still maintaining

their relatively inflexible actions and attitudes,
(Laughlin, 1970).

There was a difference of significance however, when the results of the two income level groups were analyzed. The adult males of the Upper-Middle income level group had higher INT scores than their sons, ($p < .0005$) and the significance of this relationship was higher than that of Lower-Middle income level adult males and their sons ($p < .005$). According to Laughlin (1970), in the process of growth and maturation, the human psyche grows an ideal concept of what it should be. This is taken over largely from parents, other significant persons, and society, and it helps to make up the superego. However, the ego is under constant pressure for the outward expression of hidden inner impulses, and the ego sometimes feels helpless to conform to the id as the impulse conflicts with the ego ideal or the superego. This brings on conflict and anxiety, and the ego, having behaved or reacted unacceptably, looks for more creditable motives to account for its behavior and for the associated emotional and underlying feelings. In order for the individual to come up with such pseudological explanations and socially accepted reasons for one's conduct, as noted, relatively higher levels of intellect, higher pressures of socialization, and more intersocial relations are required, which are to be met relatively more in higher socio-economic status groups, (Anastasi,

1958). Bearing this explanation in mind, the finding that the educational level of the adult males did not make any discrimination in the significance of the basic findings concerning INT produced an ambiguity, since it was anticipated that the education level of the adult male was directly proportional with his monthly income level. It might, thus, be concluded that the ego defenses, rationalization and intellectualization were functions of economical status more than education level.

The TAS scores of the young males on the DMI scale were found to be significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of adult males. Masochism (passive aggression) and auto-sadism, as well as acting out, are considered the immanute defenses of the ego by Vaillant, (1977). It is typical of young persons, who, with excess energy that is ready to turn into aggression, to either overtly express their aggression towards frustrating objects or within frustrating situations and face the conflicts to come, or it is even more typical of young persons to deal with such feelings in a more defensive manner such as by turning the aggression against self and repressing the aggressive drive waiting to be satisfied, (A. Freud, 1937). This mechanism of TAS is freeing the aggressor or frustrator from blame and directing the "bad" or guilty aspects toward the self, in order to punish the self, (Wilbur and Muansterberger, 1965).

This relationship, however, was found to be more significant for the Upper-Middle income level groups ($p < .025$) than the Lower-Middle income level groups ($p < .05$). Still, this relationship was found to be more significant for the high education level adult males and all young males ($p < .005$) than low/moderate education level adult males and all young males ($p < .025$). These findings correlated with Anastasi's interpretations of middle and upper socio-economical status youth and their being more loaded with anxiety to discharge, via overt or defensive behavior, because of the relative rigidity of the social norms imposed upon them, (Anastasi, 1958).

The REV scores of the adult males on the DMI scale were found to be significantly higher ($p < .0005$) than that of young males, and the relative strength of this relationship was indicated since neither income level nor education level discriminations in the sample could change the significance of this finding. As expected, REV defenses are utilized more by adults since such defenses are taking on behaviors opposite to a denied drive or affect, the original impulse still exists but it is glossed over or masked by one that does not cause anxiety. This defensive style is a function of age, and shapes due to maturation, thus REV defenses are considered to be mature defenses, (Hilgard and Atkinson, 1975, Vaillant, 1977). In the utilization of REV defenses, as Laughlin (1970)

points out, there is an outer characterologic development concerned which reverses the hidden inner drive and further hides, guards, and inhibits it. The operation of this mechanism can lead to substantial characterologic change, and can contribute significantly to character and personality trait development. The attitudes of this defensive style are mainly of adults, and are likely to be cramped because of their accelerating rigidity due to age.

What do these results imply? It should be quite apparent from the material thus far, that a familiarity with the ego defenses is a basic requirement for clinical psychology. A most important goal in modern psychology is the increase of insight seeking and reality testing especially in psychotherapy. Inevitably, the therapeutic process will include a fair amount of bringing previously unconscious material into conscious awareness. Successful treatment as such will lead to greater understanding by patient and psychologist of the former's intrapsychic defense operations, his ego defenses. The more knowledge the therapist possesses concerning the general principles of their operation, the better are his chances for therapeutic success in a given case. Knowledge concerning the differences in the utilization of defenses due to age will certainly have a directive and easing effect on the psychotherapist, especially if diagnostic evaluation is of major concern. Knowledge as such is of importance to

various branches of social sciences concerning persons behaviors, not just as individuals, but also as groups. Generalizations to larger groups of people can be made due to empirical research as such. Knowledge about the coping functions of ego defenses are likely to be of help to parents and educators as well. Moreover, the changes in the society, the norms, the values, can be observed from a different point of view, by correlating those changes with the generational changes in the utilization of defense mechanisms.

In the light of this limited study and bearing in mind that no investigation has been conducted in Turkey, so far, on defense mechanisms as a function of age, wide generalizations would be misleading. On the other hand, this study sheds light on the necessity of further investigation on this subject in Turkey. Because of the practical difficulty of following up the same individuals year after year, many studies on age differences have resorted to cross-sectional procedures, as this study is cross-generational. Further longitudinal research on this subject would thus be advisable, especially for larger samples in Turkey.

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DMI

YÖNERGE: DİKKATLE OKUYUNUZ.

İlişikteki sayfaların herbirinde birer kısa hikaye bulunmaktadır. Her hikâyeden sonra beşer seçenekli dört soru gelmektedir. Bu sorular şu tip davranışları içermektedir. Gerçek davranış, hayalî davranış, düşünceler ve duygular. Gerçek davranış dış dünyaya gösterilendir. Geri kalanlar ise kişinin iç dünyasında yer alır ve bu nedenle hiç bir sonuca yol açmazlar. Hikâyeler cevap kağıdında da soru kitapçığında belirtilen harflerle gösterilmektedir: b __, a __, u __, s __, d __, m __, vb.

Sizden istenilen, nasıl tepki göstereceğinizi beş seçenekten en iyi şekilde temsil eden bir cevabı seçmenizdir. Daha sonra bu cevabın sayısını cevap kağıdında bulup çizginin üstüne bir artı işareti (+) yapmalısınız. Tepkinizin nasıl olacağını en az temsil eden bir cevabı seçip çizginin üstünde bir eksi işareti (-) yapmalısınız. Örneğin, bir sorunun beş cevabından (236, 237, 238, 239, 240 numaralı) 237 numaralı cevabın sizin tepkinizin nasıl olacağını en iyi gösteren cevap olduğunu ve 240 numaralı cevabın ise en az gösteren cevap olduğunu düşünelim. Bu durumda, cevap kağıdını bu soruya ilişkin bölümü şöyle olmalıdır.

236 _____

237 + _____

238 _____

239 _____

240 - _____

Her beşli grup için biri + biri - olmak üzere sadece iki çizginin dolu olmasına dikkat ediniz. Geri kalan çiz-

APPENDIX A

giler boş bırakılmalıdır.

Seçiminizi yapmadan önce soruyu takip eden bütün beş cevabıda okuyunuz. Cevaplarınızı cevap kağıdına işaretlerken, cümlenin numarasıyla cevap kağıdındaki numaranın aynı olmasına dikkat ediniz. Her hikâyeyi ayrı bir sütunda cevaplandırınız. Cevap kağıdını yumuşak bir kursunkalemle doldurunuz. Eğer cevabınızı değiştirirseniz, istenmeyen cevabı iyice sildiğimize emin olunuz. Çizgilerden başka hiçbir yere işaret yapmayınız.

Burada doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur, seçiminizi sadece kendiniz hakkındaki bilginiz yönlendirmelidir. Hiç böyle bir olay yaşamamış olsanız bileB bir süre için, hikâyede anlatılan olayın gerçekten başınıza geldiğini hayal ediniz. Cevabınızı seçerken, size en çok ve en az beğendiğiniz cevabı sormadığımızı hatırlayınız. Sizden istediğimiz, bu tip durumlarda nasıl davranacağınızı ve hissedeceğinizi en çok ve en az temsil eden cevaplardır.

Eğer sorunuz yoksa lütfen bu sayfayı çevirin ve başlayın.

Yolun kenarında otobüs bekliyorsunuz. Bir önceki yağın yağmurdan dolayı yollar ıslak ve çamurlu. Bir araba önünüzdeki su birikintisinin üstünden hızla geçiyor ve gıysilerinizi çamur içinde bırakıyor.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 1- Bu dikkatsiz şoförün izini bulabilmek için arabanın plakasını not ederdim.
- 2- Gülümseyerek üstümü silerdim.
- 3- Şoförün arkasından küfür ederdim.
- 4- En azından bir yağmurluk giyinmediğim için kendime kızardım.
- 5- Omuzumu silkerdim, sonuç olarak bu tip şeyler kaçınılmazdır.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 6- O şoförün yüzün çamura bulamak.
- 7- Bu beceriksiz şoförü polise şikayet etmek.
- 8- Yolun kenarına çok yakın durduğum için kendimi suçlamak.
- 9- Şoföre aslında pek umursamadığımı bildirebilmek.
- 10- Şoföre yayalarında hakları olduğunu bildirebilmek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 11- Niye hep başımı bu gibi işlere sokarım ?
- 12- Şoförün canı cehenneme.
- 13- Esasında bu şoförün iyi birisi olduğundan eminim.
- 14- İnsan böyle yağmurlu günlerde, bu gibi şeylerin olabileceğini bekler.
- 15- Bu adamın beni kasten mi ıslattığını merak ediyorum.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 16- Memnun, sonuç olarak daha kötüsü olabilirdi.
- 17- Kederli, kötü şansım yüzünden.
- 18- Kabullenmiş, çünkü herşeyi olduğu gibi kabul etmeliyiz.
- 19- İçerlemiş, şoförün düşüncesizliğine ve anlayışsızlığına.
- 20- Hiddetli, üstümü kirlettiği için.

Orduda görevlerinin vaktinde ve düzenli yapılması için sürekli baskı altında olan önemli bir bölümün başındasınız. Son günlerde, başvurduğunuz çarelere rağmen, işler gerektiği gibi düzgün yürümediği için, personelde bazı değişiklikler planlanmış durumdasınız.

Ancak, bunu yapmadan önce, beklenmedik bir anda, assubayınız gelir, bölümünüzün işleri konusunda bazı sert sorular sorar ve sizi görevden aldığını, yerinize yardımcınızı geçirdiğini bildirir.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 21- Assubayım sadece görevini yaptığı için işten alınmamı nezaketle kabul ederdim.
- 22- Assubayımı beni görmeye gelmeden önce aleyhime karar vermiş olmakla suçlardım.
- 23- Bu kadar zor bir görevden alındığım için memnun olurdum.
- 24- Yardımcımı küçük düşürecek bir fırsat kollardım.
- 25- Yetersiz olduğum için kendimi suçlardım.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 26- Terfiinden dolayı yardımcımı kutlardım.
- 27- Assubayımla yardımcımın benden kurtulmak için yapmış olabilecekleri planı ortaya çıkarmak.
- 28- Assubayıma cehenneme gitmesini söylemek!
- 29- Gerekli değişiklikleri daha önceden yapmamış olduğum için kendimi suçlamak.
- 30- Ayrılmak isterdim, ama orduda bu yapılamıyor.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 31- Karanlık bir sokakta assubayımla yüzyüze gelmeyi isterdim.
- 32- Orduda her işte, o işe en uygun olan kişinin çalışması esastır.
- 33- Bu olanların benden kurtulmak için bir mazeret olduğuna eminim.
- 34- İşimle birlikte rutbemi de kaybetmediğim için çok şanslıyım.
- 35- Nasıl bu kadar aptal olabilirim.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 36- İçerlemiş, çünkü assubayımın bana kastı vardı.
- 37- İşimi elimden aldığı için yardımcıma kızgın.
- 38- Memnun, daha kötü bir şey olmadığı için.
- 39- Tedirgin, başarısız olduğum için.
- 40- Kabullenmiş, sonuç olarak kişi elinden geleni yapmış olmakla tatmin olmalı.

Lisede okumanıza yardım eden amcanız ve yengenizle birlikte yaşıyorsunuz. Siz onu, ondört yaşlarında annenizi ve babanızı bir otomobil kazasında kaybettiğinizden beri si-se onlar bakmışlardır. Beraber çıktığınız arkadaşınızla geç saatte bir randevunuz olduğu gün dışarıda fırtına patlak verir. Yengeniz ve amcanız saatin geç oluşu ve hava şartları yüzünden arkadaşınızı arayıp randevunuzu iptal etmenizde ısrar etmektedirler. Siz tam onların isteklerini önemsemeyip kapıdan dışarı çıkmak üzereyken amcanız emredici bir ses tonuyla şunları söyler, "Yengen ve ben gidemeyeceğini söyledik, işte bu kadar".

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 41- Daima benim için en iyi olanı istediğinizi bildiğim için amcamın dediğini yapardım.
- 42- Onlara şunu söyledim, "Benim büyümemi istemediğinizi daima biliyorum".
- 43- Randevumu iptal ederdim, çünkü ailede huzur olması gerekir.
- 44- Bunun onları ilgilendirmediğini söyler ve herşeye rağmen giderdim.
- 45- Evde kalmayı kabul eder ve onları üzdüğüm için özür dilerdim.

iÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 46- Başımı duvara vurmak.
- 47- Onları hayatımı artık mahvetmemelini söylemek.
- 48- Benim iyiliğimi bu denli düşündükleri için onlara teşekkür etmek.
- 49- Kapıyı yüzlerine vurarak gitmek.
- 50- Yağmur da yağsa, güneş de açsa randevuma gitmek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 51- Neden susup beni yalnız bırakmazlar ?
- 52- Hiç bir zaman beni fazla umursamadılar.
- 53- Bana karşı o kadar iyiler ki soru sormadan öğütlerini tutmalıyım.
- 54- Karşılığında birşey vermeden hiç bir şey alamazsın.
- 55- Bu kadar geç saatte bir randevu planladığım için bütün suç benim.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 56- Sinirli, beni bir bebek gibi gördükleri için.
- 57- Mutsuz, yapacak bir şeyim olmadığı için.
- 58- İlgileri için müteşekkir.
- 59- Kabullenmiş, sonuç olarak, her şey insanın istediği gibi olmaz.
- 60- Çok öfkeli, benim işime karıştıkları için.

Sporda iyi olmaya çok heveslisiniz, fakat denediğiniz bütün sporlardan sadece basketbolda biraz başarılı oldunuz. Ancak, bu güne kadar bir spor kulübüne veya bir takıma üyelik için her başvurduğunuzda, ilgililer sizin performansınızdan etkilenmiş görünmekle birlikte, son kararları daima aynı olmuştur, size çok az bir farkla istenilen düzeyde olmadığınızı söylemişlerdir.

Bir öğleden sonra otobüsle eve dönüyorsunuz. Siz kalabalık otobüste ayakta dururken eşinizin sesini duyuyorsunuz. Henüz başvurmuş olduğunuz takımın yöneticisiyle oturmaktadır. Yöneticinin eşinize şunları söylediğini duyarsınız, "Kocanızın güzel bir oyun stili var, kulübümüze katılmasını önermeyi düşünüyoruz. "Daha sonra eşinizin gülerek cevap verdiğini duyarsınız, "Siz beni dinleyin, onun bu işi uzun süre devam ettirecek gücü yoktur."

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 61- Eve vardığınız zaman onu azarlardım.
- 62- Her zamanki gibi onu sevecenlikle karşılardım, çünkü beni gerçekten takdir ettiğini biliyorum.
- 63- Bütün gece hiç konuşmaz, içime kapanır ve şahit olduğum konuşmanın hiç sözünü etmezdim.
- 64- Bu gibi sözler asla önemsenmediği için olayı ciddiye almazdım.
- 65- Onun iki yüzlü olduğunu bildiğim için şahit olduğum konuşmaya fazla şaşırmadığımı ona söylerdim.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 66- Eşime, sözlerini işittiğimi ve açık sözlülüğünden gurur duyduğumu söylemek.
- 67- Kafasını kırmak.
- 68- Ona erkeklerin eşlerinden sadakat beklediklerini söylemek.
- 69- Daima arkamdan konuştuğundan şüphelendiğimi ona bildirmek.
- 70- Onunla yüzleşmemek için otobüsten hemen inmek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 71- Benim hakkımda herkesle böyle konuştuğuna dair bahse girerim.
- 72- Benim hakkımda böyle düşünmesi için ne yapmış olabilirim ?
- 73- Sadece şaka yaptığında eminim.
- 74- Bu gibi konuşmalardan rahatsız olunmamalıdır.
- 75- Onun iyi bir derse ihtiyacı var.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 76- Değersiz, çünkü ne kadar başarısız bir eş olduğumu anladım.
- 77- Benim hakkımda böyle konuştuğu için ona karşı çok öfkeli.
- 78- İlgisiz, çünkü kadınlar böyledir.
- 79- Son derece hırslı, çünkü geçmiş başarısızlıklarım da büyük bir ihtimalle onun dedikodusu rol oynadı.
- 80- Huzurlu, çünkü yönetici de eşimin ne dediğini bilmediğini farkedecek.

İşinizde diğer çalışan arkadaşlarınızdan daha yetenekli olduğunuz konusunda ustabaşını etkilemek istiyorsunuz. Kendinizi ispatlayabileceğiniz bir fırsat çıkmasını hevesle bekliyorsunuz.

Bir gün fabrikaya yeni bir makine getirilir. Usta-başı bütün çalışanları toplayarak bunu kullanmasını bilen birinin olup olmadığını sorar. Bunun sizin beklendiğiniz fırsat olduğunu anlar ve ustabaşını buna benzer bir makineyle daha önce çalışmış olduğunuzu, bunu da bir denemek istediğinizi söyleyebilirsiniz. Fakat sizi şunları söyleyerek reddeder: "Kusura bakma, deneyemeyiz," ve kıdemli bir elemanı çağırarak makineyi çalıştırmayı denemesini söyler.

Kıdemli eleman başlama kolunu çeker çekmez kıvılcıklar uçuşur ve makine sallanarak durur. O zaman ustabaşı sizi çağırır ve sizin hâlâ makineyi çalıştırmak isteyip istemediğinizi sorar.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 81- Yapabileceğimden çok şüpheliyim derdim.
- 82- Arkadaşlarıma ustabaşının makinenin bozulmasından beni sorumlu tutmak istediğini söylerim.
- 83- Bana bu şansı verdiği için kendisini takdir ettiğimi ustabaşıma söylerim.
- 84- İçimden ustabaşına küfrederek nazikçe reddederim.
- 85- Ustabaşına deneyeceğimi çünkü insanın hiç bir zorluktan kaçmaması gerektiğini söylerim.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 86- Ustabaşını makinenin bozulmasının suçunu bana yüklemeyeceğini söylemek.
- 87- İlk olarak bana denetmediği için ustabaşına teşekkür etmek.
- 88- Ustabaşına bozuk bir makineyi çalıştırmayı kendisinin denemesini söylemek.
- 89- Ustabaşına tecrübenin başarıyı garantilemediğini belirtmek.
- 90- Bu dayanılmaz duruma kendimi soktuğum için kendimi teklemek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 91- Ustabaşı gerçekten iyi bir insan.
- 92- Ona da, makinesine de lânet olsun.
- 93- Bu ustabaşı bana takmış.
- 94- Makinelere her zaman güvenilmez.
- 95- Nasıl bu makineyi çalıştırabileceğimi düşünecek kadar aptalım.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 96- Kayıtsız, çünkü birinin yetenekleri takdir edilmedi mi hevesi de kaybolur.
- 97- İmkansız bir iş yapmam istendiği için sinirli.
- 98- Makineyi ben kırmadığım için memnun.
- 99- Kasıtlı olarak bana dikkat çekildiği için kızgın.
- 100- Kendimi aptal yerine koyma riskini göze aldığım için kendimden tiksime.

Otobüsü yakalayabilmek için iki yanında uzun binalar bulunan dar bir yoldan acele ile geçiyorsunuz. Aniden tamircilerin çalıştığı damdan kiremitler düşer. Bir kiremit parçası kaldırırma çarpıp ayağınızı yaralar.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 101- Tamircilere dava açmam gerektiğini söylerim.
- 102- Bu kadar kötü şansım olduğu için kendime küfredirim.
- 103- Acele ile yola devam ederim, insan planlarının bozulmasına izin vermemelidir.
- 104- Daha kötü bir şey olmadığına şükrederek yoluma devam ederim.
- 105- Bu dikkatsiz kişilerin kim olduklarını bulmaya çalışırım.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 106- Adamlara halkın güvenliğinden sorumlu olduklarını hatırlatmak.
- 107- Adamlara ciddi bir şey olmadığından emin olmalarını söylemek.
- 108- Onlara biraz akıl vermek.
- 109- Gittiğim yere bakmadığım için kendimi tekmelemek.
- 110- Bu dikkatsiz işçilerin işlerini kaybetmelerini sağlamak.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 111- Bu adamlar işlerini doğru yapmayı bilmiyorlar.
- 112- Ciddi bir şekilde yaralanmadığım için şanslıyım.
- 113- Bu adamlara lânet olsun.
- 114- Neden bu gibi şeyler hep benim başıma gelir ?
- 115- Bu günlerde insan ne denli dikkatli olsa yeridir.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 116- Öfkeli, çünkü canım acıdı.
- 117- Çok hiddetli, çünkü dikkatsizlikleri yüzünden ölebilirdim.
- 118- Sakin, çünkü insan kendini kontrol edebilmelidir.
- 119- Kötü şansım yüzünden üzgün.
- 120- Sadece bir çizikle kurtulabildiğim için müteşekkirim.

Akşamüstü şehirde araba kullanırken en kalabalık dört yol ağızlarından birine gelirsiniz. Işığın yeşil yanmasına rağmen, yayaların "bekle" işaretine uymadıklarını ve yolunuzu tıkadıklarını görürsünüz. Işık kırmızıya dönmeden dikkatle dönüşünüzü yapmaya devam edersiniz. Dönüşünüzü bitirdiğinizde bir trafik polisi arabayı kenara çekmenizi söyler ve yayaların geçiş haklarını çiğnediğiniz gerekçesiyle ceza yazar. Yapabilecek tek şeyin bu olduğunu anlatmayı çalışırsınız, fakat her şeye rağmen polis ceza keser.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 121- Dikkatsiz davrandığım için kendimi suçlardım.
- 122- Mahkemeye gider ve polisten şikayetçi olurum.
- 123- Polise neden şoförlere kini olduğunu sorardım.
- 124- Polis eninde sonunda iyi bir adam, onunla işbirliği yapmayı denerdim.
- 125- Polis sadece görevini yapıyor olduğu için itiraz etmeden cezayı öderdim.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 126- Polise mevkiinin verdiği yetkiyi kullanarak bana böyle kötü davranamayacağını söylemek.
- 127- Bir sonraki yeşil ışığı beklemediğim için kendimi tekmelemek.
- 128- Beni olabilecek bir kazadan kurtardığı için polise teşekkür etmek.
- 129- Prensipten haklarımı korumak.
- 130- Kapıyı suratını çarpıp yola devam etmek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 131- O doğru olanı yapıyor, esasında bana önemli bir ders verdiği için ona teşekkür etmeliyim.
- 132- Herkes kendi görevini kendine göre sürdürmelidir.
- 133- Bu adam daha az sorumlu bir göreve verilmelidir.
- 134- Nasıl bu kadar aptal olabildim.
- 135- Eminim insanlara ceza kesmekten zevk alıyordur.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 136- Korkunç bir öfke, başıma dert açtığı için.
- 137- Sinirli, bana taktığı için.
- 138- İhmalkâr davrandığım için utanç.
- 139- Kayıtsız, sonuç olarak, bu tip şeyler her zaman olur.
- 140- Başım daha kötü derde girmediği için rahatlamış.

Başka bir şehirdeki üniversitede üç sene geçirdikten sonra eve dönüyorsunuz. Üniversiteye girdiğiniz zaman öğrencilik veya babanızın işinde bir mevki sahibi olma seçenekleriniz vardı. Ailenizin öğütlerine rağmen üniversiteyi seçtiniz. Eve geri döndüğünüz şu anda iş fırsatlarının çok artmamış olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Ya babanızın işine katılabilirsiniz, ya da az bir maaşla bir iş bulabilirsiniz. Kendi işyerinizi açmak isterdiniz fakat böyle bir girişim için gerekli olacak sermayeniz yok. Epeyi tereddütten sonra, parayı babanızdan istemeye karar verirsiniz. Teklifinizi dinledikten sonra şunları söyler, "Ben bu zor kazanılmış parayı senin delice planlarına harcamaya hazır değilim. İşimde bana yardımcı etmenin artık zamanı gelmiştir.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 141- Bu dünyada herkes birbirine bağımlı olduğuna göre teklifini kabul ederdim.
- 142- Bu işi becrebileceğimden emin olmadığımı itiraf ederdim.
- 143- Kesin bir şekilde onun önerisini geri çevirirdim.
- 144- Ona, bana karşı kin beslediğinden her zaman şüphelendiğimi söylerdim.
- 145- Bu kadar yıl benim için bir iş açık tuttuğu için ona teşekkür ederdim.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 146- Onun istediği işi yapıp, onu mutlu etmek.
- 147- Uğraşmayı bırakıp pes etmek.
- 148- Bu tip tekliflere pek sık rastlanmadığı için babamın teklifini kabul etmek.
- 149- Herkesin onun cimri olduğunu düşündüğünü ona bildirmek.
- 150- Ona dünyadaki en son insan olsa bile, onun işinde çalışmayacağımı söylemek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 151- Bir gün oda aradığını bulacak.
- 152- Ailevi düşünceler iş kararlarını etkileyemez.
- 153- Nasıl konuyu açacak kadar aptal oldum.
- 154- Babamın benim iyiliğim için böyle davrandığını itiraf etmeliyim.
- 155- Bu benim daima şüphelendiğim şeyi, babamın bana hiç güvenmediğini ispatlıyor.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 156- Kızgın, çünkü benim kendi başıma başarmamı istemiyor.
- 157- Geleceği olan bir iş teklif ettiği için müteşekkirdim.
- 158- Geleceğimi tehlikeye attığı için sinirli.
- 159- Vazgeçmiş, çünkü insan her zaman her şeyi istediği biçimde yapamaz.
- 160- Ümitsiz, babamın desteğini sağlayamadığım için.

Sizin ve yakın bir arkadaşınızın imtihana çalıştığınız bir öğleden sonra beklenmedik bir anda kız arkadaşınız gelir. Bir senedir ciddi bir beraberlik sürdürmenize rağmen, son günlerde birbirinizi pek fazla görememişsiniz, bu nedenle geldiği için çok mutlusunuz. Onu içeri davet edersiniz, arkadaşınıza tanıştırdırınız ve üçünüz beraber hoş bir saat geçirirsiniz.

Birkaç gün sonra ona telefon açar ve imtihan haftasının bitişini kutlamak üzere bir sinemaya gitmeyi önerirsiniz. Ancak size soğuk aldığını ve evden çıkmaması gerektiğini söyler. Öğleden sonra kendinizi yalnız hissedersiniz ve sinemaya gitmeye karar verirsiniz.

Sinemadan çıkarken kız arkadaşınızla kol kola yürüyen okul arkadaşınıza rastlarsınız.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 161- Arkadaşımı beni aldatacağına, bana bu durumu anlatması gerektiğini söyledim.
- 162- Uygur biri olarak onları selamlardım.
- 163- Artık onlarla ilişkim olmadığını onlara gösterirdim.
- 164- Onlara, arkadaş olmalarından mutluluk duyduğumu söyledim.
- 165- Onlarla yüzleşmek için hemen görüş mesafelerinden çıkardım.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız, ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 166- Eve gidip iyice ağlamak.
- 167- Okul arkadaşımı yere sermek ve kızı alıp, gitmek.
- 168- Onlara, beraberliklerini aslında pek umursamadığımı göstermek.
- 169- Onlara, eğer böyle olmasını istiyorlarsa birbirleri ile beraber olabileceklerini söylemek.
- 170- Bir savaşın tek bir muharebeyle kazanılmayacağını belli etmek.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 171- Kız arkadaşıma daha çok vakit ayırırsaydım böyle olmazdı.
- 172- Aşkta ve savaşta herşey geçerlidir.
- 173- İkisi de gerçekten iki yüzlüymüş.
- 174- Umarım layık olduklarını bulurlar.
- 175- Zaten ondan bıkmaya başlıyordum.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 176- Tekrar hür olduğum için rahatlamış.
- 177- Üzgün, çünkü bu kadar güvenmemeliydim.
- 178- Kabullenmiş, çünkü hayatı olduğu gibi almalıyız.
- 179- Dürüst olmamalarından dolayı öfkeli.
- 180- Böyle davranmış oldukları için çok hiddetli.

Çalıştığınız şirkette yeni boşalan bir yönetici mevkii için siz ve eski bir okul arkadaşınız çekişmektedir. Şanslarınızın eşit görünmesine rağmen, arkadaşınız kritik durumlara daha çabuk çare bulabilmektedir. Son zamanlarda, siz de bazı iş anlaşmalarını başarıyla yürütmüş durumdasınız. Buna rağmen, yönetim kurulu sizin yerinize arkadaşınızın terfiine karar verir.

GERÇEK tepkiniz ne olurdu ?

- 181- Hangi yöneticinin beni engellediğini bulmaya çalışırdım.
- 182- Sorumlu bir kişi olarak görevime devam ederdim.
- 183- Yönetici yeteneğim olmayışının bir delili olarak sonucu kabullenirdim.
- 184- Kurulun kararını şiddetle protesto ederdim.
- 185- Yeni görevi için arkadaşımı kutlardım.

İÇİNİZDEN geldiği gibi davranacak olsanız ne yapmak isterdiniz ?

- 186- Bir hatanın firma için çok önemli olduğunu, bu nedenle kararın yeniden gözden geçirilmesini kuruldandan istemek.
- 187- Kabiliyetim dışında olan bir iş için umutlanmam nedeniyle kendimi tekmelemek.
- 188- Bana olan haksız muamelelerinde ne kadar taraf tuttuklarını kurula göstermek.
- 189- Yeni görevinde başarılı olması için arkadaşıma yardım etmek.
- 190- Yönetim kurulunun her üyesinin kafasını kırmak.

Aklınıza ne gibi bir DÜŞÜNCE gelirdi ?

- 191- Herhalde bu iş için gerekli olan şey bence yok.
- 192- Herhalde bir yönetim işinden şimdiki işim kadar hoşlanmazdım.
- 193- Tabii ki yönetim kurulunun kararında hileli bir şeyler var.
- 194- İnsan yaşamındaki bütün tokatları serinkanlılıkla karşılamalıdır.
- 195- Bu yönetim kurulu kahrolsun.

Nasıl HİSSEDERDİNİZ ve neden ?

- 196- Halen alışık olduğum bir işte bulunduğum için mutlu.
- 197- Yetersizliğim herkese duyurulduğu için üzgün.
- 198- Bana olan davranışları yüzünden yöneticilere karşı hiddetli.
- 199- Kabullenmiş, çünkü iş dünyasında bu tip olaylar olur.
- 200- Öfkeli, çünkü haksız bir kararın kurbanı oldum.

APPENDIX B

1- Yaşınız

2- Cinsiyetiniz

3- Yetiştirdiğiniz yer

1- İstanbul

2- Diğer şehirler 3- Kasaba 4- Köy

Ankara

İzmir

4- Anneniz hayatta mı ?

1- Evet 2- Hayır

5- Annenizin yaşı

6- Annenizin mesleği

7- Halen çalışıyor mu ?

1- Evet 2- Hayır

8- (Evetse) Kaç yıldır ?

9- Annenizin son bitirdiği okul

1- Yok 2- İlkokul 3- Orta okul 4- Lise ve eşdeğeri

5- Yüksek okul

10- Babanız hayatta mı ?

1- Evet 2- Hayır

11- Babanızın yaşı

12- Babanızın mesleği

13- Halen çalışıyor mu ?

1- Evet 2- Hayır

14- (Evetse) Kaç yıldır ?

15- Babanızın son bitirdiği okul

1- Yok 2- İlkokul 3- Orta okul 4- Lise ve eşdeğeri

5- Yüksek okul

16- Anne babanız

1- Halen evliler 2- Boşanmış 3- Ayrı yaşıyorlar

4- Baba tekrar evlenmiş 5- Anne tekrar evlenmiş 6- Hiçbiri

17- Ailenin ortalama geliri

1- 0-50 bin 2- 50-150 bin 3- 150-250 bin

4- 250 bin-üstü.

APPENDIX C

- 1- Yaşınız
- 2- Oğlunuzun yaşı
- 3- Yetiştirdiğiniz yer
 - 1- İstanbul
 - 2- Diğer şehirler
 - 3- Kasaba
 - 4- Köy
- 4- Eşiniz hayatta mı ?
 - 1- Evet
 - 2- Hayır
- 5- Eşinizin yaşı
- 6- Eşinizin mesleği
- 7- Halen çalışıyor mu ?
 - 1- Evet
 - 2- Hayır
- 8- (Evetse) Kaç yıldır ?
- 9- Eşinizin son bitirdiği okul
 - 1- Yok
 - 2- İlkokul
 - 3- Orta okul
 - 4- Lise ve eşdeğeri
 - 5- Yüksek okul
- 10- Mesleğiniz
- 11- Halen çalışıyormusunuz ?
 - 1- Evet
 - 2- Hayır
- 12- (Evetse) Kaç yıldır ?
- 13- Son bitirdiğiniz okul
 - 1- Yok
 - 2- İlkokul
 - 3- Orta okul
 - 4- Lise ve eşdeğeri
 - 5- Yüksek okul
- 14- Eşinizle
 - 1- Halen evlisiniz
 - 2- Boşanmışsınız
 - 3- Ayrı yaşıyorsunuz
 - 4- Siz tekrar evlenmişsiniz
 - 5- Eşiniz tekrar evlenmiş
 - 6- Hiçbiri
- 15- Ailenizin ortalama geliri
 - 1- 0-50 bin
 - 2- 50.150 bin
 - 3- 150-250 bin
 - 4- 250 bin-üstü

APPENDIX D

CEVAP KÂĞIDI

TAO	PRO	INT	TAS	REV	SUM
AB					
FB					
T					
A					
SUM					

b.	a.	u.	s.	m.	t.	p.	f.	g.	o.
1	21	41	61	81	101	121	141	161	181
2	22	42	62	82	102	122	142	162	182
3	23	43	63	83	103	123	143	163	183
4	24	44	64	84	104	124	144	164	184
5	25	45	65	85	105	125	145	165	185
6	26	46	66	86	106	126	146	166	186
7	27	47	67	87	107	127	147	167	187
8	28	48	68	88	108	128	148	168	188
9	29	49	69	89	109	129	149	169	189
10	30	50	70	90	110	130	150	170	190

11 ___ 31 ___ 51 ___ 71 ___ 91 ___ 111 ___ 131 ___ 151 ___ 171 ___ 191 ___
12 ___ 32 ___ 52 ___ 72 ___ 92 ___ 112 ___ 132 ___ 152 ___ 172 ___ 192 ___
13 ___ 33 ___ 53 ___ 73 ___ 93 ___ 113 ___ 133 ___ 153 ___ 173 ___ 193 ___
14 ___ 34 ___ 54 ___ 74 ___ 94 ___ 114 ___ 134 ___ 154 ___ 174 ___ 194 ___
15 ___ 35 ___ 55 ___ 75 ___ 95 ___ 115 ___ 135 ___ 155 ___ 175 ___ 195 ___

16 ___ 36 ___ 56 ___ 76 ___ 96 ___ 116 ___ 136 ___ 156 ___ 176 ___ 196 ___
17 ___ 37 ___ 57 ___ 77 ___ 97 ___ 117 ___ 137 ___ 157 ___ 177 ___ 197 ___
18 ___ 38 ___ 58 ___ 78 ___ 98 ___ 118 ___ 138 ___ 158 ___ 178 ___ 198 ___
19 ___ 39 ___ 59 ___ 79 ___ 99 ___ 119 ___ 139 ___ 159 ___ 179 ___ 199 ___
20 ___ 40 ___ 60 ___ 80 ___ 100 ___ 120 ___ 140 ___ 160 ___ 180 ___ 200 ___