

RORSCHACH PROFILES OF TORTURE SURVIVORS AND THE
EFFECTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM: A CONTROLLED STUDY

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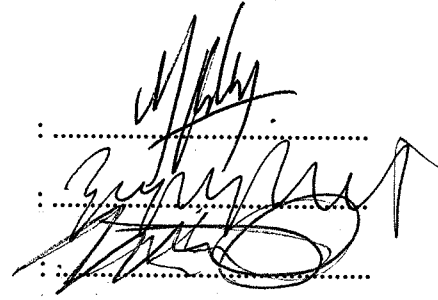
İşkence Görmüş Kişilerin Rorschach Profilleri ve Politik Aktivizmin Etkileri: Kontrollü Bir Çalışma

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- 3) Politic Activism
- 4) Trauma
- 5) Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

Abstract

Data for this thesis comes from an extensive research project which was held in Turkey between the years of 1990-1995 about torture and its psychological effects. The thesis investigates torture's effects on personality structures and psychological well-being. Also, it takes into account a second important effect, political activism. As a part of the larger study Rorschach Inkblot Test has been applied to the participants (*tortured/activist=26, tortured/non-activists=25, non-tortured/activists=30, non-tortured/non-activists=28*) and were coded using Exner's Comprehensive System (1993). First, 2X2 ANOVAs were carried out to analyze torture's effects on the six main axis of Rorschach. Results showed tortured and non-tortured individuals had significant differences in terms of the seven main personality structures of Exner's system (control-stress tolerance, affect, information processing, mediation, ideation, interpersonal relationships, self-perception). Additionally, political involvement creates significant differences in ideation and self perception. Interaction of the two also creates differences on control and stress tolerance, ideation and interpersonal relationships. These results were further investigated by using logistic regression. This thesis study has the importance of showing torture's psychological effects by taking into the consideration of personality factors through the use of a projective personality test.

Özet

Bu tez çalışmasının verisi, Türkiye’de 1990-1995 yılları arasında işkence ve psikolojik etkilerini araştırmak amacıyla gerçekleşen kapsamlı bir araştırmadan gelmektedir. Bu tezin araştırdığı konu işkencenin kişilik yapısı ve psikolojik durum üzerindeki etkileridir. Ayrıca ikinci önemli bir etkiyi, politik olarak aktif olmayı da göz önünde bulundurmaktadır. Bahsedilen kapsamlı çalışmanın bir parçası olarak katılımcılara (*işkence görmüş/aktivist=26, işkence görmüş/aktivist olmayan=25, işkence görmemiş/aktivist=30, işkence görmemiş/aktivist olmayan=28*) Rorschach Mürekkep Lekesi testi uygulanmıştır ve bu testler Exner’in Bütünleştirici Sistemi (1993) kullanılarak kodlanmıştır. Öncelikle, işkencenin ve politik aktivizmin etkilerini görmek için her bir Rorschach değişkeni için 2X2 Tek Yönlü Varyans Analizleri yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar işkence görmüş olmanın Exner Sistemindeki yedi temel alanında (kontrol ve stres toleransı, duygulanım, benlik algısı, kişiler arası ilişkiler, bilgi işleme, mediasyon, düşünce sistemi) belirgin fark yarattığını göstermiştir. Politik olarak aktif olmaksızın düşünce sistemi ve kendilik alanında farklar yaratmaktadır. Bu iki ana etkinin etkileşimi ise, kontrol ve stres toleransında, düşünce süreçlerinde ve kişiler arası ilişkilerde anlamlı farklar yaratmaktadır. Sonuçlar lojistik regresyon analiziyle de incelenmiştir. Bu tez çalışması işkencenin psikolojik etkilerini kişilik faktörlerini ele alarak projektif bir test yardımıyla göstermektedir ve bu açıdan da literatüre önemli bir katkı sunmaktadır.

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1. Introduction

The word trauma originated from the Greek word meaning “*wound*”. Psychological trauma in this manner can be thought as a wound to the individual’s psyche or soul. When the traumatic experience in scope is torture, it includes wounds both physical and psychological. This thesis aims to discover the subjective meaning behind these wounds by looking at the psychological profiles of torture survivors by taking into the account of political activism.

Researches on effects of traumatic experiences are numerous and the topic has been studied for decades since it first took public’s attention after the World War I and Vietnam War. Psychological outcomes of torture have also been studied but the findings about the subjective nature of torture are rare. This thesis study aims to illustrate the psychological profiles of torture survivors with a controlled and matched study done by using a projective method, Rorschach Inkblot Test. Additionally, this thesis takes into the account of the effects of political activism, which earlier found a factor that decreases the likelihood of developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) after the incidence.

In the first part of the thesis a detailed literature review about torture, trauma history, projective methods especially Rorschach Inkblot Test and trauma indicators in terms of the Rorschach will be presented. In the next section, after presenting the method and hypothesis of the study, the results will be listed. In the last section a discussion about the findings and the relevant literature will be made.

1.1 What's torture?

Many descriptions of torture can be made but the common point for all is that it is an intentional harm to another person's body. United Nations' Convention Against Torture defines torture as the following;

"... any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions."

The fifth Article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that “No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”. But today torture still continues to be an important problem in terms of human rights violations. Amnesty International reported that in 2009 in 111 countries people were tortured or ill-treated in some ways (Amnesty International, 2010).

1.2 Types of Torture

Even though the physical torture types-which are directed to the body, came to mind when the word torture is used, there are numerous types of torture. It is reasonable to think that different type of torture may create different effects on individuals. Jovic and Opacic (2004) argued in their research that knowing the classification of torture types may help clinicians more with the understanding of experiences of sufferers. In this section a brief overview of the most frequently used torture methods will be done.

One classification of torture type has done by Suedfeld (1990) (cited in Paker, 2000) and he classified six main categories of torture methods. His first category is “active physical pain”. This is the category that we are mostly familiar with, in which the torturer is actively and physically hurts the sufferer in different ways which involve beatings, falanga, pulling out nails and so forth. The second category is “passive physical pain”. In this category torturer again inflicts pain to the sufferer but in a more indirect way. Examples can be being tied up from different body parts or forcing direct exposure to sun. Another

category is “extreme exhaustion”. In terms of these techniques sufferer is forced to do activities which would tire him/her extremely, such as running for miles, carrying heavy things or exhausting the sufferer biologically by depriving him/her of food or water. “Fear induction” comes fourth in the torture methods classification of Suedfeld (1990). These are the methods directly aimed to induce fear to the sufferer. Examples can be mock executions, death threats to the sufferer or his/her relative, or IV injections of unknown drugs. The fifth category is “combined mental and physical torture”. In this category the author included sexually abusive types of torture that may cause both shame and physical pain and also methods like constant questioning, sleep deprivation and so on. And the last category is “primarily mental torture” that includes the methods which would cause psychological suffering for the person such as not giving information about one’s loved ones, humiliations, violation of privacy or solitary confinement.

Paker (2000) argued that sexual torture can be included as a separate category because of its highly intimate nature. He mentioned that the sexual torture methods have both psychological and physical implications. When the different torture types are investigated it is possible to think that making objective definitions for most of them are not easy and almost all of the torture methods include a little bit psychological component in it as well as the physical one.

Another classification comes from a more recent study done by Jovic and Opacic (2004) which classified torture types in terms of three factors. First factor was the considerably “lighter” physical and psychological torture methods such as, beatings which do not cause excessive damages or verbal threats. The authors’ second factor was the group of torture methods which can be named as sadistic methods which include extreme damages both psychologically (such as forcing to see sexual abuse of one’s family member) or physically (electric shocks to the genital areas). Jovic and Opacic’s (2004) third factor can be generally named as sexually abusive methods.

Amnesty International torture reports show that the most commonly used method of torture from 1997 on is the beatings (more than 150 countries). This method is followed by; mock execution or threat of death, extended solitary confinement, rape and sexual abuse and electric shocks, respectively (AI, 2002).

1.3 Turkey and Torture: An Unfortunate Report

1.3.1 *Torture practices in Ottoman Times*

To explore Turkish Republic's practice of torture throughout the history, it is reasonable to first have a look at the precedent of Turkish Republic, the Ottoman Empire and the torture practices in there. Akçam (1992) explores this issue in his work and questions how does the violence, more specifically torture, played a role in creating a nation, in the Turkish history. He first addresses this issue by examining the practices in Ottoman Empire and than in

the modern Turkey. What the author argues is that, even though the modern governments (Ottomans after Tanzimat and Turkish Republic) ban the torture, they also developed systematic torture through some mechanisms and continue to use it to 'control' the citizens. Akçam (1992) also mentions that in Ottoman's there was a special place to torture people who had different viewpoints and this special place is called 'Bekir Ağa Bölüğü' (Bekir Agha Section of the jail). He underlies that the governments had seen using torture in some ways is a natural right for the ones who are in power and on the other hand, the citizens had seen this as a natural practice that will always be in a nation.

Akçam (1992) further mentions the Ottoman's civil deployments in terms of torture by underlining the irony of the penal code in 1858 and the practices in daily life. He says even though this code bans the torture in Ottoman Empire, practically torture had always been banned in Ottomans since they were using Islamic law in terms of the trial processes and interrogations. And in the Islamic law it is clearly stated that the use of torture should not be used. But, he adds some exceptions to this by mentioning that in terms of the Islamic law it was possible that without investigation and interrogation punishments could be addressed in some situations. And these punishments as the author argues could be seen as a kind of torture since it included phalange, humiliation in public or more extremely removing a part of the body such as nose or ear. Also in terms of this practice a civil citizen could punish another citizen if he sees a wrongdoing of that person. Akçam (1992) mentions that

torture used as an instrument to establish justice. Also according to the penal code, if there is a burglary and it is highly possible that the accused is guilty with a special permission from the Sultan torture could be used in the interrogation. So this lead to a double situation in terms of the torture in daily practices, first one being the legal use of torture and the second one being the illegal use of torture.

Akçam (1992) also underlies three important traditions coming from Ottoman times, which made the continuity of torture possible. First one was the jail beatings which were used till Janissaries continued to be used after the modernization of security systems in the Ottomans. It is not very hard to see the link between the interrogation torture that is still seen in modern Turkey in 21st century and these 'jail beating' tradition that comes from the Janissaries. The second tradition was the fact that even though it is illegal to torture the accused ones to get information in the interrogation use of torture to get trustable information. And the last tradition was the tradition of using phalange and beatings extensively in terms of the Islamic law.

1.3.2 *Modern Turkey and Torture*

Even though torture had been a problem for decades in modern Turkey, 1980 coup d'état can be seen as a turning point in making it visible publicly. Turkey staged many basic human rights violations between the years of 1980 and 1994, which resulted in recorded death of 14.000 people which included 420 individuals who died because of torture (Paker, 2000). It is important to

mention the political climate before and after 1980 to understand the dynamics and so called rationale behind the torture.

Turkish Republic, after being founded in 1923 faced with its first military intervention to the regime in 27th May of 1960. 1960 military coup had been an important incidence in Turkish political history both with its memorable punishments and executions and its end product, the new constitutional law. This new constitution increased the citizens' basic political rights on the positive end but it also created a political environment that included military powers in the governmental regime (Tachau & Heper, 1983). Like many other military interventions all over the world, the justification of this coup was the necessity of ending the polarizations and creating a peaceful environment in the country. The second tuning by the military to the political world happened in 1971. This time, soldiers did not take over the regime even though they intended to but it again reminded the civilian regimes that the soldiers are waiting somewhere to intervene if there is a chaotic situation in the country.

The first signs of the worst days for the Turkish democracy, the 1980 coup, showed themselves in the beginnings of 1972 when the first political party of Turkish Republic, CHP, started to had problems inside and a new name became the chairman and changed a years long tradition. On the other hand soldiers were still persisting to the civilian government to do what they had wanted in 1971 and the civilian political leaders were uneasy about this

situation (Birand, Bila, & Akar, 1999). After 1972, Turkey faced many coalition governments, politically chaotic days because of the problems in forming coalitions, and another important event in Turkey's history; Cyprus military expedition. When the calendars showed September 12th 1980, Turkish Republic was polarized, terrorized, economically in a very bad condition and the citizens were hopelessly waiting for a change (Birand et al., 1999).

As Herman (1992) argues that only with a strong political movement against the traumatic events, the trauma becomes legitimate; otherwise the traumatic events may be repressed, denied or dissociated. After the military coup in 1980 in Turkey, thousands of political prisoners were tortured in the prisons and hundreds of them died due to torture. Torture in Turkey did not only include the political prisoners, a high number of non-political prisoners (85%) were also under the risk of being tortured (Paker, Paker, & Yüksel, 1992). After September 1980, the soldiers stayed in the government for two and a half years. In these years Turkey was staged many human rights violations. The numbers were devastating, during this three year long military dictatorship; the police opened investigation for 1.683.000 people, 680.000 people were interrogated, 230.000 were adjudicated (Birand et al., 1999). The numbers were high in terms of torture as well, it was reported that 299 people were died in the jail, 171 of them were proved to be tortured to death, for 43 people a suicide report was arranged and for 73 people natural death report was given (Birand et al., 1999). Even though the official numbers are these it is reasonable to think

that the real picture can be a little bit different. For instance, Göregenli and Özer (2010) proposed in their report that analysis torture incidences after 1980s that while the newspapers gave torture news before the soldiers came to the power, after 12th of September the news reported these incidences as torture 'claims'.

1.3.3 *Today's Situation*

Torture is still a problem in Turkey even though there are some regulations and the situation is not as bad as the 1980s. The constitutional law of 1982 averted the possibility to sue the coup generals and made it impossible to discuss these issues in the legal areas up until the recent referendum that was held on 12 September 2010.

Turkey has been trying to get approved in the European Council for decades. Because of this Turkey has been under the Europe's watch for many years especially in the area of human right violations. The Prevention of Torture committee (CPT) that is founded in Council of Europe keep records for inhumane treatments and these reports are a good source for understanding Turkey's situation. According to these reports before year of 2000 torture and other ill-treatment methods had been a major human rights violation in Turkey (Council of Europe, 1990, 1992, & 1996) and these violations showed a decline in year 2000 (Council of Europe, 2000). But the CPT's visit in the 2005 showed that there are still applications of torture despite government's regulations against torture (Council of Europe, 2005) and the same was also reported by the

Human Rights Foundation of Turkey's report (TIHV, 2005). A special committee from Turkish government also reported that the third biggest problem civilians experience in terms of the human rights is torture and ill-treatment (Freedom House, 2009).

Additionally, the United Nations' Committee Against Torture's November 2010 report about Turkey states that even though there are some positive movements, torture and ill-treatment are still being used by security forces. Similarly, Amnesty International reported that in Turkey like Greece, Russia, Uzbekistan, France, Moldova and Spain; torture and ill-treatment is still frequently used and victims unable to carry these to a legal ground due to problems such as inaccessibility of lawyers or security forces' low penalties (Amnesty International, 2010).

The interesting fact is that the current government of Turkey which is in power for 10 years made many regulations and new laws to decrease torture and ill-treatment practices but, as it was reported earlier, after 2005 the numbers increased (Freedom House, 2009). This reminds us the dilemma that Akçam (1992) mentioned in his work, the system which bans torture and at the same time uses it, to avoid opponent voices in the community.

1.4 Torture and Psychotraumatology

Torture, a direct harm to someone's body and soul, such an extensive traumatic event, would create many psychological outcomes as one can imagine. Even though torture was evident for centuries in pre-modern and

modern societies, especially after the footage of Guatemala prison went public this inhumane treatment took more attention. Before going into more details about psychological outcomes of torture it would be helpful to look into research about psychotraumatology. After discussing the possibility of subjective meaning of trauma and its effects on outcomes research about the torture's psychological effects will be presented.

1.4.1 *Psychotraumatology*

For psychiatry it had not been easy to accept that an actual, outside, life event can cause alterations in human psyche such as trauma and the field mostly tried to connect these alterations to the person's intrapsychic world (Van der Kolk, Wensaeth, & Van der Hat, 1997). Everly (1995) mentioned that even though the post-traumatic stress reactions were defined back in 6th century, the proper diagnosis criteria entered the literature in 1980, when post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) entered into American Psychiatric Association's nosology. But it is important to note that post-traumatic stress is not directly equal to PTSD diagnosis but it is more than that, so the study of psychological trauma should not be limited to the study of PTSD (Everly, 1995; Paker, 2000).

Psychotraumatology is the study of psychological trauma. This includes the study of events *antecedent* to the traumatization (personal history, predisposing factors, risk factors, etc.); *concomitant* with traumatization (traumatogenic factors, biological reasons, the psychology of traumatogenesis, etc.) and *emerging* after the traumatization (psychological

responses, biological, behavioral, psychophysiological outcomes, etc.) (Everly, 1995).

As Herman (1992) stated traumatology research developed hand-in-hand with political movements. In the late 19th century, the first study area was *hysteria*, a disorder believed to exist in women. In Salpêtrière Hospital, Jean-Martin Charcot defined the “hypnotic state”, which can be counted as the first description of dissociation in trauma, and led the way to the new studies to find out the relationship between dissociation and the traumatic memories (Van der Kolk, et. al, 1997). The second era that caused trauma to take attention was period of World War I and the preceding Vietnam War era. With the help of antiwar movement, the soldiers coming from field were investigated, a term called “shell shock” used to define their disturbances and flourished the research in the area (Herman, 1992). The third important political movement affected traumatology research was the feminist movement. This time domestic abuse and rape were under investigation and their possible effects on human psyche (Herman, 1992).

When the term trauma started to be discovered researchers tried to understand the epidemiology of it-whether it is organic or emotional. Van der Kolk and his colleagues (1997) argued that there was a practical reason to label these disturbances as organic during the WW1 years. If the symptoms of the soldiers who came from the field, derive from organic causes that the soldier would not be seen as weak or coward and the military would not seen as a

disturbing place, in other words there won't be anyone failed in the war because of psychological reasons. But with the help of activist movements against war, only after 1980, post-traumatic stress disorder recognized by the psychiatric world and after this time the resemblance between the symptoms of rape and/or sexual or physical violence survivors and veterans symptoms were discovered (Herman, 1992). As Herman (1992) argues by this discovery, the link between war neurosis, hysteria and symptoms of abuse survivors was also discovered.

Before the current diagnosis of PTSD legitimized, stress reactions were included in the diagnostic manuals (DSM mainly), but in different forms. Everly (1995) summarized the evolution of DSM category of PTSD as the following. DSM-I which was published in 1952 included a diagnostic category called "Gross Stress Reaction" under the Transient Situational Personality Disorders but for the stress to be persistent there has to be an underlying vulnerability of the individual. After 16 years, DSM-II was published and the category did not changed much, still implying that there has to be something wrong with the individual to have persistent disturbance. DSM-III was the first to mention post-traumatic stress disorder as a category, but this version did not take into account any personal factors and attributed everything to the external event. Thus, if the severity of the event is high traumatization of the individual would be high. In DSM-IV a new criterion added to the manual and this created a major change (Paker, 2000). This new criterion was the definition of "traumatic event" and with this definition if the person does not feel distress

reactions after experiencing the traumatic event s/he will not be seen as traumatized. The major change Paker (2000) mentioned with this innovation is the fact that from then on not only the external event would be important but the subjective experience that individual had gained importance.

1.4.2 *Subjective meaning of trauma*

In 17th August 1999, an earthquake happened in the Marmara Region of Turkey. Impact of the earthquake was highly brutal, caused hundred-thousands of people die and millions of others to lose their residences. It is a fact that this incidence embedded in the memories of citizens all over the Turkey. Many earthquake survivors showed stress symptoms after the incidence but not all of them. Situations like these bring a question to the mind: Does everyone affected in the same level after a traumatic incidence? Or is there a subjective meaning of trauma?

It has always been a debate whether the actual even is equal to the traumatic experience or the subjective meaning of it is the real cause (Van der Kolk et al., 1997). If the traumatic event is the sole cause of traumatic symptoms then everyone experiencing the same traumatic event should suffer from same psychological problems. But we know that this is not the case most of the times.

So what creates these differences? Paker (2000) investigated the role of subjective meaning in traumatic experiences. By extending a prior research, which is also precedent of this thesis, he studied four groups; tortured/activists,

tortured/non-activists, non-tortured/activists and non-tortured/non-activists.

What he found was even though the perceived severity of torture was higher for the activist group; tortured/non-activist group had higher scores of PTSD as well as other psychopathological measures. Paker (2000) concluded that being an activist, or adding a subjective meaning to the traumatic experience reduces the risk for psychological problems in the post-torture period.

In one study, Tuval-Maschiach (2004) and colleagues investigated narrative and cognitive attitudes to trauma. They argued that different styles of perception and interpretation of the traumatic memories, which is a result of different personality or situational factors, result in different narratives, which result in differences in coping mechanisms and recovery. In this study it was found that as the more coherent narrative is formed the PTSD symptom levels lowered. The authors suggest that the ones who could not incorporate the traumatic stories into their lives were more likely to develop PTSD since they could not give it to significance.

Erickson and Steiner (2001) studied childhood cancer survivors in their research. They found that a quarter of their sample met the PTSD diagnosis and 78% of the sample shows at least one traumatic symptom. When they looked at the correlations between PTSD and personality measures, they found that survivors who have higher levels of global adjustment have lower scores in PTSD symptom scales but higher scores in avoidance. The authors concluded that the ones who have repressive adaptive style show lower levels of distress.

Updegraff, Silver and Holman (2008) investigated this issue in their study with the 9/11 survivors. This study is different from the other since this is not just a personal trauma but also has a collective nature. Similarly, finding meaning, which was predicted by demographics and early coping mechanism, predicted lower traumatic symptoms.

One objective of this thesis is also to identify if there is any underlying personality factors determining the traumatization level or not. Using an instrument like Rorschach Inkblot Test is an advantage for this since it aims to show the profile of individuals in terms of coping mechanisms, affect, cognitive schemas and image of self and others.

1.4.3 *Psychological consequences of torture*

Torture, the direct and intentional harm to another person's body have many psychological and psychosocial outcomes besides the physical scars and deformations left in the body. Mollica (1988, p. 307) described the psychological situation of people who had gone through catastrophic traumas like torture is like "losing the world". By this term the author meant, the individual lost everything including his/her control over the events, empathy from others and what s/he owned earlier.

Başoğlu, and his colleagues (1994a) studied three groups; tortured activists, non-tortured/activists and non-tortured/non-activists. Results revealed that tortured group has significantly more tendency to develop PTSD. Additionally, most common symptoms seen in tortured group were as follows;

cognitive difficulties (problems in concentrating), sleep disturbances (nightmares), hypervigilance, re-experiencing the trauma and feeling of distress with the reminder of trauma. In another study, Başoğlu, Paker, Özmen, Taşdemir and Şahin (1994b) reported that the level of severity the individual perceives is related with the PTSD symptoms but same is not true for depression or anxiety. Also, level of social support found to have a negative relationship with anxiety and depression levels.

Somnier, Vesti, Kastrup and Genefke (1992) mentioned in their review that torture survivors that are living in exile or not seems to have disturbances of sleep, recurrent nightmares, problems with memory and concentration as well as identity changes. On another study Paker, Paker, and Yuksel (1992) found that people who were tortured seem to have higher levels of anxiety, obsessive compulsive traits, hyper-vigilance, and depression. The authors also stated that the survivors that had the physical sequelae (the physical impacts due to bodily torture such as scars, burns, etc.) had higher scores in terms of the psychopathology which may indicate that the higher the stressor; higher the impact. In a more recent study, Bradley and Tawfiq (2006) investigated the effects of torture on Kurdish asylum seeker in the UK. What they found was similar to many other studies, torture survivors mostly suffered from PTSD symptoms, Major Depressive Disorder (MDD) symptoms and generalized anxiety disorder symptoms.

1.5 History of Projective Testing and Rorschach

This thesis study uses a projective test, Rorschach Inkblot test as the primary agent of measurement. Even though there are many controversies in the field in terms of using projective methods in assessment the Rorschach Inkblot test has been used as one of the most important tools in the personality assessment for decades. In this section after a short introduction to projective methods, the history of Rorschach test, and the evolution of Exner system will be presented. The next section will be presenting the literature findings in regarding Rorschach test and trauma.

1.5.1 *Projective Testing*

Projective testing is the method that permits the subject to freely generate responses by looking to an ambiguous stimulus with the help of certain instructions given. In the projective tests, the unstructured nature of the material helps the individual to reflect what is inside, in other words the underlying thoughts, conflicts, or emotions in the unconscious of that person (Anastasi & Urbina,1988).

The experimental psychology labs and experiments in 1800s constitute the roots for the modern psychological testing. But also, especially working with the brain-injured individuals, early psychiatry laid foundations for the mental testing (Gregory, 1996). Alfred Binet was the first one to develop an intelligence test in 1905 and later on with the new updates and standardizations, usage and development of these tests expanded. Additionally the rationale

behind working on these objective measures was a social necessity, constituting an army with high 'intelligence' in the period of war.

The history of personality testing has also its roots in early 1900s but it became more popular after the WW1. Woodworth's Personal Data Sheet which was invented in 1919 was the first one to mention as a personality test and similar to many intelligence tests it has born out a necessity to differentiate the war recruits whether they suffer from 'psychoneurosis' or not (Gregory, 1996). This development was followed by Thurnstone Personality schedule (Thurnstone & Thurnstone, 1930; as cited in Gregory, 1996) and Allport-Vernon Study of Values (Allport & Vernon, 1931; as cited in Gregory, 1996). In 1940, Hathaway and McKinley created Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) which is a well-known and widely used personality assessment tool in modern psychology (Gregory, 1996). But all these measures of personality testing were objective ones. Since one of the major projective testing methods, Rorschach Inkblot Test is the subject for this thesis a closer look to the history of projective testing would be appropriate.

What would come to your mind immediately if someone says 'apple'? Merriam-Webster dictionary defines free association as "the reporting of the first thought that comes to mind in response to a given stimulus (as a word)". Even though the term is highly associated with psychoanalytical tradition and Sigmund Freud, its roots reach to the 1800s, when Sir Francis Galton developed the 'word association' method (Gregory, 1996). This method was evolved by

Jung in 1910 and a test containing 100 stimulus words has been constructed (Gregory, 1996). From those times to today, it is highly believed that these associations say much about the individual's inner world and psyche.

As it was mentioned above, the early years of psychological testing was dominated with more objective methods of intelligence and personality testing (Exner, 1993), especially in the United States. Hermann Rorschach, created a projective personality test which included ambiguous inkblot materials, contrary to his American colleagues. Since the detailed history of Rorschach will be discussed in the next section, the other projective methods will be listed now. Morgan & Murray (1938), also believed in the power of ambiguous material and created Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to study non-psychiatric populations (as cited in Gregory, 1996). This test consisted of series of cards that have drawings on them and subjects were asked to generate a story by looking at those cards. Another application of projective method to psychological testing was developed by Goodenough in 1926. He aimed to investigate children in terms of their intellectual level, personality structures and the personal interests by making them to draw something (Gregory, 1996) This technique was later developed by Buck (1948) and names House-Tree-Person and the main difference between the two was the standardized nature of the latter one (as cited in Gregory, 1996).

1.5.2 *History of Rorschach Inkblot Test*

Many people remember the activity of painting in the middle of a paper and folding up the paper into two to create a different image from kindergarten. This kindergarten painting activity reminds a popular 1800s game called Blotto, which was also inspired Hermann Rorschach in developing a personality assessment tool.

In the first place, Rorschach was interested mainly on perception of the people with schizophrenia and he attempted to constitute a classification system using these paintings (Howard, 1989). He used 40 inkblots at first, 15 of them were more frequently used, and he collected a large amount of data from 117 non-patients and 188 patients with schizophrenia thinking that his device can be a diagnostic tool to differentiate schizophrenia (Exner, 1993). What he had found was this could be a handy tool to differentiate schizophrenia and some clusters (ex. movement and color) can be very informative in terms of the individual's psyche (Exner, 1993). An interesting fact is that a failure in the publication had changed the nature of the test. When Rorschach sent 15 blots to the publisher they found the number high and Rorschach decreased this number to 10 blots. The second changed occurred because of the publisher was the inclusion of shadings. Rorschach used whole-black blots, without any shadings on but a problem during publishing created shadings on some blots (Exner, 1993). Today these shadings reveal much about the person's psychological structure especially for the emotional world.

Hermann Rorschach published his first findings in 1921 and died in 1922. Since Hermann Rorschach died before finishing his scoring manual the scoring techniques and standardization of the test was left to other researchers who were interested in this method (Gregory, 1996). With this incidence different scoring systems of Rorschach Inkblot Test have been emerged in time.

Five main systems of Rorschach can be listed, before the occurrence of Exner's Comprehensive System (1993).

- I. Samuel J. Beck (1944): Beck was the first one to carry out a systematic investigation of Rorschach Test by using children as a sample (Exner, 1993). Even though his contribution is listed as the most positivistic of the five main systems (Exner's Comprehensive System is not included) his system was similar to original in many ways (Howard, 1989).
- II. Marguerite Hertz (1936-1970s): When Hertz met with Rorschach System via Beck (Exner, 1993) she also got interested in and devoted her work to create a new system. She was first to mention and work on locations and personality compositions (Howard, 1989). Hertz, created detailed frequency tables to score form quality (Exner, 1993) and she put importance to other factors such as subject's personal history, involuntary judgments and the actual data (Howard, 1989).

III. Bruno Klopfer (1942): Klopfer and his colleagues' contributions created one of the major systems for Rorschach instrument. Before Exner's Comprehensive System was established Klopfer's system was the most frequently used one and guided the discussions in projective testing (Skadeland, 1986). Klopfer a former Jungian, started to give seminar's for Rorschach, and he detected two main discussion areas in the scoring procedure. One was about the location (how common or unusual the area used) and the other one was about the shadings (Exner, 1993). So, this group mainly introduced scorings for shading and new scorings for locations. Additionally, they created some rules for the administration of the test (Howard, 1989).

IV. Zygmunt Piotrowski (1957): Piotrowski differed from others by advocating that the focus should not be on a specific personality theory but personality should be viewed globally (Howard, 1989). He published his interpretation of Rorschach test in 1957, in *Perceptanalysis*, by just looking at this name one can imagine the importance P. gave to the perception in Rorschach. What Piotrowski added to the Rorschach analysis is mainly in the area of movement, especially the inanimate movement scores and the difference between the active-passive movements were underlined in his system (Howard, 1989).

V. David Rapaport (1946): Rapaport, Gill and Schafer (1946) published a different system from the above four and gave importance to the content, verbalizations, interactions between the testor and the testee rather than the specific variables. With these properties, their system was the most psychoanalytically oriented of all (Howard, 1989). Rapaport aimed to create a model to analyze ego functioning and his colleague Roy Schafer contributed this a lot by publishing *Psychoanalytic Interpretation in Rorschach Testing* in 1954 (Exner, 1993).

These five main systems of Rorschach created many debates and arguments. In the next section, how these debates led the way to the creation of Exner's System will be summarized.

1.5.3 *Exner's Comprehensive System*

The controversies between the different systems and harsh criticisms to the test motivated Exner to integrate all these five systems and strengthen the psychometric properties of test. Exner proposed the Comprehensive System in his publication *The Rorschach: A Comprehensive System* in 1974. From that date on he added many modifications to the system and his system became the most frequently used Rorschach system among the clinicians (Howard, 1989). Wood, Nezworski and Stejskal (1996) explained this popularity by the following powers of Exner's system:

- a- objectivity in administration, scoring and interpretation

- b- interrater reliability of the scales
- c- established norms for children, adolescents and adults norms (both psychiatric and non-psychiatric samples)
- d- many published empirical studies.

The procedure of the method is similar to the earlier systems. The testing is composed of two main phases, first the response phase and the inquiry phase. In the response phase the tester asks the subject “*What might this be?*” while showing the cards. After all ten cards are shown and responses (with the locations) are noted the inquiry phase starts and the subject is questioned about which property of the card caused him/her to see what s/he sees, exact location and content. Exner put limits and rules to the administration (Howard, 1989), according to these rules protocols shorter than 14 responses are not counted as valid.

After the procedure ended all responses are summarized in the scoring sheet called “sequence of scores”. In this sheet location, developmental quality, determinants, form quality, pairs (or not), contents, popular (or not), z-score and the special scores are listed respectively. With this data structural summary, which is consist of the computations of six main domains of the Rorschach variables. These six main domains that are also used for this thesis are listed below.

- I. Control and Stress Tolerance: This section shows how much internal stress the person experiences, how much are his/her

resources to deal with this stress, what is the method to deal with it and how much of this stress is situational how much is permanent.

- II. Affect: This section shows how the person organizes his /her emotional world and how the affect is expressed.
- III. Self-Perception: This section helps us to understand how the person views himself/herself.
- IV. Interpersonal Perception: This section shows how the person positions himself/herself in the relational world.
- V. Information Processing: This section shows how the person processes the input. It reflects the individual's style for perceiving the stimuli and how efficient is it.
- VI. Mediation: Mediation is about how the person makes sense of the information s/he perceived. It also shows how much the person interprets the information in line with the reality and how much subjective value s/he adds to it.
- VII. Ideation: This domain shows how the person thinks about the things s/he perceives and if s/he makes cognitive errors or not.

After variables in the six main domains are computed special indexes are checked. Even though these indexes are thought to be practical to give an idea about the diagnosis they should not be used for direct diagnosis.

Luxenberg and Levin (1996) argued that differentiating an observable symptom

and labeling a diagnosis is not what Rorschach test aimed to do, but revealing unconscious dynamics and underlying psychological profile is. The six indexes are listed below:

- I. Perceptual-Thinking Index (PTI): This index used to named “schizophrenia index”. It shows if there is a deviance in thinking and/or perception or not.
- II. Depression Index (DEPI): This index shows depressive tendencies of the person. This does not necessarily match with the symptomatic depression but can reflect more of a personality organization.
- III. Hypervigilance Index (HVI): If this index is high it represents paranoid tendencies. Another implication can be feeling defensive in the relationships, being sensitive about relational matters and not trusting others.
- IV. Coping Deficit Index (CDI): If score on this index is high, it shows difficulty in coping with stressful situations. It also shows difficulty in forming relationships and not feeling effective in the relationships.
- V. Obsessive Style Index (OBS): Like DEPI, this index does not directly show symptomatic obsessive disorder but reflects a psychological organization. If this index is checked positive, it

shows that person has a perfectionist style, rigid style in thinking and problem solving.

- VI. Suicide Constellation (S-CON): This index shows the tendency of suicidal thinking. Like other indexes, this does not have to show actual suicide attempt but impulsivity or a tendency towards harming one's self.

Lastly, the content of the protocol is investigated and by integrating all these quantitative and qualitative findings a psychological profile can be created for the individuals. According to Howard (1989) this psychological profile includes; a) how the person deals with stimuli affectively, cognitively, interpersonally, etc.; b) in which areas that person is strong or weak; c) diagnostic hypothesis, if there is any.

1.5.4 *Controversies about the Projective Methods*

Since the projective tests uses ambiguous, non-standardized and hard to score materials they have always been subjected to the debates considering their validity. The debates about the validity of projective methods mainly focused on their misleading effect in terms of diagnosis (ex. Lillienfeld, Wood, & Garb, 2005).

Debates about Rorschach test are also numerous. Gregory (1996) mentioned in his book that the primary aim of the Rorschach test is not clear and when this is not clear for a test that means making objective research with it would be tricky. Wood and his colleagues (2001) also discussed the usage of

Rorschach test in the forensic settings, and their review they proposed that contrary to what is known the Inkblot test have problems in assessing narcissistic trends (controversies about reflection responses), psychopathy, depression diagnosis and suicidal tendencies.

The advocates of the projective methods on the other hand, argues that these methods should not be evaluated as diagnostic tools (ex. Luxenberg & Levin, 2004; Weiner, 2000) but a clinical medium which helps understanding the subjective meanings for each person. Weiner (2000) also suggests that the main contribution of Rorschach is not diagnosing and naming a “disorder” but by identifying some features of a person’s psyche it helps clinicians to plan the treatment and think about the formulation which may contribute diagnosis.

Another discussion about the Rorschach was about naming the instrument. The founder Hermann Roschach and the early contributors named it Rorschach Inkblot “Test”. Some argued that it should be named Rorschach Inkblot Method (ex. Krugman, 1938; Ainsworth, 1954; as cited in Weiner 2003) and some mentioned it as a “technique”. The origin of this debate came from the psychometric inabilities of the instrument and its failure to give valid and reliable results (Weiner, 2003). When the Exner created the Comprehensive System (Exner, 1993) most of this psychometric problems faded and standardization became possible. But Weiner (2003) argued that still this should be named Rorschach Inkblot Method, because this instrument is more than just a test which looks for if something exists or not. According to him, Rorschach

Method has a power to show personality functioning in details over different domains. Exner (1997) was an advocate of naming it as a test suggesting with the invention of Comprehensive System, this instrument fulfill all the requirements of being a test. So, in this thesis, the instrument will be named as Rorschach Inkblot Test, as Exner wanted it to be.

1.5.5 *Rorschach and trauma*

After decades of working on the issue, today's trauma researchers have accepted that there is not only one way of responding to a traumatic event and trauma is more complex than it was thought earlier. In our case, not every torture survivor would show same reactions and even not every one of them should fulfill a post-traumatic diagnosis. This uniqueness of individuals and diversity among the reactions made it a essentiality that much importance should be devoted to the trauma assessment (Luxenberg & Levin, 1996).

Among many objective measures Rorschach Inkblot Test was also used frequently as a projective method of testing for the trauma survivors. But what should be stressed out is the fact that this instrument plays more of an explanatory device rather than a diagnostic tool such as DSM (Luxenberg & Levin, 1996). Luxenberg and Levin (1996) underlined that using a projective method such as Rorschach could help the clinicians to see the differences among different trauma survivors and avoid memory problems that could be seen with the objective measures. The authors also mentioned the importance of using several other instruments besides the projective methods.

There are numerous studies studying trauma by using Rorschach Inkblot Test. One of the first studies in the area was Shalit's (1965) study which was done in two different conditions, first one being in normal clinical settings and the second one after conditions of a severe storm in a naval ship. What he found was an increase in the inanimate movement (m) but no change in human (M) or animal movement (FM). This suggests that since inanimate movements indicate helplessness and situational stress after severe environmental stimulations it would be increased. This won't be the case for FM and M since they reflect more of personality structures and attitudes (Shalit, 1965).

Another important finding came from Modlin's work in 1967 (as cited in Luxenberg & Levin, 1996). He found that Rorschach protocols of individuals who had gone through accidents are fairly shorter than the normal population (around 6-8 responses) and they mostly have restrictions in imaginative processes. Additionally, Bersoff (1970) administered Rorschach by Klopfer system to 2 Vietnam War veterans and he mentioned that the veterans' responses were hyper-vigilant and included disorganized aggression. Even though Bersoff's (1970) findings were not similar to Modlin's (1967) another study that used Vietnam Veterans found similar results with him. Van der Kolk and Ducey (1984, 1989) observed increased in inanimate movements; constricted and unelaborated responses like the previous work. Another thing they observed was inclusion of blood and anatomy responses in the protocols which were like intrusions of war memories (Van der kolk & Ducey, 1989).

These studies are important since they show resemblance with the PTSD symptoms, such as psychic numbing, intrusions of traumatic memories and cognitive difficulties (Luxenberg & Levin, 1996).

To continue with Vietnam War veterans, Salley and Teiling (1984) has done a case study by using Exner's system. They observed that the subject included increased number of shading responses as well as movement responses. According to the authors, these findings suggested the existence of painful affect and complicated internal processing. Also the authors looked at the content of the protocol and reported guilt, preoccupation with injuries and explosive impulses were evident in the responses (Salley & Teilin, 1984).

Swanson, Blount and Bruno (1990) studied 50 Vietnam War Veterans by using Comprehensive system. Their results were similar; they found high numbers of shading responses (especially *vista*) indicating painful introspection, low stress tolerance and impulse control, unmodulated affect, and extraordinary approach to reality. Another work studied Vietnam veterans by using Rorschach was Hartman and his colleagues' (1990). The authors included 41 Vietnam veterans who were diagnosed with chronic PTSD. They also found impairments in judging reality, higher stress and inability to cope with this stress. Different from the others, they did not find significantly high number of war related contents in the protocols. Another important point the authors made was the relatively high rates of Lambda (L), which shows that the subjects mainly

generated pure form responses which suggests a defensive style (Hartman et al., 1990).

Other studies focused different types of traumatic events and tried to find an explanation for the personality structure by using Rorschach. Holaday (2000) used Rorschach for the children diagnosed with PTSD and ODD (Oppositional Defiant Disorder). Both groups were significantly different from the normal population in terms of their Rorschach protocols, but the PTSD group besides from having more extreme scores also showed more stress and more instability (Holaday, 2000). Cerney (1990), not being happy about the over-dominance of Vietnam War veterans in the trauma literature, studied traumatic loss. What she was specifically interested in was the affective functioning (color and related content responses) of these people according to the Rorschach protocols. She studied sexual and/or physical abuse survivors and matched them with 20 female inpatients without any type of loss. Cerney found that the traumatic loss group has either constricted protocols without any affect or aggression or just the opposite. Breedy and Lorena (1995) also investigated the sexual abuse and its Rorschach indicators by investigating 18 adolescent girls with histories of sexual abuse. The author found that the girls' protocols have included high numbers of anatomy, blood and sexual contents. This made us think that these girls are probably preoccupied with their bodies and have intense feelings of vulnerability. Additionally, the protocols included special scores of aggression and morbid responses.

Even though there are numerous studies investigating the relationship between the traumatic events and Rorschach variables, only one study looked directly into torture and Rorschach relationship. In that study, Ephraim (2002) administered TAT and Rorschach projective tests besides many objective measures to refugees of Canada who were tortured at some point. He carried out a more content based analysis by using vignettes of the Rorschach test. The author concluded that torture created enormous differences in individuals' personalities including differences in interpersonal relationships, dysregulation problems in affect, changes in self-image and intrusive recollections of traumatic memories.

Thus, this thesis is important since it is the only controlled and matched study investigating the personal meaning of torture trauma by taking the Rorschach Inkblot Test as primary measuring instrument and Exner's Comprehensive system as the coding system.

1.6 Political Activism

Merriam-Webster Dictionary describes activism as “*a doctrine or practice that emphasizes direct vigorous action especially in support of or opposition to one side of a controversial issue*” (REF). Every activist movement includes a political positioning, but just to clarify, this thesis mainly deals with the political activism which is an oppositional standing against the mainstream political atmosphere.

It would be worthwhile to firstly mention the arguments about the possible relationships between activism and the human psyche. In one of the earliest studies of activism, Flacks (1967) carried out two separate studies. In the first one he sent interviews to the activist and non-activist students and their parents. In the second study he interviewed with students who were participated in a sit-in and also the anti-protestors as controls. First of all, he found some demographical differences between the activist and non-activist students. Activist students tend to come from upper class; also their families are more educated, involved in careers and urban. Additionally the author reported that activist parents and children share some basic common values. He grouped these values as follows; a) aesthetic and emotional sensitivity, b) intellectualism, c) humanitarianism, d) moralism and self control.

Similarly, in a psychoanalytically oriented case study, five subjects who were actively involved with the political life were analyzed and the presented results underlined some of their personality structures (Stern & Rhoads, 1980). According to this study, politically active American people tend to have good ability to self-regulation, use frequently intellectualizing defenses, a more positive sense of self and a good deal of self-worth.

Kerpelman (1969) also investigated activism in a college sample which was consisted of students with left, right and middle ideologies. He found that in terms of ego defensiveness there found to be no significant difference between these groups but the lefties have less social acceptance than the other

groups. The author proposed that not only activism or non-activism should be the distinction, the type of ideology is also important.

Another issue about the activism is whether it is good for human psyche or not, does being an activist has a positive effect on the individuals' psyche or does it add extra stress to them? In a newer study Klar and Kosser (2009) questioned whether activism is connected to the psychological well-being or not with three controlled studies. Both for the national and college samples indicators of well-being (operationalized as *life satisfaction*, *self-realization*, *social integration*) were higher for the activist group than the non-activist ones. This finding suggests that being an activist can be good for the psyche, but is this account for the traumatic situations, such as torture.

Most studies investigating torture had samples consisting of political activists (Paker, Paker, & Yüksel, 1992). But as Paker (2000) found in his study political activism acts as a protective factor and psychological problems found to be lower in the activist group. Similarly, Johnson & Thompson (2008) mentioned in their review a similar difference between civilians and soldiers. They argued that since the soldiers are ready to fight and go through these experiences, civilians could experience more flashbacks and less numbing. On the other hand authors argued that the soldiers could suffer from other intense emotions such as guilt, to be alive whereas the others are dead and emotional numbing. So these studies suggests us being ready can be a protective factor for some of the post-torture symptoms but going through such experience would

create some other emotions in any way. Additionally, these results suggest us that being politically involved has some kind of a subjective meaning for the person that could affect the occurrence of traumatic symptoms. For this reason, this thesis study takes into account the affect of activism in a controlled way.

1.7 Current Study

This thesis aims to illustrate the relationship between PTSD, torture and the personality factors by using subjects' Rorschach profiles. This thesis will explore mainly the following questions:

- What are the psychological effects of torture as measured by Rorschach?
- Which personality characteristics does the political activism status effect?
- Can political activism moderate psychological impact of torture as measured by Rorschach?
- Which Rorschach variables predict the diagnosis of PTSD?

2. Methodology

2.1 Design

Data used in this thesis is acquired from the Comprehensive Torture Study (mentioned in Introduction, ref.) and the design also adopted from that study. 2X2 factorial design is used in the study. One of the investigated main effects is being having been exposed to systematic torture or not (torture) and the other is having any kinds of political involvement or commitment or not (political activism).

There are four main groups of comparison in the study:

Group 1: Tortured/Activists (n=26): The political activists who have experienced systematic torture.

Group 2: Tortured/Non-activists (n=25): Individuals who have been subjected to systematic torture but not engaged in political activism.

Group 3: Non-tortured/Activists (n=30): The political activists who have not experienced any kind of systematic torture.

Group 4: Non-tortured/Non-activists (n=28): Non-tortured individuals who have not been any kind of political involvement or commitment.

The data which involve semi-structured interviews, objective measures and application of Rorschach Inkblot Test has been collected in Istanbul, Turkey; between the years 1992-1995.

2.2 Sample

The larger sample included in the Comprehensive Torture Study which this thesis' data comes from were recruited through the help of the human rights organizations. They also made use of the press announcements through newspapers and magazines, but except one Islamic magazine, only the left-wing press published these announcements (see Paker, 2000). Individuals between the ages of 18 and 65 who had no previous history of systematic torture, diagnosis of past or present psychotic illness have been included in the study. Additionally, in order to be included in the sample, a period of 3 months should have been passed from the torture experience. Non-tortured/non-activist group was reached by snowball sampling and generally consisted of friends, workmates, and acquaintances of the researchers. All subjects filled up a written consent form through which they have been informed about the aims of the study.

The original sample used in this study consisted of 124 people but due to some reasons 15 subjects were excluded from the sample and the remaining

109 participants included in the sample. The exclusion reasons of those subjects are stated below:

- 1- 6 participants were not included in the data since there is no data of Rorschach assessment even though there is the socio-demographic and objective measures data.
- 2- 4 participants were eliminated because they did not have the socio-demographic and objective assessment data even though the Rorschach data was present.
- 3- 5 participants who had both socio-demographic/objective assessment data and the Rorschach data have been eliminated from the study because their Lambda (L) scores in Rorschach test did not meet the criteria of inclusion. Lambda is the measure obtained by dividing pure form responses (not elaborated responses) to the remaining responses (Exner, 2001). This shows how much the participant has engaged to the procedure. If this value is higher than 1, in other words have too many pure form responses, this means that the individual either perceives the world in a more rigid way or s/he was defensive during the procedure. On the other hand, Lambda scores less than 0.35 means that the individual over engaged to the testing or has an overwhelming perception style.

2.3 Materials

As stated earlier Comprehensive Torture Study was one of the most elaborated studies which included many objective and subjective measures. For the purpose of this thesis the following measures were included:

- 1- *The Rorschach Inkblot Test*: Assessor-rated projective test developed by Rorschach (1921). Ten cards were shown to the participants and the responses were coded using Exner's System (1993).
- 2- *Semi-Structured Interview for Survivors of Torture*: This is an assessor-rated interview developed by Başıoğlu et al. (1994a). This semi-structured interview includes questions regarding participants' demographic statuses, pre-torture psychological functioning, activism levels, torture severity and social support systems. For the purpose of this thesis, demographic question items were used.
- 3- *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)*: This is 466-item personality inventory developed by Hathaway and McKinley (1943). The Turkish standardization for the inventory was done by Savaşır (1981). In this thesis study, MMPI-PTSD scale derived from the inventory will be used.
- 4- *MMPI-PTSD Scale (MMPI-PTSD)*: This is a self-rated PTSD scale derived from the widely used personality inventory MMPI. It was developed by Keane, Malloy and Fairbank (1984) to assess PTSD symptoms of combat survivors. Scale is consisted of 49 items, eight

items were reverse recoded. The Turkish standardization was done for the MMPI, by Savaşır (1981).

- 5- *Beck Depression Inventory (BDI)*: This inventory was developed by Beck and his colleagues in 1961. It is a self-rated scale which consists of 21 items [0-63] and used to assess mood of the participants. The Turkish adaptation of the scale was done by Hisli (1987).
- 6- *Hamilton Depression Rating (HAM-D)*: This assessor-rated scale is developed by Hamilton (1969) to assess depressive scores. It is also translated in Turkish and widely used but the translators are unknown. The cut off points used for this scale is as follows; 0-51: general range, 0-13: no depression, 14-27: mild depression, 28-41: moderate depression, 42-51: severe depression.
- 7- *Hamilton Anxiety Scale (HAM-A)*: This scale is also an assessor-rated scale and developed by Hamilton (1959) to assess anxiety. Like HAM-D this scale which is widely used in Turkey, was translated in Turkish but the authors are unknown. 14-itemed scale's cut-off points are as follows; 0-56: general range, 0-5: no anxiety, 6-14: mild, 15-56: severe.
- 8- *State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI)*: This scale developed by Spielberger et al. (1970) to assess anxiety in two different ways. First is "state anxiety" which assesses subjective fear at that moment and the second one is "trait anxiety" which assesses general tendency towards anxiety for that participant. For the purpose of this study, only the state

anxiety data was analyzed. It is standardized by Öner and LeCompte in 1982 for Turkish population.

- 9- *Structured Clinical Interview and Diagnosis Form (SCID)*: This form is an assessor-rated psychological disturbance screening form. It is based on DSM-III-R categorization and developed by Spitzer and Williams in 1983. The Turkish translation was done by Solias et al. (1988). For the purpose of this thesis study only the PTSD diagnosis criteria of the form was analyzed.

2.4 Procedure

Two separate interviews had been carried out to collect the research data. Each interview lasted for two hours and they were about one week apart. During the first interview the demographic questionnaires and the Rorschach were administered by a clinical psychologist who was trained in Rorschach administration. The semi-structured torture interview, SCID, Hamilton Anxiety and Depression scales were administered in the second interview by a psychiatrist. All subjects were completed the self-rating scales (such as MMPI, BDI, etc.) at home between the two interviews.

Rorschach protocols were coded by trained graduate students under the supervision of an expert. They were blind to both participants' group memberships (tortured, political, etc.) and the hypothesis of the study. Inter-rater reliabilities of these protocols were computed using Pearson bivariate correlation. RIAP3 for Windows, which is software for Rorschach calculations,

was used to calculate the derivative scores. Another trained clinical graduate student has entered Rorschach data to this software.

2.5 Data Analysis

The following analyses were conducted in the current thesis study:

- 1- Descriptives and frequencies of socio-demographic variables were computed. Chi-squares were conducted to see if there is any significant difference between the four groups in terms of their demographic characteristics.
- 2- Descriptives of psychopathology scores of the participants were computed and One-Way ANOVAs for continuous variables and Chi-square analyses for categorical variables were used to explore the significant differences between the groups.
- 3- Two-by-two Univariate Analysis of Variances (ANOVAs) were conducted for each Rorschach variable to see the main effects of torture and political activism on these variables and how these two main effects interacted.
- 4- Follow up logistic regression analyses were applied to see how having a history of to torture and political involvement can be predicted by Rorschach variables.
- 5- Finally, an additional binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to see which Rorschach variables predict PTSD diagnosis.

3. Results

3.1 Socio-demographic characteristics

Table 1 shows participants' socio-demographic characteristics are listed in detail. While there appears to be non significant differences in terms of the sex, age and marital status of the participants from all four groups, these groups were differed in terms of their years of education, $F(3,108)= 14.41, p= .000$. Further LSD post-hoc analysis showed that the tortured/non-activist group (Group 2) has the lowest education level compared to the other three groups. Additionally, non-tortured activists (Group 3) have significantly higher years of education than the non-tortured/non-activist group (Group 4).

In terms of the socio-demographics occupations of the participants were also significantly differed, $\chi^2 (15, N = 109) = 53.41, p = .000$. While the highest percentage of the tortured/activist group (34.6%) works in a higher degree job, the tortured/non-activist group mostly works as laborers (32.0%). This may be parallel to the education levels as well. In line with these findings also the income levels showed significant differences in terms of the distribution, $\chi^2 (6, N= 109)= 16.71, p= .010$.

Table 1.
Socio-demographics of the participants.

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	
	Tortured activists (n=26)	Tortured non- activists (n=25)	Non- tortured activists (n=30)	Non- tortured non activists (n=28)	<i>p</i>
Socio-Demographics					
Sex (%)					
Women	46.2	32.0	53.3	53.6	
Men	53.8	68.0	46.7	46.4	NS
Mean Age (<i>sd</i>)					
	30.2 (5.8)	31.2 (9.4)	27.3 (7.0)	28.8 (7.5)	NS
Mean years of education (<i>sd</i>)					
	12.79 (3.89)	7.88 (4.45)	14.07 (2.05)	10.96 (3.92)	.000*
Educational Status (%)					
Below High School	15.4	68.0	3.3	25.0	
High School	42.3	16.0	66.7	60.7	
University or more	42.3	16.0	30.0	14.3	.000
Marital Status (%)					
Married (<i>cohabiting</i>)	42.3	48.0	16.7	42.9	
Single	42.3	44.0	73.3	53.6	
Widow/er	0.0	4.0	0.0	3.6	
Divorced	15.4	4.0	10.0	0.0	NS
Occupation (%)					
Laborer	15.4	32.0	23.3	28.6	
Government Employee	26.9	12.0	23.3	25.0	
Small Business Owner	3.8	28.0	3.3	3.6	
Professional/Manager	34.6	9.0	0.0	0.0	
Student	7.7	4.0	36.7	10.7	
Unemployed	11.5	16.0	13.3	32.1	.000
Ethnic Origin (%)					
Turkish	42.3	36.0	43.3	75.0	
Kurdish	42.3	56.0	53.3	7.1	
Other	15.4	8.0	3.3	17.9	.004
Income Level (%)					
Below moderate	34.6	48.0	13.3	7.1	
Moderate	46.2	44.0	73.3	75.0	
Above moderate	19.2	8.0	13.3	17.9	.010

* Significance pairs are as follows; 2<1, 3, 4 and 3>4.

One another important significant difference was in terms of the ethnic origins (which were grouped as Turkish, Kurdish and Other) of the participants. The percentage of group memberships differed by the ethnic origins of the individuals, $\chi^2 (6, N = 109) = 19.22, p = .004$. While the distribution of Turkish and Kurdish individuals' distribution is same (42.3% each) in the tortured/activist group, the percentage of tortured Kurdish individuals (56.0%) is higher than the Turkish (36.0%) in the non-activist group. Also the majority in the non-tortured/activist group is Kurdish (%53.3) whereas the majority in the non-tortured/non-activist group is Turkish (75.0%).

3.2 Used Torture Methods

As it was reported earlier the most commonly used torture method across the world is beatings (AI, 2002). In this thesis project the participants were also asked to list the different types of torture that have been applied to them.

The results showed that all of the tortured subjects reported abusive language and insult (100.0%) was applied to them. This method which we can say more of a psychological component, was followed by, extra vulgar and brutal behavior (96.1%), beatings to body (96.1%) and to head (92.2%) and also binding eyes (84.3%) respectively. Table 2 shows the other commonly applied torture methods to the subjects.

Table 2.
Frequency of different torture methods.

	<i>n</i>	Percentage (N= 51)
Abusive language/insult	51	100.00
Extra vulgar/brutal behavior	49	96.08
Beatings (Body)	49	96.08
Beatings (Head)	47	92.16
Binding eyes	43	84.31
Death threats	41	80.39
Greater torture threats	40	78.43
Pulling hair	40	78.43
Forcing to stand up	40	78.43
Blocking one's personal clean-up	34	66.67
Sleep deprivation	34	66.67
Irregularities in torturers' behaviors	32	62.75
Witnessing torture	31	60.78
Threats to family	31	60.78
Electroshock	31	60.78
Nakedness	30	58.82
Hanging	29	56.86
Falanga	29	56.86
Electroshock (Fingers)	28	54.90
Medical care deprivations	27	52.94
Violation of privacy	27	52.94
Rape threat	26	50.98

** Full list of torture methods can be found in the appendix.*

3.3 Psychological Status

Psychological statuses of the participants were also assessed by objective tools and four main indices were computed using these scores. PTSD

index is composed of MMPI-PTSD scale scores. Depression index is composed both Hamilton Rating Scale for Depression and Beck Depression Inventory. Anxiety index is composed of STAI-A and Hamilton Rating Scale for Anxiety. General Psychopathology Index (GPI) is the total score for all psychopathology indexes (computations are provided in the appendix). A multivariate ANOVA analysis was run to see the differences between four main groups when controlled for age and gender (See Table 3).

According to the results, four groups significantly differed in terms of the anxiety index, ($F(3,107)= 4.25, p < .01$) and the GPI ($F(3,107)= 2.98, p < .05$). LSD post-hoc tests were carried out to see actually which groups differed. For anxiety index, results showed that non-tortured/non-activists had significantly lower anxiety-index scores than both tortured/non-activist and tortured/activist groups. LSD post-hoc analyses also showed that non-tortured/non-activist participants had significantly lower general psychopathology scores than the tortured/non-activist group. Additionally, even though it reached only marginal significance level ($p = .058$) tortured groups who were not politically active had higher GPI scores than the politically active tortured individuals.

Even though the multivariate ANOVA tests did not turn out to be significant for the other two indexes, for all psychopathology indices the highest scores belonged to the tortured/non-activists; whereas the lowest ones belonged to the non-tortured and non-activist participants.

Table 3.
Multivariate ANOVA for Psychological Index scores.

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	
	Tortured activists (n=26)	Tortured non- activists (n=25)	Non- tortured activists (n=29)	Non- tortured non activists (n=28)	<i>p</i>
<i>M, (sd)</i>					
PTSD-index score	31.40 (19.15)	39.26 (19.26)	38.27 (20.50)	31.68 (17.17)	NS
Depression-index score	14.64 (9.84)	20.11 (15.59)	16.60 (10.35)	14.10 (8.30)	NS
Anxiety-index score	31.89 (14.13)	35.36 (15.18)	30.78 (14.91)	24.05 (9.80)	.007*
General Psychopathology Index (GPI) Score	25.97 (13.07)	31.72 (15.43)	28.55 (13.49)	23.28 (10.31)	.035**

* *Group 4 < Group 1; Group 4 < Group 2*

** *Group 4 < Group 2; Group 2 > Group 1 (marg.)*

Besides multivariate analysis which was done to compare four different groups also univariate analysis were carried out to see the separate main effects of torture and activism, and also the interaction between these two factors.

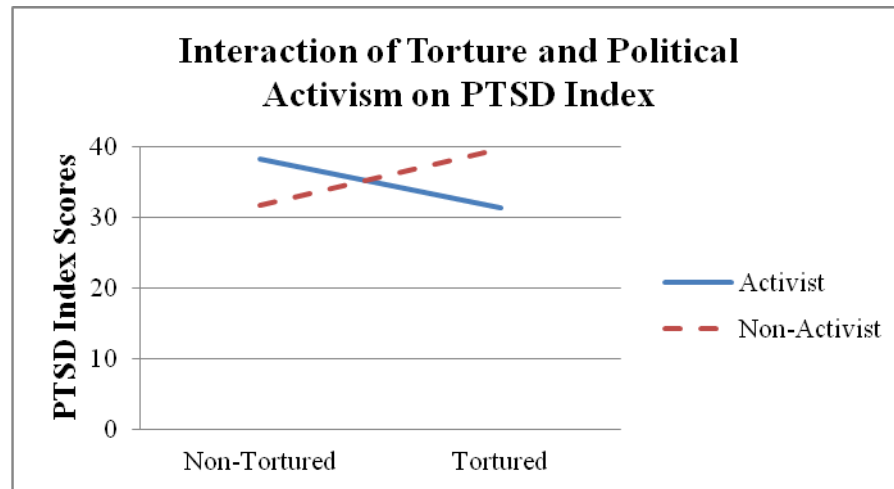
Genders and ages of the participants were also used as covariates (See Table 4 for details). Main effect of political activism did not turn out to be significant for all of the four indices. History of torture, on the other hand, was found to have a significant main effect on anxiety index, $F(5,108) = 6.62, p < .05$.

Table 4.
2X2 ANOVA for Psychological Index scores.

			PTSD Index	Depression Index	Anxiety Index	GPI
Tortured	Activist (n=26)	Mean	31.40	14.64	31.89	25.97
		(SD)	(19.15)	(9.84)	(14.13)	(13.07)
	Non- activist (n=25)	Mean	39.69	20.11	35.36	31.72
		(SD)	(19.26)	(15.59)	(15.18)	(15.43)
Non- tortured	Activist (n=29)	Mean	38.27	16.60	30.78	28.55
		(SD)	(20.50)	(10.35)	(14.91)	(13.49)
	Non- activist (n=28)	Mean	31.68	14.10	24.05	23.28
		(SD)	(17.17)	(8.30)	(9.80)	(10.31)
Main effects	Torture (<i>p</i>)		NS	NS	.005	NS
	Activism (<i>p</i>)		NS	NS	NS	NS
	Interaction (<i>p</i>)		.031	.048	.035	.020
Covariates	Age (<i>p</i>)		NS	NS	.026	.030
	Gender (<i>p</i>)		.004	.047	NS	.022

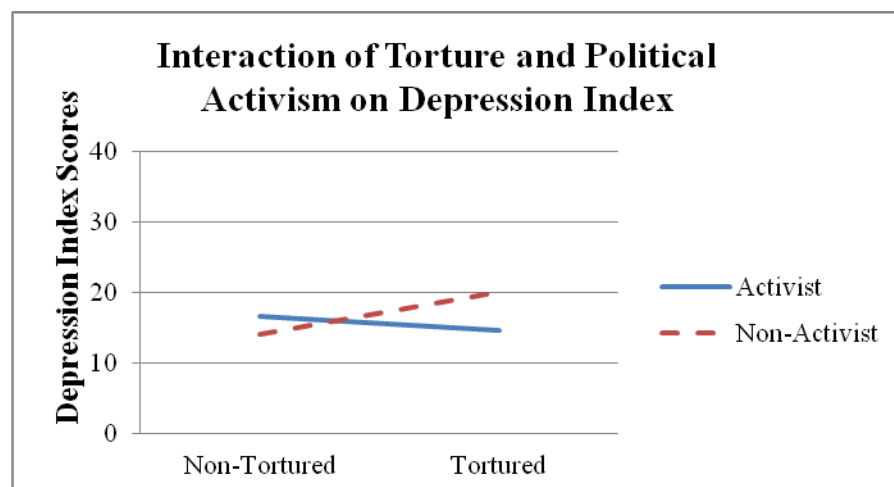
The interaction effects for all of the psychological indexes were found to be significant (All interaction effects were illustrated in the Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4). To start with PTSD index, a significant interaction effect was observed for torture status and political activism, $F(5,108) = 6.62, p < .05$. The non-tortured activists have higher scores in PTSD index than the non-tortured non-activists. But on the other hand, tortured non-activists scored higher on PTSD index than the tortured activists. Interestingly, torture seemed to not increase the PTSD index scores for activists, but it did for the non-activists.

Figure 1
Interaction for PTSD Index.



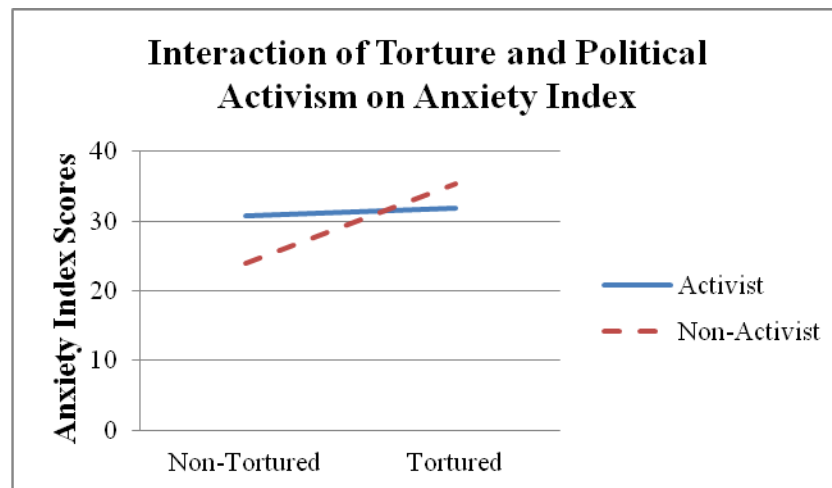
Another significant interaction can be seen in terms of the anxiety index scores, $F(5,108) = 3.99, p < .05$. Similarly, for the politically activists torture did not create an increase for depression index scores, whereas being tortured increased anxiety scores for the non-political individuals.

Figure 2
Interaction for Depression Index.



When we move on to the anxiety index scores, there is a significant main effect of torture, $F(5,108)= 8.18, p < .01$ and the individuals who have torture history had significantly higher anxiety scores than the individuals without a torture history. Torture and political activism were significantly interacted in terms of the anxiety index scores as well, $F(5,108)= 4.54, p < .05$. Since torture had a significant effect on anxiety index scores, it increased the anxiety levels both for activists and non-activists, but this increase is somewhat more for the tortured non-activist group than the politically active ones.

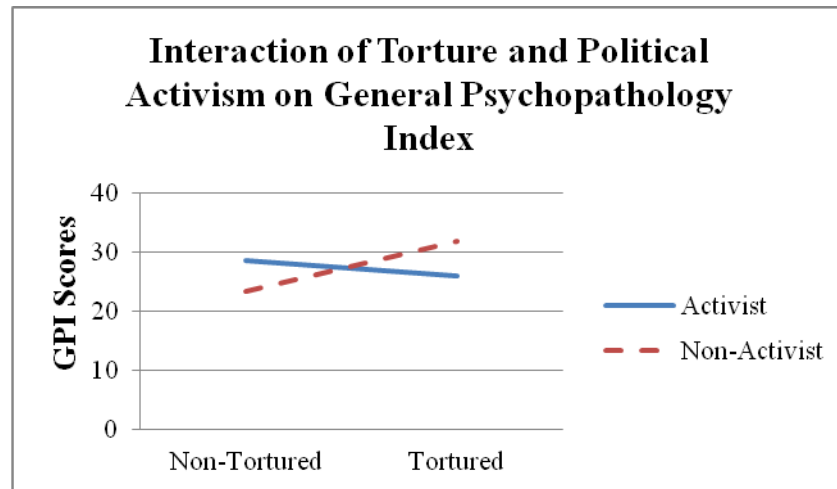
Figure 3
Interaction for Anxiety Index.



The last psychopathological index which is a combination of all these three was general psychopathology index (GPI) and torture and political activism had a significant interaction effect for it too, $F(5,108)= 5.62, p < .05$. Like PTSD and Depression Index Scores, GPI scores did not increased by

torture history for politically active individuals. On the other hand, torture increased GPI scores for the tortured non-activists.

Figure 4
Interaction for General Psychopathology Index (GPI).



3.4 Univariate Effects of Torture and Political Activism

Univariate 2X2 ANOVAs were carried out to see the effects of torture and political activism on each Rorschach variable. In this section, first the findings about the main effect of torture, than the political activism will be listed. Lastly, how the interaction between these two affected Rorschach variables will be reported.

3.4.1 *Main effect of torture*

Being exposed to torture increases response rates of many Rorschach variables and decreases some of them as well. Torture created differences in form qualities of the responses, contents, and some variables in all of the six main domains (control and stress tolerance, affect, self perception, interpersonal relationships, ideation, mediation, and processing) of Rorschach.

In terms of the contents, two contents are significantly differed for tortured and non-tortured participants. Tortured activists and non-activists have significantly higher responses that include contents of Blood, $F(4,108)= 10.18, p < .000$ and marginally higher responses that include Cloud, than the non-tortured individuals, $F(4,108)= 3.77, p = .055$ (see Table 5).

When we move to the six main areas of Rorschach being torture or not creates many significant differences. To start with control and stress tolerance; torture history creates a significant differences in terms of the Adjusted D scores of subjects, $F(4,108)= 4.80, p < .05$. Torture creates a significant increase in Adj D scores of non-political individuals. Adjusted D is a computed Rorschach variable which is derived from D score and shows the individual's total capacity to deal with stress when the situational stress factors were subtracted. That means, when the situational stress factors were taken out, tortured non-activist individuals have significantly higher Adj D scores than the non-tortured non-activist people. Since this variable is computed by taking individuals' general resources (EA) into account, this finding may be indicative of lack of resources that non-tortured, non-activist individuals have rather than giving insight about actual stress levels of them (see Table 6).

The affect section of the Rorschach aims to explore how the individual manages and expresses his or her emotions. Among many dimensions of the affective domain, torture creates significant differences on the variable of C'. Tortured individuals both political activists or non-activists have marginally

Table 5.
2X2 ANOVAs for contents.

Rorschach Variables	Tortured				Non-tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	Activists		Non-activists		Activists		Non-Activists		Torture	Activism	
	mean	SD	mean	SD	mean	SD	mean	SD	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
H	4.69	4.27	5.00	3.64	4.70	2.31	3.11	2.69	NS	NS	NS
(H)	1.27	1.85	0.40	0.65	1.20	1.27	1.18	1.52	NS	NS	NS
Hd	2.62	3.20	2.48	2.93	1.70	1.93	1.89	1.75	NS	NS	NS
(Hd)	0.46	0.81	0.36	0.76	0.27	0.58	0.14	0.36	NS	NS	NS
Hx	1.00	1.27	0.36	0.91	1.17	1.42	0.39	0.69	NS	0.001	NS
A	8.19	3.56	7.88	4.68	7.53	3.12	10.36	4.42	NS	NS	0.043
(A)	0.46	0.71	0.28	0.46	0.60	0.81	0.61	1.17	NS	NS	NS
Ad	1.69	1.67	2.00	2.36	1.80	1.35	1.54	1.43	NS	NS	NS
(Ad)	0.12	0.33	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.25	0.04	0.19	NS	NS	NS
An	1.58	1.82	1.36	2.69	1.10	1.13	1.29	1.15	NS	NS	NS
Art	0.85	1.08	0.64	1.19	0.50	1.38	0.79	1.32	NS	NS	NS
Ay	0.38	0.80	0.24	0.52	0.47	0.63	0.18	0.48	NS	NS	NS
Bl	1.15	1.41	1.76	2.86	0.57	0.73	0.25	0.70	0.002	NS	NS
Bt	1.31	1.78	1.48	1.83	1.37	1.30	1.71	2.21	NS	NS	NS
Cg	1.85	1.85	1.08	1.58	1.40	1.50	0.86	0.89	NS	0.026	NS
Cl	0.31	0.55	0.28	0.54	0.10	0.31	0.18	0.39	0.055	NS	NS
Ex	0.15	0.37	0.04	0.20	0.20	0.61	0.18	0.77	NS	NS	NS
Fd	0.35	0.85	0.20	0.41	0.20	0.41	0.25	0.44	NS	NS	NS
Fi	0.27	0.45	0.64	0.91	0.50	0.94	0.07	0.26	NS	NS	0.004
Ge	0.38	0.70	0.24	0.66	0.30	0.54	0.39	0.63	NS	NS	NS
Hh	0.81	0.98	0.72	0.89	0.80	1.06	0.46	0.79	NS	NS	NS
Ls	0.81	1.17	0.80	1.12	0.50	0.73	0.64	0.83	NS	NS	NS
Na	1.19	1.74	0.64	0.86	0.67	0.96	0.96	1.11	NS	NS	0.048
Sc	1.38	1.30	1.48	1.76	1.47	1.81	2.07	2.21	NS	NS	NS
Sx	0.46	0.99	0.36	0.64	0.97	1.19	0.64	1.16	NS	NS	NS
Xy	0.04	0.20	0.12	0.44	0.10	0.31	0.29	0.60	NS	NS	NS
Id	1.69	1.83	2.28	1.79	1.47	1.41	1.43	1.23	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.
 2X2 ANOVAs for Control and Stress Tolerance Domain

	Tortured				Non-tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-activists</u>		<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-Activists</u>		<u>Torture</u>	<u>Activism</u>	
	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
<u>Control & Stress</u>											
M	4.12	2.45	4.80	3.66	4.90	2.83	3.43	2.85	NS	NS	NS
Wsum C	3.54	2.72	3.44	2.62	3.17	1.80	2.57	1.44	NS	NS	NS
FM+m	4.15	2.78	4.92	4.42	4.80	3.38	5.18	3.52	NS	NS	NS
Sum Shading	6.31	5.07	4.96	4.06	5.53	3.20	6.43	3.23	NS	NS	NS
EA	7.65	4.28	8.24	3.93	8.07	3.87	6.00	3.59	NS	NS	NS
es	10.46	6.50	9.88	7.40	10.33	5.50	11.61	5.63	NS	NS	NS
D Score	-0.85	1.57	-0.60	2.42	-0.60	1.64	-1.89	1.95	NS	NS	0.034
Adj D Score	-0.04	1.15	0.32	1.80	0.07	1.36	-0.96	1.45	0.031	NS	0.013

Table 7.
 2X2 ANOVAs for Affect Domain.

<i>Affect</i>	Tortured				Non-tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-activists</u>		<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-Activists</u>		<u>Torture</u>	<u>Activism</u>	
	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
FC	1.54	1.30	1.56	1.66	1.43	1.33	1.43	1.10	NS	NS	NS
CF+C	2.62	2.32	2.36	2.04	2.23	1.68	1.64	1.39	NS	NS	NS
Pure C	0.31	0.62	0.60	1.26	0.43	0.73	0.43	0.84	NS	NS	NS
SumC'	2.15	2.62	2.00	2.10	2.30	1.86	2.75	1.67	NS	NS	NS
Wsum C	3.54	2.72	3.44	2.62	3.17	1.80	2.57	1.44	NS	NS	NS
Afr	0.53	0.22	0.51	0.19	0.48	0.15	0.49	0.14	NS	NS	NS
S	2.42	1.90	1.80	1.29	1.30	1.37	1.46	1.64	0.023	NS	NS
Blends	3.77	3.81	4.32	3.09	3.77	3.06	3.14	2.55	NS	NS	NS
R	24.50	8.93	23.76	10.55	24.17	6.64	26.75	7.26	NS	NS	NS
CP	0.08	0.39	0.04	0.20	0.10	0.31	0.04	0.19	NS	NS	NS

lower levels of C' responses than the non-tortured individuals; $F(4,108)= 3.87$, $p= .052$. C' represents the tendency to inhibit the emotions; this can be excessive or not depending on the person's full profile. From this finding it can be inferred that tortured individuals engage in inhibition of affect less than the non-tortured ones. Additionally, tortured subjects have higher responses that contains S, which is a dimension that shows the oppositionality, negativistic emotions and in the excessive situations aggression; $F(4,108)= 5.36$, $p < .05$. Table 7 demonstrates the detailed findings about the affective spectrum.

The cognitive triad of the Rorschach variables includes processing, mediation and ideation sub-sections. To start with processing; tortured individuals have significantly higher levels of D responses, which is a location criteria, that shows which part of the figure in the card that the participants look; $F(4,108)= 8.03$, $p < .01$. This means that the tortured people use less effort and choose the easier way while processing stimuli than the non-tortured people. Findings have not revealed any other statistically significant findings in the processing section (Table 8). In the mediation section, the only significant difference that being tortured creates is the difference on S-%, which is a variable that shows cognitive distortions due to the excessive anger or oppositionality, $F(4,108)= 8.03$, $p < .01$. In terms of ideation, the third step of the cognitive triad, torture creates significant differences on two variables. First one is the M^a, which represents the active movements attributed to the inkblot. Tortured individuals, regardless of their political involvements, generated more

Table 8.
 2X2 ANOVAs for Cognitive Triad Domain.

<i>Rorschach Variables</i>	Tortured				Non-tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-activists</u>		<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-Activists</u>		<u>Torture</u>	<u>Activism</u>	
	n=26	n=25	n=30	n=28					<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
Cognitive Triad											
<u>Processing</u>											
Zf	11.89	4.89	10.64	4.93	10.67	4.82	10.71	6.25	NS	NS	NS
W	7.69	6.46	7.32	6.17	13.83	5.46	15.79	5.77	NS	NS	NS
D	11.72	6.79	11.32	5.72	7.07	3.71	6.71	4.08	0.006	NS	NS
Dd	5.08	4.95	5.12	5.38	3.27	2.57	4.25	3.35	NS	NS	NS
M	4.12	2.46	4.80	3.66	4.90	2.83	3.43	2.85	NS	NS	NS
PSV	0.12	0.41	0.28	1.02	0.17	0.46	0.00	0.00	NS	NS	NS
DQ+	6.96	2.99	6.60	3.55	6.17	3.74	5.29	4.72	NS	NS	NS
DQv	15.77	8.05	13.80	8.06	15.53	6.44	18.68	5.74	NS	NS	NS
<u>Mediation</u>											
XA%	0.72	0.15	0.66	0.16	0.72	0.14	0.71	0.10	NS	NS	NS
WDA%	0.77	0.13	0.68	0.17	0.76	0.15	0.77	0.10	NS	NS	NS
X-%	0.26	0.15	0.31	0.16	0.25	0.15	0.27	0.09	NS	NS	NS
S-	1.00	0.98	0.68	0.80	0.43	0.77	0.43	0.69	0.018	NS	NS
P	5.39	1.60	4.56	2.00	5.03	2.08	5.04	2.22	NS	NS	NS
X+%	0.47	0.14	0.41	0.14	0.49	0.13	0.47	0.08	NS	NS	NS
Xu%	0.25	0.12	0.25	0.13	0.23	0.12	0.24	0.08	NS	NS	NS

Table 8.*2X2 ANOVAs for Cognitive Triad Domain.(cont.)*

<i>Rorschach Variables</i>	Tortured				Non-Tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	<u>Activists</u> n=26		<u>Non-Activists</u> n=25		<u>Activists</u> n=30		<u>Non-Activists</u> n=28		<u>Torture</u>	<u>Activism</u>	
	mean	SD	mean	SD	mean	SD	mean	SD	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Ideation</i>											
a	6.12	2.98	6.28	4.14	5.67	3.51	5.18	3.82	NS	NS	NS
p	2.27	2.34	3.68	3.56	4.10	2.80	3.46	2.35	NS	NS	NS
Ma	2.96	1.93	3.08	2.43	2.33	1.69	1.71	1.92	0.009	NS	NS
Mp	1.27	1.43	1.96	2.42	2.57	2.14	1.75	1.56	NS	NS	0.051
Intellectualization	2.31	2.64	1.60	2.50	2.97	3.45	1.46	1.64	NS	0.031	NS
MOR	2.35	2.02	3.36	5.07	1.93	1.55	0.89	1.03	0.017	NS	NS
Sum6	4.65	3.83	4.28	4.05	2.83	2.31	1.68	1.76	0.000	NS	NS
WSum6	15.35	13.52	14.40	14.72	9.87	9.58	5.50	7.32	0.002	NS	NS
M-	0.92	1.32	1.64	1.73	1.03	1.13	0.75	1.01	NS	NS	0.048
Mnone	0.15	0.37	0.12	0.33	0.10	0.31	0.04	0.19	NS	NS	NS
DV1	0.38	0.94	0.48	0.96	0.13	0.35	0.11	0.32	0.34	NS	NS
DR1	1.46	2.37	1.72	2.57	0.93	1.23	0.43	0.84	0.018	NS	NS
FAB1	0.96	1.25	0.44	0.71	0.37	0.49	0.36	0.99	0.039	NS	NS

Ma responses than the non-tortured subjects, $F(4,108)= 7.19, p< .01$. Even though the ratio of active and passive movements is important for the interpretation it may be inferred that the tortured individuals have more tendency to engage in more active and problem solving oriented thinking. The second significant difference in terms of the ideation section is the MOR responses. Tortured individuals generated more morbid responses, which means they tend to think more pessimistically than the non-tortured ones, $F(4,108)= 5.89, p< .01$. Also according to the findings, tortured individuals have more cognitive errors than the others. Sum6 which is a composite score that stands for the frequency of cognitive errors and represents the deviation from the regular thinking is significantly higher for the tortured subjects, $F(4,108)= 13.96, p< .01$. Also WSum6 which is the weighted composite score of cognitive errors and the problems with the flow of thoughts found to be also higher for the tortured group, $F(4,108)= 10.60, p< .01$. Also it has found that other variables that contribute to the cognitive error criteria, DV1 that represents deviant verbalizations in other words slippage in the thought process ($F(4,108)= 4.63, p< .05$); DR1, giving a deviant or out of norm response or losing the focus of the thought process ($F(4,108)= 4.78, p< .05$) and FABCOM1 which represents making bizarre connections between the concepts ($F(4,108)= 4.39, p< .05$) found to be significantly higher for the tortured group. Even though these findings suggest an elevated level of impairment in the cognitive functions these should be read as a different way of looking at things

and making meaning out of them than the others. This may be due to the life changing effect of traumatic experience. Additionally these temporary slippages may also appear when certain themes or feelings are triggered. Detailed findings of the cognitive triad are listed in Table 8.

The remaining two sections give insights about how the person view's himself and how he interprets the relational world. In terms of the self-perception, being tortured creates two significant differences. First one is that tortured people have significantly higher Egocentricity Index scores than the non-tortured ones, $F(4,108)= 8.52, p < .01$. This means, the tortured people tend to have more self concern and higher self-focus than non-tortured people whether this is positive or negative. Also number of pair responses which is a component of Egocentricity index found to be significantly higher for the tortured group when compared with the non-tortured individuals, $F(4,108)= 4.14, p < .05$. This finding also represents an increased interest or attention in one's own self. The other significant effect the torture creates is about how damaged and impaired the one views himself. According to the findings, tortured people have more MOR (morbid) responses than the non-tortured ones, $F(4,108)= 5.89, p < .01$, which means tortured people have more damaged sense of selves and they tend to view themselves more pessimistically than the non-tortured subjects.

Being tortured creates significant differences in terms of relational world as well. Tortured people generated more poor human responses (PHRs) indicating more negativistic or unrealistic views of other people than the non-

Table 9.
2X2 ANOVAs for Self and Others Domain.

<i>Rorschach Variables</i>	Tortured				Non-tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	Activists n=26		Non-activists n=25		Activists n=30		Non-Activists n=28		Torture	Activism	
	mean	SD	mean	SD	mean	SD	mean	SD	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
Self and Others											
<i>Self-Perception</i>											
Egocentrity Index	0.34	0.13	0.33	0.14	0.30	0.14	0.22	0.13	0.004	NS	NS
Fr+rF	0.04	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.25	0.04	0.19	NS	NS	NS
SumV	0.62	0.85	0.36	0.64	0.63	0.93	0.21	0.50	NS	0.021	NS
FD	0.35	0.63	0.08	0.28	0.33	0.76	0.11	0.32	NS	0.017	NS
An+Xy	1.62	1.81	1.48	3.04	1.20	1.10	1.57	1.45	NS	NS	NS
MOR	2.35	2.02	3.36	5.07	1.93	1.55	0.89	1.03	0.017	NS	NS
H	4.69	4.27	5.00	3.64	4.70	2.31	3.11	2.69	NS	NS	NS
(H)+Hd+(Hd)	4.35	4.52	3.24	2.99	3.17	2.41	3.21	2.39	NS	NS	NS
# of Pairs	7.85	3.61	7.80	4.50	6.83	3.46	5.82	4.00	0.045	NS	NS
<i>Interpersonal</i>											
COP	0.85	1.19	1.00	1.26	1.17	1.18	0.68	0.98	NS	NS	NS
AG	1.19	1.10	2.36	3.51	1.43	1.63	0.79	1.07	NS	NS	0.028
GHR	3.23	1.75	2.72	2.26	4.20	2.57	3.29	2.39	NS	NS	NS
PHR	6.50	5.83	6.52	1.14	4.93	2.24	4.04	2.55	0.009	NS	NS
a	6.12	2.98	6.28	4.14	5.67	3.51	5.18	3.82	NS	NS	NS
p	2.27	2.34	3.68	3.56	4.10	2.80	3.46	2.35	NS	NS	NS
Food	0.35	0.85	0.20	0.41	0.20	0.41	0.25	0.44	NS	NS	NS
Sum T	0.65	0.75	0.56	0.77	0.27	0.64	0.50	0.58	NS	NS	NS
Human Cont	9.04	7.35	8.25	4.90	7.87	3.52	6.32	4.13	NS	NS	NS
Pure H	4.69	4.27	5.00	3.64	4.70	2.31	3.11	2.69	NS	NS	NS
PER	1.08	1.23	1.12	1.79	0.27	0.52	0.11	0.32	0.000	NS	NS
Isolation Index	0.22	0.20	0.19	0.12	0.15	0.10	0.18	0.13	NS	NS	NS

Table 10.*Rorschach Indicators of Torture.*

Rorschach Variable	Direction of Change	Explanation
Bl	↑	<i>Blood content</i> : The feelings of being hurt or intrusion of traumatic memories.
Cl	↑	<i>Cloud content</i> : In the isolation index, may be related with dissociated states.
Fqxo	↓	<i>Form Quality Ordinary</i> : Responses that match the contours of the inkblot, shows usual perception style.
S	↑	<i>White Space</i> : Feelings of oppositionality.
C'	↓	<i>Colour Prime</i> : Inhibition of affect (Should be considered with other affect variables).
AdjD	↓	<i>Adjusted D</i> : The balance of resources to the stress after the situational stress is removed.
D	↑	<i>D (Location)</i> : Concentrating on the bigger parts, shows tendency to choose easier way in processing.
Ma	↑	<i>Human Movement Active</i> : Ability to solve problems actively.
S-%	↑	<i>White Space minus</i> : Evaluating reality differently when the oppositional feelings occur.
Sum6	↑	<i>Sum 6</i> : The frequency of cognitive errors.
Wsum6	↑	<i>Weighted Sum 6</i> : Weighted score for the frequency of cognitive errors.
DV1	↑	<i>Deviant Verbalization 1</i> : Using wrong words, cognitive slips.
FABCOM1	↑	<i>FABCOM-1</i> : Making unusual or bizarre connections between concepts.
MOR	↑	<i>Morbid: Cognition</i> : Tendency to think pessimistically. <i>Morbid: Self</i> : Feelings of being hurt, viewing self as injured.
# of Pairs	↑	<i>Number of Pairs</i> : Represents self-concern.
Egocentricity	↑	<i>Egocentricity Index</i> : A composite index showing self-concern.
PHR	↑	<i>Poor Human Response</i> : The negativistic view towards other people.
PER	↑	<i>Personalization</i> : Overcoming incapacities by a dominant style or extra need to mention personal stories.

tortured ones, $F(4,108)= 7.10, p < .01$. Additionally, tortured people included more personalization (PER) in their responses than the non-tortured individuals, $F(4,108)= 18.41, p < .000$. This suggests people who have been subjected to systematic torture may attempt to dominate other people by using their knowledge about some issues. All of the significant indicators of torture are listed in Table 10.

3.4.2 *Main effect of political activism*

Political activism also creates differences on some Rorschach variables, though its effect is not numerous as torture's. Different from torture, which created differences on all of the six sections of Rorschach, political activism created differences on included contents and two domains; ideation and self-perception.

To start with contents; political activists included more human experience (Hx) content to their responses than the non-activists, $F(4,108)= 10.95, p < .01$. Attributions to human experience may be a part of intellectualization or abstraction that is highly seen in political activists. In addition to this, politically involved people whether tortured or not included more clothing (Cg) content to their responses as well, $F(4,108)= 5.11, p < .05$. Clothing content represents covering up something, when this is really high it shows hyper-vigilance or in other words sense of insecurity towards other people. Detailed findings about the contents are listed in Table 5.

Ideation, as mentioned earlier, gives an idea about how one conceptualizes the mental inputs. Political activists uses more abstraction (AB) in their responses than the non-activists, $F(4,108)= 5.22, p< .05$. Similar to this, the Intellectualization Index, which shows how much the one isolates their affect and uses intellectualization defensively, is significantly higher for the politically involved people than the others, $F(4,108)= 4.76, p< .05$. The other difference being politically involved creates on ideation section is the INC2 (INCOM Level 2) responses. Political activists generated more INC2 responses than the non-activists, $F(4,108)= 4.22, p< .05$. This suggests that politically active people tend to have more loose connections with reality than the non-activists but this may also imply that the activists have a more creative style in terms of thinking (See Table 8 for details).

The other area that is affected by political activism is self-perception. Findings showed that, politically involved people generated more form dimension (FD) responses than the non-politics, $F(4,108)= 5.85, p< .05$. FD responses represent a capacity for insight and tendency for introspective behavior. At the extreme points, it may lead to ruminating behavior about one's self. In politically involved people's protocols, FV responses ($F(4,108)= 3.91, p=.051$) and, in relation to this, Sum V scores ($F(4,108)= 5.50, p< .05$) are higher than the non-activists. These findings imply that political activists are busy with themselves more than the non-activists but at the same time they are also more critical to themselves than the non-activists. Table 9 shows other

Table 11.
Rorschach Indicators of Political Activism.

Rorschach Variable	Direction of Change	Explanation
Hx	↑	<i>Human Experience</i> : It represents overcoming problems between emotions and self via intellectualization.
Cg	↑	<i>Clothing</i> : Including clothing content. It represents feelings of insecurity, need to be hidden.
AB	↑	<i>Abstraction</i> : Tendency to use more abstract definitions, an indicator of intellectualization tendency.
Int. Index	↑	<i>Intellectualization Index</i> : To intellectualize as a defense to get some distance from emotions.
INC-2	↑	<i>INCOM-2</i> : To make cognitive errors and form bizarre connection between concepts.
FD	↑	<i>Form Dimension</i> : It represents a healthy introspection capacity, insight.
Sum V	↑	<i>Sum of Vista answers</i> : It represents a more painful and critical introspection.

findings in self-perception and relational world. (see Table 6 and 7 for findings in the other domains). All of the significant indicators of political activism status are listed in Table 11.

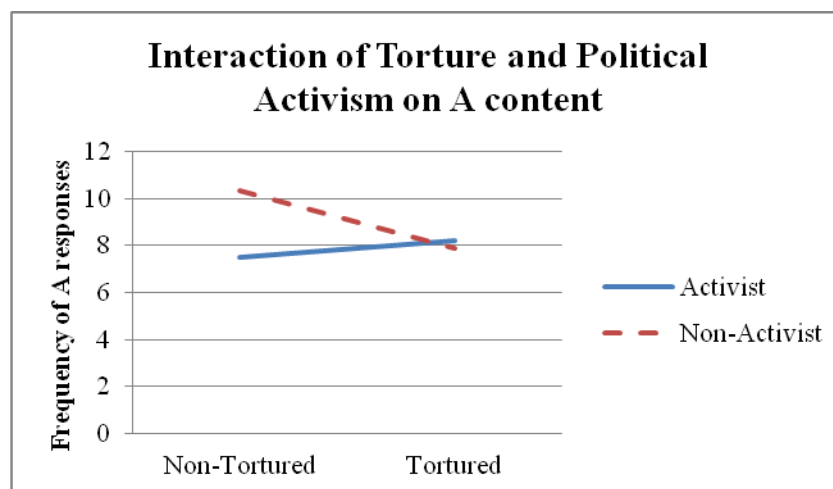
3.4.3 *Interaction Effects*

For some Rorschach variables the two main effects interacted and created different profiles for different groups. Interaction effects are seen in the content using as well as the domains of control and stress tolerance, mediation, ideation and interpersonal relationships.

To start with the contents, interaction effect plays role in including animal (A) content in the responses. For the political activists inclusion of animal content which represents immaturity slightly increased with the torture experience whereas a striking decrease occurred for the non-political group, $F(4,108)= 4.18, p < .05$ (see Figure 5). We may think that the non-political group kind of lost their childish sides with the torture experience. It is also important to mention that the animal content score of the non-political, non-activist group was really elevated when compared with the norms. While the general adult population norms include average seven or eight animal content the non-tortured and non-activist group in this study has a mean of 10.36. The other significant interaction effect plays role in the fire (Fi) content, tortured activists used this content less than the tortured non-activists, $F(4,108)= 8.78, p < .01$ (see Figure 6). Fire content may be due to the increased affective experience or the re-experiencing of traumatic memories. In terms of the Na

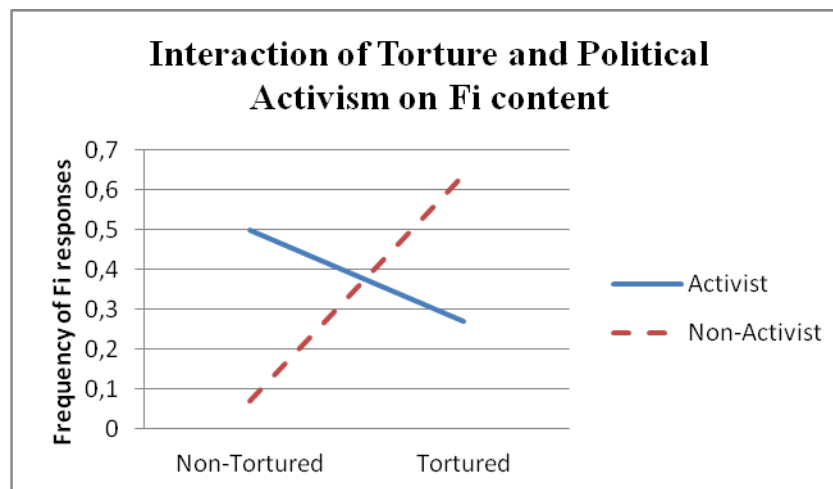
content, which is one of the contents included in the isolation index, also shows a significant interaction effect. When politically active people face with torture experience they tend to isolate themselves more whereas the non-activist torture survivors do the opposite, $F(4,108)= 4.01, p< .05$ (Figure 7). Passive movements represents tendency to act more passively in situations, live in fantasy more than reality and wait for a savior as oppose to get in action. The analysis showed a marginally significant interaction, representing that the tortured activists do not engage in passive thinking with the torture experience but the opposite is true for the politically non-active people, $F(4,108)= 3.89, p=.051$ (see Figure 8). This may represent an increased level of cognitive activation for politically activist people after the torture experience and passive problem solving methods like waiting for someone to save them for non-political individuals.

Figure 5
Interaction plot for animal (A) content



One more important interaction occurs on another cognitive Rorschach variable, M-, $F(4,108)= 3.96, p < .05$. M minus represents people's ability to use their cognitive resources in line with the reality. Ideally this score should be zero. M- can also be related with the tendency to be estranged from the reality while evaluating the personal relationships. According to the results torture seem to decrease or more probably do not change the M- levels for politically active people. But as it is seen in Figure 9, non-activist group significantly lose their ability to rationally evaluate the relationships and can not use their cognitive resources adaptively with reality.

Figure 6
Interaction plot for fire (Fi) content.



Significant interaction effect also appeared in the aggressive content (AG). According to the analysis, torture significantly increased inclusion of aggressive content for the non-politic group whereas it is decreased or probably not changed significantly for the tortured political activists, $F(4,108)= 4.94, p <$

.05 (see Figure 9). This suggests that tortured non-activists see or engage in aggression in the relationships significantly more than the tortured political activists.

Figure 7

Interaction plot for nature (Na) content.

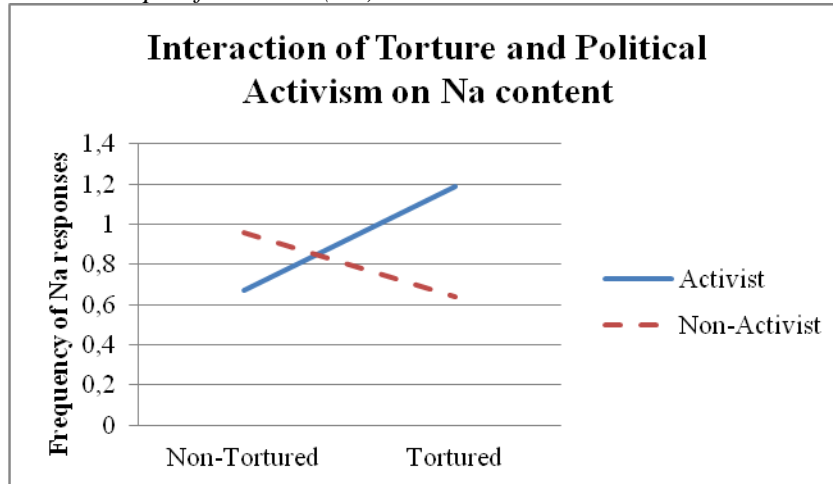


Figure 8

Interaction plot for all passive movements (all Mp).

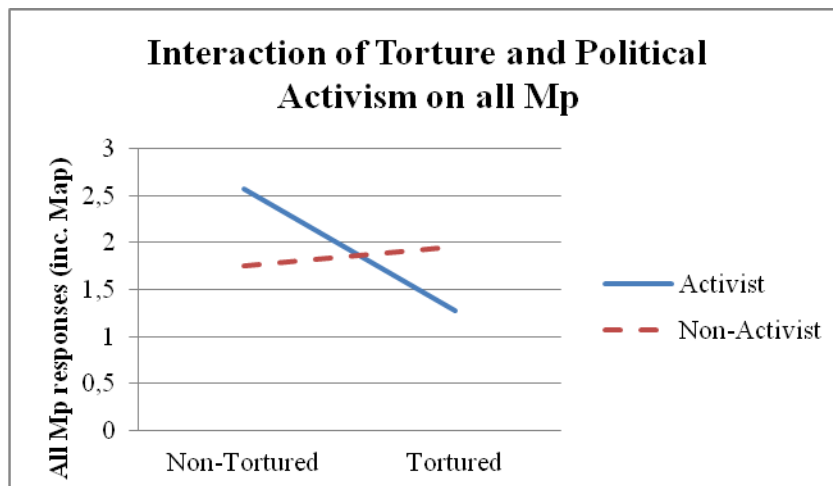


Figure 9
Interaction plot for M-

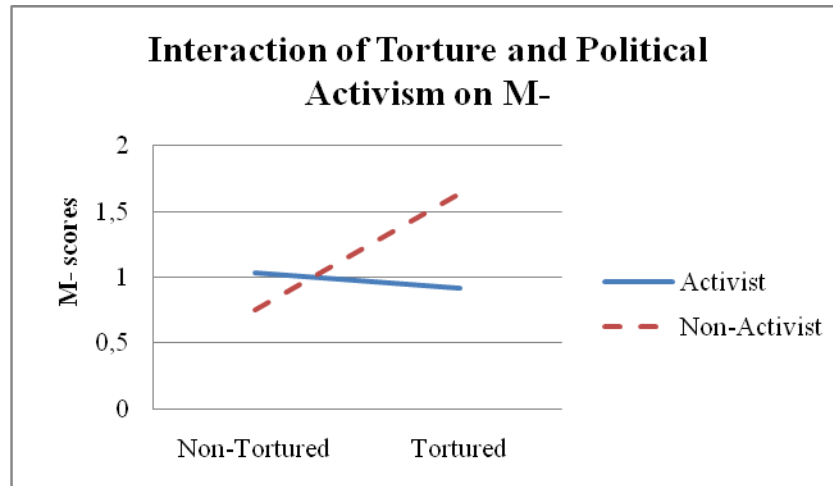
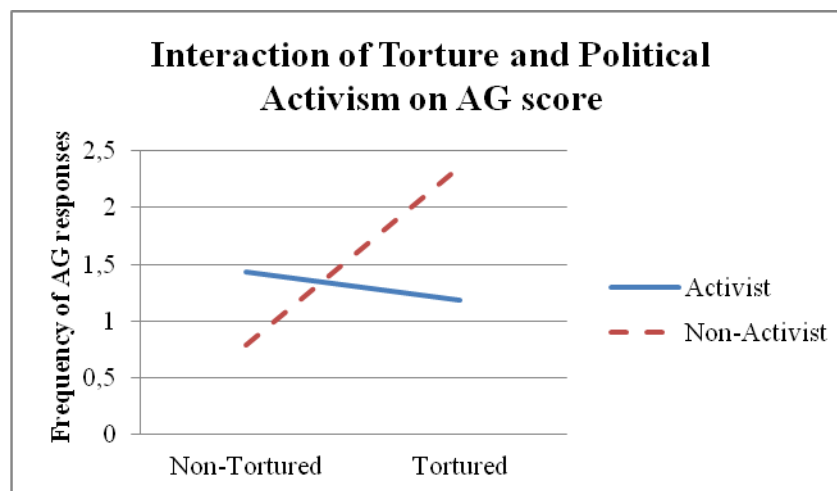


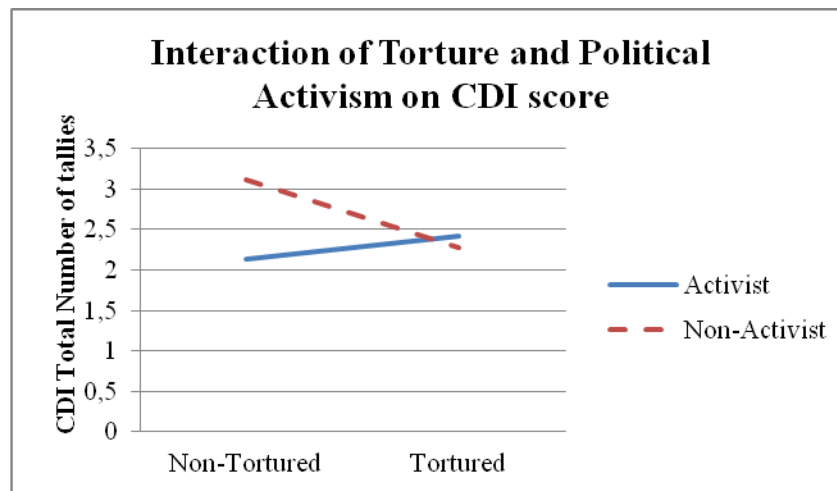
Figure 10
Interaction plot for aggression (AG).



Another area where significant interactions were seen was the control and stress tolerance. In terms of this domain, the lowest scores that show an incapability of dealing with stress belong to the non-tortured and non-political group. And this characteristic of that group is probably the main contributor to

these interactions. This is thought to be a different finding from the pioneer studies of this study and will be discussed more detailed in the discussion section. Just to summarize the interactions, in terms of the CDI scores which is a composite score that shows the stress levels of individuals politically active people's CDI scores do not change distinctly with the torture whereas the non-political group's scores decrease $F(4,108)= 6.46, p < .05$ (Figure 10).

Figure 11
Interaction plot for CDI.



In line with this, D and AdjD Scores of the political activists did not show any marked changes with the torture experience (lower scores represents worse coping) whereas the for the non-political group there an increase in the scores can be seen ($F(4,108)= 4.01, p < .05$; $F(4,108)= 4.01, p < .05$) (see Figure 11 & 12 and Table 12).

Table 12.
 2X2 ANOVAs for Total Number of Tallies of Special Indices

	Tortured				Non-tortured				Main Effects		Interactions
	<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-activists</u>		<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-Activists</u>		<u>Torture</u>	<u>Activism</u>	
	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Indices</i>											
PTI	1.42	1.47	2.04	1.67	1.30	1.32	1.11	1.29	NS	NS	NS
DEPI	4.65	1.44	4.12	1.17	4.43	1.04	4.25	1.14	NS	NS	NS
CDI	2.42	1.17	2.28	1.06	2.13	1.31	3.11	1.07	NS	NS	.014
S-CON	4.81	1.92	4.64	1.71	4.53	1.61	4.79	1.52	NS	NS	NS

PTI: Perceptual Thinking Index; *DEPI*: Depression Index; *CDI*: Coping Deficit Index; *S-CON*: Suicide Constellation Index.

Figure 12
Interaction plot for D Score.

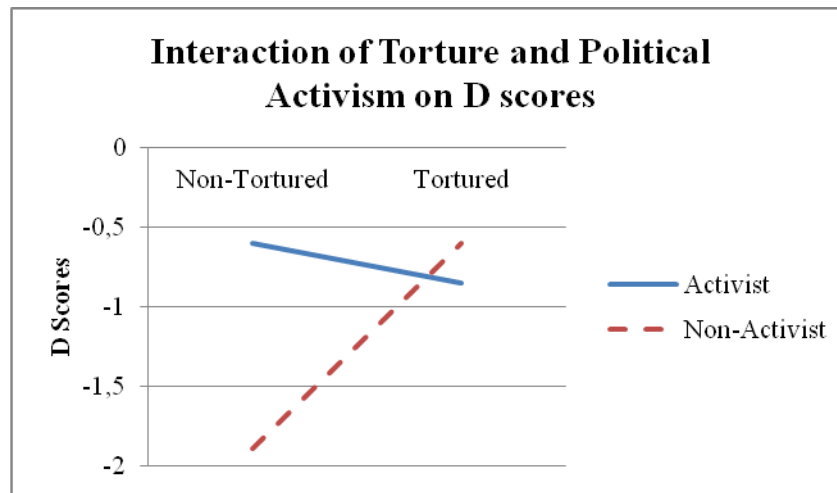
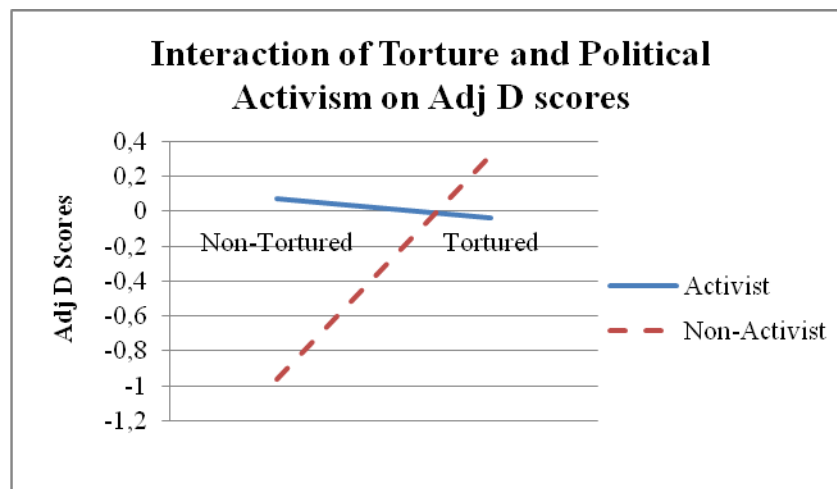


Figure 13
Interaction plot for Adj D Score.



All of the significant interaction of torture history and political activism status are shown in Table 13.

Table 13.

Interactions of Torture and Political Activism (A= Activists, NA=Non-activists).

Rorschach Variable	Change with Torture	Variable Interpretation	Interaction
A (<i>Animal</i>)	A: - NA: ↓	Immaturity in self representation	For the non-activist group this decreases with the torture experience whereas no marked change was seen for the activists. (<i>no main effect</i>)
Fi (<i>Fire</i>)	A: ↓ NA: ↑	Covert aggression, intense affect.	This seems to increase for non-activists, decrease for activists w/ torture. (<i>no main effect</i>)
Na (<i>Nature</i>)	A: ↑↓ NA: ↓↓	Tendency of social isolation	Increase in activists, decrease in non-activists w/ torture. (<i>no main effect</i>).
Mp (<i>Passive Movement</i>)	A: ↓ NA: -	Solving problems in a passive way.	No change for activists, increase for non-activists w/torture (<i>no main effect</i>).
M- (<i>M minus</i>)	A: - NA: ↑	Detachment from reality evaluating relationships.	Increase for non-activists w/ torture, same for activists (<i>no main effect</i>).
AG (<i>Aggression</i>)	A: - NA: ↑	Aggression in relationships.	Not change too much for activists whereas it increases for non-activists w/ torture (<i>no main effect</i>).
D Score	A: - NA: ↑	Ability to tolerate stress w/ resources.	This increases for non-activists w/ torture whereas no big change happens for the activists (<i>no main effect</i>).
Adjusted D Score	A: - NA: ↑	Ability to tolerate stress (situational stress is removed).	No marked change for activists, increase for non-activists (<i>main effect for torture</i>).
CDI (<i>Coping Deficit Index</i>)	A: - NA: ↓	An index showing ability to overcome stressful situations	No marked change for activists, decrease for non-activists (<i>no main effect</i>). (<i>higher scores shows worse ability</i>).

3.5 Binary Regression Analysis

ANOVA analysis showed that there is a strong relationship between some Rorschach variables and being tortured and political activism. Further bivariate logistic regression analyses were carried out to see how these variables predict the history of torture and political activism status. Additionally another bivariate logistic regression analysis was done to see which Rorschach variables predict currently having a PTSD diagnosis.

3.5.1 *Regression Analysis with Torture*

The Rorschach variables that were previously found to be significantly associated with the torture status were included in the logistic regression analysis. By this analysis we could look at each variable's strength of relationship with being tortured by controlling all the other related variables.

In the binary logistic regression analysis individuals who have been tortured were designated as 1 whereas the non-tortured individuals were designated as 0. Out of seventeen variables which found to have a significant relationship with torture status, only six significantly predict the torture status. To start with, personalization variable (PER) significantly predicted the history of torture, $b = 1.82$, Wald $X^2(1) = 13.36$, $p = .000$. As people have one more level in terms of trying to control people using his or her own knowledge to cover the inadequacies, odds of having a torture history increased by 6.17. Another variable to mention is D, which is a location variable and represents the responses which require lesser cognitive demand. Whether the individual has a

torture history or not can be predicted by the amount of their D variable as the logistic regression analysis showed, $b = -.24$, Wald $X^2(1) = 13.80$, $p = .000$. One unit less in terms of the D location responses increased the odds for being tortured .79. The variable S, oppositionality in other words, found to be a predictor of torture history, $b = .57$, Wald $X^2(1) = 7.36$, $p < .01$. The odds ratio tells us that as oppositionality increases one more unit, the odds of being tortured for that individual is 1.76. Cloud responses (CI), which is a component of isolation index was also found to have a significant direct relationship with being tortured, $b = 2.59$, Wald $X^2(1) = 7.39$, $p < .01$. One more unit of cloud responses in the participants' protocols increases the odds for the individual's status of being tortured becomes 13.35. Another variable, that logistic regression analysis showed that significantly has an association with torture status is number of pairs in the protocols, $b = .22$, Wald $X^2(1) = 6.55$, $p < .05$. Number of pairs belongs to the Egocentricity Index and shows a tendency for increased self-focus. As the number of pairs increased one unit, the odds of having a torture history for that person is increased by 1.24. The last significant contributor to the torture history is the C prime (C') variable which shows the tendency to inhibit the expression of affect when necessary, $b = -2.56$, Wald $X^2(1) = 5.65$, $p < .05$. The odds ratio shows that, as the C' value is decreased one unit this increases the odds for having a history of torture by .08 (See Table 14). The predictive power of the overall model is found to be 78.9%.

Table 14.

Variables included in the binary logistic regression analysis for torture status.

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	<i>p</i>	Exp(B)
PER	1.82	.50	13.36	1	.000	6.17
D	-.24	.06	13.80	1	.000	.79
S	.57	.21	7.36	1	.007	1.76
Cloud	2.59	.10	7.39	1	.007	13.35
Number of pairs	.22	.08	6.55	1	.010	1.24
C'	-2.56	1.08	5.65	1	.017	.08
(Constant)	-.52	.73	.51	1	.48	.59

3.5.2 Regression Analysis with Activism

Another separate binary regression analysis was run to see how strongly the variables which were identified to have a relationship with political activism are associated with and can predict activism status. Eight variables were entered into the analysis and three of them found to be significantly associated. To start with the political activism status of the participants can be predicted by the Rorschach variable human experience (Hx), which seems to be related with the tendency for abstraction or intellectualization, $b = .60$, Wald $X^2(1) = 7.62$, $p < .01$. This variable also represents a defensive strategy to get away from one's own affect. According to the odds ratio, one level of increase in this variable increases the odds of being a political activist with 1.83. The second Rorschach variable that can significantly predict political activism is form dimension (FD) which is a variable indicating higher self-awareness, $b = .99$, Wald $X^2(1) = 4.40$, $p < .05$. According to the odd ratio, one level increase in the FD value of participants' protocols indicates that 2.70 times more likely that person is a political activist. The last significant predictor for political activism is clothing

content (Cg), $b = .32$, Wald $|z(1)| = 3.68$, $p = .055$. Even though this variable has a marginal degree of significant prediction it is entered in to the equation. Odds ratio shows that one degree of increase in this variable would increase the odds for being a political activist by 1.38 (See Table 15). The overall model correctly predicted the 67.0% of cases.

Table 15.

Variables included in the binary logistic regression analysis for political activism status.

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	p	Exp(B)
Hx	.60	.22	7.62	1	.006	1.83
FD	.99	.47	4.40	1	.036	2.70
Cg	.32	.17	3.68	1	.055	1.38
(Constant)	-.94	.33	8.37	1	.004	.39

3.5.3 Regression Analysis with Current PTSD Diagnosis

To further investigate the data and understand which specific Rorschach variables predict the probability of developing a PTSD or not binary logistic regression analysis was carried out. Two separate analyses were planned for lifetime and the current PTSD diagnosis. PTSD diagnosis for both lifetime and current has been derived from the SCID's PTSD diagnosis criteria. Since the others did not report a traumatic incidence, only the tortured group (both activist and non-activist) were included in the analysis.

To describe the sample's properties in terms of PTSD diagnosis Table 16 shows the frequencies of PTSD diagnosis for each group. According to the SCID criteria, 34.6 percent of tortured activists had developed PTSD during their lifetimes whereas this percentage is 44.0 for the non-activist group.

Additionally, 23.1 percent of the activist group and 28.0 percent of the non-activist group currently hold the PTSD diagnosis.

Like it was done for the other logistic regression analysis, firstly separate 2X2 univariate analysis between Rorschach variables and PTSD diagnosis (both lifetime and current) were carried out. To start with, lifetime PTSD diagnosis created a significant difference on only one Rorschach variable, the fire content (Fi), $F(1, 51) = 6.09, p < .05$.

Table 16.
PTSD Current and Lifetime Diagnosis Frequencies

	PTSD Lifetime		Total	PTSD Current		Total	n
	Yes	No		Yes	No		
Tortured/Activist	34.6	65.4	100.0	23.1	76.9	100.0	26
Tortured/ Non-Activist	44.0	56.0	100.0	28.0	72.0	100.0	25

People who had been diagnosed with PTSD during their lifetimes had significantly higher numbers of fire content included in their protocols. According to the results experiencing elevated affective experiences is a significant predictor of being diagnosed with PTSD during lifetime. Since lifetime PTSD found to create significant difference only on one variable no logistic regression analyses was carried out.

Current PTSD diagnosis created significant differences on five Rorschach variables. Two of these variables belong to the affective domain. One of them is CF, the color responses that include form and represent more labile affect ($F(1, 51) = 3.92, p = .053$) and the other one is FC, the color

responses in which the form depicted dominantly and points to more control over emotions ($F(1, 51)= 5.36, p < .05$). People who are currently diagnosed with PTSD have higher scores of these two variables (one is marginally significant). The other two variable that is significantly differed between the groups are belong to contents. One of them is including scientific content (Sc) to the responses, people who currently hold a PTSD diagnosis included more science content in their protocols than the non-PTSD's, $F(1, 51)= 13.02, p < .01$. This content is associated with more mechanical concepts and this may be seen as a part of numbing experience which is highly seen in PTSD patients. The other content that is more included in the people who have PTSD diagnosis currently is the sex content (Sx), $F(1, 51)= 5.19, p < .05$. This content is associated with sexual behavior and this effect may be due to the trauma's disruptive nature over sexual relationships. The last Rorschach variable that differ amongs the ones that hold a PTSD diagnosis currently or not is the deviant response (DR1) variable which is an unusual way of verbalizing the concept and represents cognitive errors. According to the univariate analysis, people who currently diagnosed with PTSD tend to engage in more cognitive errors than the others, $F(1, 51)= 5.66, p < .05$.

After finding the Rorschach variables that have some kind of close relationship with current PTSD diagnosis, to see when they are all together which variables significantly predict the diagnosis a bivariate logistic regression analysis was carried out. Individuals who are currently diagnosed with PTSD

are designated as 1 whereas the others were designated as 0. When a stepwise logistic regression analysis was carried out only the science content variable has entered to the function, $b = .740$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 7.64$, $p < .01$ (See Table 17).

Table 17.

Variables included in the binary logistic regression analysis for current PTSD diagnosis.

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	p	Exp(B)
Sc	.74	.27	7.64	1	.006	2.09
(Constant)	-2.32	.61	14.66	1	.000	.10

According to the findings, one unit of increase in the science content would increase the odds of having a PTSD diagnosis currently by 2.10. But to keep in mind that the sample size for this analysis was fairly low, only thirteen people hold current PTSD diagnosis. This fact probably affected our findings. Also when we look at the classification table, we can see that overall model can predict the whole picture 80.4% but for the PTSD diagnosis group the model correctly identified only the 30.8% of the cases.

4. Discussion

This study is important in the sense that it is one of the first controlled studies which investigates the psychological profiles of torture survivors via Rorschach Inkblot Test. It is also important since it takes into account a subjective criterion, political activism, while investigating the profiles. The main aim of this study was to illustrate the general profile for tortured individuals, politically active people, the interactions between these two and give an idea about psychological statuses and demographic characteristics of these people. All of these expectations were met and the implications will be discussed in the following section.

To start with, being tortured created many differences in terms of psychological profile as it is depicted by Rorschach Inkblot Test. First of all, it created some differences in terms of the contents of the protocols. The tortured individuals included more blood content to their expressions than the non-tortured ones. This may be related to emotion regulation problems or it may portray a scene from the traumatic experience and be related with the re-

experiencing the incidence. For instance one participant used blood content in the following sentence; "*..And blood spurts out upwards, from their noses or mouths. Also from their feet...*". This sentence reminds us a torture scene and this scene may be regenerated when the subject saw an ambiguous content which reminded them blood. Inclusion of high numbers of blood content is also found to be significant in other researches that were done with war veterans (e.g. van der Kolk & Ducey, 1989; Levin 1993). Another content which was significantly more included by the tortured individuals was the cloud content. Even though this was a marginally significant finding, it is interesting in the sense that no study dealing with trauma and Rorschach had found a difference of cloud content to our knowledge. The more frequent use of this content for the tortured group may be due to the isolation or the depressive tendencies of these participants. This tendency on the other hand may also be related to the dissociation that is highly seen with the traumatized individuals (van der Kolk, et al. 1996). But since there is no study showing this specific Rorschach variable to better understand the relationship this variable should be further studied within trauma populations.

The relationship between the traumatic history and aggressive behavior (e.g. Cerney, 1990) or oppositionality which is a well-established finding especially with traumatized children (e.g. Knezevic & Ovesnik, 2002) is well depicted in the literature. One of the findings of this study also showed that the tortured group showed significantly higher levels of oppositionality (more

white space responses). This oppositionality includes aggressive feelings, doing the opposite of what has been said or engaging in frequent disagreements with others. This finding may be related with the increased emotion dysregulation of the tortured subjects. For the tortured individuals, oppositionality may be a way to regulate emotions, by projecting the negative emotions to the others it might be easier to deal with these negative affect. Additionally the results showed that tortured individuals have less inhibition of affect (less C') scores than the non-tortured ones. It may represent when any kind of adverse affect has aroused like anger or oppositionality it is not easy for the tortured individuals to effectively regulate them. This finding shows similarity with the literature since affect dysregulation found to be an important characteristic for the traumatized individuals and might represent an adaptation to the trauma (van der Kolk et al., 1996). But to better understand this variable the whole picture in terms of affect should be investigated case by case. Also the results showed that the tortured group lost their ability to evaluate the reality or reason while the aggressive affect is occurred more frequently than the non-tortured ones (higher S-%). So when they face with anger it may be possible that they may engage in decisions that are irrational or different from the norm.

This study also showed that being tortured created differences in terms of the cognitive functions. One example of this was the inability to think rationally when an aggressive feeling has arrived as it was mentioned above. Another finding shows that tortured subjects tend to choose the easier way

while processing the stimuli which means they focus on more general parts of the Rorschach cards which can be seen easily (more D responses). Also it has found that for the tortured group, active problem solving or thinking seem to be higher than the non-tortured one. But to interpret these results healthier we should know the ratio between the active and passive movements. This cognitive activation may be something related with the traumatic experience and in the extreme cases it might show a kind of manic and defensive tendency. This is why it is important to look closer to the values. Another difference that is in the cognitive sphere, is related with how ordinary the individuals perceive the stimuli. According to the findings, tortured individuals generate less ordinary responses than the non-tortured ones. This may be interpreted as somewhat different style of perception than the norm.

The tortured participants seem to have more Morbid (MOR) responses in their protocols. These responses represent two things; first it shows a pessimistic tendency in terms of thinking. Additionally, including more morbid responses show something about how the person views himself. According to this finding, tortured individuals view themselves as being wounded or injured to a greater degree. All in all, morbid content represents a depressive feeling towards the world and one's own self. Literature shows that elevated numbers of morbid responses can be seen with traumatized populations especially with the sexual abuse cases (Breedy & Lorena, 1995; Shapiro, Leifer, Martone, & Kassem, 1990). Torture and sexual abuse are both directed to the body and the

similarity of the findings may also be due to this specific characteristic of the traumatic incidence.

This study's findings also showed that torture experience creates differences in terms of how people view themselves and others. One important difference was how tortured people tend to view themselves as more injured as it is mentioned above. Also the results showed that not only tortured people view themselves more adversely but they also have more tendencies to focus on themselves compared to non-tortured group (higher Egocentricity Index). This finding was also evident in the literature (van der Kolk & Ducey, 1989).

Also the relational world is damaged with the torture experience. Findings showed that tortured individuals had worse representations of others, meaning they view others more negatively, hostile or malicious. It would give more insight to check when these negative representations occur in terms of the relational world. For instance these responses may occur when the oppositionality feelings or when the injured sense of self have occurred. Additionally, tortured group give more reference to their own lives in their responses (more PER scores) than the non-tortured group. This situation may be a way of overcoming insufficiency feelings by using their knowledge or may be an attitude which represents that they know everything, or in some other cases increase in this criterion may show a powerful need to share one's own experience.

To sum up findings show that people who are tortured represents a profile who has emotional instabilities, problems with repressing and regulating emotions, specifically engaging in more aggressive emotions and oppositionality feelings and when these feelings come into the picture may lose the ability to evaluate the reality. These people also have a tendency to evaluate and see the incidences different from the others and think more pessimistically. Also they tend to focus on the larger picture which is easier to perceive and do not focus on the whole or the little details. Tortured people seem to have higher activation levels both cognitively and affectively and this may be thought as a coping mechanism. In terms of the relational world they have negative representations of others. They have a high tendency to focus on themselves but they view themselves as injured or wounded, and when they feel inadequate they tend to overcome these feelings by subordinating the others by their knowledge. When we think that during the torture experience people lose their full control over anything about their body, trying to take things under control and need to dominate over the situations may seem reasonable.

Findings of this thesis study show some similarities and differences with the current literature investigating traces of trauma with Rorschach Inkblot Test. To start with the similarities studies with the trauma populations showed increased levels of aggressiveness and oppositionality (Cerney, 1990; Knezevic & Ovesnik, 2002). This is also evident in our study. Similarities are also seen in terms of the included contents. Blood content found to be evident in other

studies with the trauma survivors like in our study (van der Kolk & Ducey, 1989; Levin 1993). Another similarity was in terms of the cognitive area. Many other studies found problems with the thought processes, cognitive errors or sometimes problems with the reality testing like in our study (Ephraim, 2002; Hartman et. al, 1990). When we come to the differences, one important mostly encountered finding was the elevated levels of limited affect (Afr) (see Armstrong & Kaser-Boyd, 2004; Swanson, Blount & Bruno, 1990) but in this thesis study there was no significant increase for this Rorschach variable. Another difference from the literature was about the number and quality of responses that were generated. Some studies found lower Lambda scores (Hartman et. al, 1990) which represents more defensive attitude towards the test or more constricted content (Cerney, 1990) but in this thesis study there was no such finding. Additionally other studies found over concern with the body and feelings of vulnerability (variables Xy, An) with the traumatized populations (Breedy & Lorena, 1995) but in our study these were also not significantly higher for the torture group. Different than this, we have found that tortured individuals are more concerned with themselves (Egocentricity Index) than the non-tortured individuals. These differences may be due to the nature of trauma, for instance sexual abuse survivors might be more concerned with his/her body but a torture survivor might be more concerned with himself/herself intellectually.

Since the trauma population in focus in this thesis study is torture survivors it would be helpful to compare and contrast findings with torture survivor and Rorschach. Only one study directly investigated the relationship between torture and Rorschach to our knowledge. In that study Ephraim (2002) found that people tortured individuals experienced differences in interpersonal relationships, problems with the regulation of affect, differences in view of self and experienced re-experiencing of traumatic memories frequently. Having a controlled study with non-tortured groups in this thesis study similar findings were found and extended the scope by investigating the impact of political activism as well.

Being politically active found to have important main and interaction effects on many Rorschach variables. First of all, politically active individuals tend to have more interest in themselves. Sum V indicates a negative view of one's own self and more critical introspection. On the other hand FD represents a healthier introspection, a level of self-awareness and an objective look. Since both of these variables are significantly increased with the political activism status it can be inferred that activists tend to be more concerned with themselves with a greater capacity for introspection and also tendency to feel self-critical. To better understand the profiles, all of the self-perception domain should be taken into the account.

The results from the study show that activism creates differences in cognitive functioning as well. To start with, political activists have higher

tendencies to intellectualize. This aptitude generally is defensive and protects the one to get engage with his/her emotions. To start with, politically active people tend to include more human experience content than the others (more Hx content in their protocols). Human experience (Hx) content is coded when the subject included a human emotion in his/her inquiry, such as “a sad man sitting on a chair” or “a crying flower”. Hx variable represents abstraction tendencies and expressing elevated emotions via intellectualization. Also in our study, tendency to do abstraction was also significantly higher for the politically active people. One example of this may be; “*It symbolizes the two parts of the sky that are trying to reach each other.*”. Abstraction is seen a part of intellectualization in Rorschach. This finding matches the literature about political activism as well. For instance as it was reported one of the first studies done with politically active students and their parents have found that one characteristic that the children and parents share is the tendency to intellectualize (Flacks, 1967). Similarly, Stern and Rhoads (1980) found in their case study that politically active people frequently engage in using intellectualizing defenses.

Another cognitive pattern that we see in politically active people is the higher levels of INCOM-2 category, which represents making irrelevant connections between two or more concepts and making judgmental errors. Even though this criterion sometimes can be overly inferred and represented like something that shows psychotic tendencies, it may also show politically active

people's tendency to think somewhat marginally and being unable to control cognitive impulses. Or sometimes, it may also be related with the creativity. This finding also seems reasonable when we think that for any kind of activism to occur creative thinking abilities are needed.

The last important difference found between politically activist and non-activist people is the amount of inclusion of clothing content to their protocols. In this study, it has found that politically active people include more clothing content to their expressions. Clothing content represents a paranoid tendency, a need for hiding or distrust towards other people. Example content from a tortured political activist is "*Two people agreed upon to make malice. They have masks on their faces...*". From this sentence we can see how the mask stands for something that covers up the possible threat. When we think of our subjects and the period that they were politically active 1970s and 1980s their concern for safety makes sense.

The political activist profile according to the study's findings represents individuals who are highly occupied with themselves, have capacity for insight but also dealing with feelings of guilt or worthlessness at the same time. The political activists have a tendency to deal with these intense affect mostly by looking from some distance with the help of intellectualization or abstraction. This political activist can not manage his/her cognitive impulses and sometimes form loose or authentic connections between the concepts. Additionally this political activist deals with insecurity feelings in the relationships. The

intellectualization defense is a highly used coping mechanism which belongs to this sub-culture.

Findings revealed many significant interactions in terms of the torture and political activism status. To start with, a significant interaction is seen in Animal content which represents impulsivity or immaturity. According to this interaction the non-activists face a significant decrease in this content whereas there won't be any significant difference for the political activist group. The interesting thing in this finding is the status of non-tortured and non-activist group, they seemed to have elevated number of animal responses even when it is compared with the normal population. This may be due to our sample characteristics, this group includes the highest number of unemployed individuals and additionally their ages are fairly younger. Also, torture experience is a life changing traumatic incidence. When the non-political group have not have experienced this kind of massive incidence, they would probably be unaware of the painful facts of the world and may have a more childish stance. But with the torture experience these individuals may lose their immature side and face with the realities of the life. This interaction may be a product of the combinations of these.

Another interaction can be seen in terms of the fire content. This might make us think repressed aggression or emotional hardships. Or these may be symbolic representations of torture experience. According to the interaction the non-activist group faces with these internal anger and severe affective state

more than the activist group after the torture incidence. This may be related with the emotional activation of people. Ganellen, Wasyliw, Haywood, and Grossman (1996) argued that people who kind of “fake” their pathologies with a conscious or unconscious desire to avoid obligations have significantly higher levels of the concept they termed “*dramatic responses*” in their Rorschach responses. This dramatic response category also included fire content. Significant increase in this content for non-political individuals may be interpreted taking this finding into account. Non-political individuals who did not expected this kind of attitude in any ways, might have a higher need to be taken care by the others and this might led them to create “fake” disturbances more than the political activists. This does not mean that they do not experience any disturbance and fake everything, rather it might mean that they try to get care and support by dramatizing their struggles. This may be due to the fact that the non-activist group is “immune” to the probability of torture compared to the activists. Experiencing torture might cause more intense activation in their internal words and create aggressive emotions and emotion dysregulation.

Another interaction according to the findings is in terms of the Nature content, which represents a tendency for isolation. For the activist group significant increase in this content is seen after the torture incidence whereas it is decreased for the non-political group. This situation may suggest that to deal with the elevated affects that was mentioned for the tortured non-activist group individuals may turn into the social relationships. But the activist group,

oppositely, isolates themselves and copes with this situation individually even though they seemed to have tight social relationships, groups before the torture experience. This interaction shows us that the politically non-active but tortured individuals approach to social relationships more than the activist group; but another significant interaction shows the quality of those relationships.

According to the interaction finding in terms of the Aggressive content, for the non-activist group aggression content significantly increases with the torture experience whereas a slight decrease occurs in the politically active group. We may infer that, even though the non-activists seem to engage in more relationships after the torture they see aggression in these relationships or they may actively engage in aggressive behavior in their relationships. This finding seems to be in line with the increased Fire variable finding which was discussed above both shows that the internal activation increases with the torture experience for non-activist group.

Another interaction occurs on a more cognitive criterion, Mp which represents the passive human movements. This ability seems to significantly decrease for the political activists whereas it slightly increases for the non-political group with the torture. This may suggest us that the politically active people tend to engage in more active thinking and problem solving methods than the non-activist group with the traumatic experience. This may represent an active way of coping mechanism for the politically active group. On the other hand an interaction effect was found on how adaptively the cognitive

resources are used while evaluating relationships (M-) and it is found that politically non-active group gets worse in this ability after the torture incidence.

The last interactions occur in the control and stress tolerance characteristics of the participants. Significant interactions were found in three variables of the control and stress tolerance, D Score, Adj D Score and CDI. For all of these variables the lowest functioning group in terms of their ability to cope with stress is the non-tortured and non-activist group. This finding may seem surprising while with the previous research (Paker, 2000) we know that the tortured non-activist group would have most difficulties. In this study there is a high probability that these interaction effects occurred because of the characteristics of non-tortured and non-political group. When we analyze our non-political, non-activist group; we see that they mostly belonged to the middle class, most of them completed their high-school educations and the majority has a Turkish ethnicity. Another characteristic that may be important is the fact that group has the highest number of unemployed participants in that group. So they mostly do have few financial or intellectual resources. Another finding previously mentioned is that this group has increased levels of animal content of this group which represented a kind of immaturity. They also have the lowest means for cognitive and affective resources to cope. To repeat what was said earlier, D score and adjusted D score are composite scores which shows how the current resources meet the stressful situations that the person faced with. It can be hypothesized that people in this group might experience

problems that they can not solve by themselves because of their immaturities and probably they do not have many resources to help them.

To summarize, mentioned interactions above shows us that, after the torture incidence a cognitive activation occurs for the political activists which might help them to cope more effectively with difficulties of this experience. But even though they had higher cognitive activation and more adaptive coping mechanisms they seem to socially isolate themselves and move away from the relational world. On the other hand individuals who are not politically active but tortured showed a different pattern after the incidence. It seems like these people also have an increased level of activation but this activation is emotional more than cognitive. With a striking painful traumatic experience like trauma they might become more mature or lose their childish sides. They do not seem to socially isolate themselves so they continue to have relationships but they seem to see aggression in the relational world. According to the interaction effects tortured non-activists are either see aggressive patterns in the relationships or they do personally engage in aggression. This is meaningful since the tortured people who do not have any political involvement use their cognitive resources not in line with reality and seem to lose their connection with reality while evaluating the relationships.

Also the univariate effects of torture and political activism status was looked at. According to these findings activism did not created any significant difference in terms of psychopathology scores but being tortured created a

significant increase in terms of the anxiety index. The finding from Rorschach analysis which showed increased activation both cognitively and affectively may also be pointing to these increased levels of anxiety. An interesting finding which matches the previous study (Paker, 2000) is the fact that for all of these psychopathology indexes torture and political activism has a significant interaction. While we see little changes in the psychological statuses of political activists after the torture incidence (except for anxiety index), for the non-political group torture experience creates a significant increase in the psychopathology scores. As Paker (2000) mentioned in his study, being a political activist helps people to give meaning to the torture experience since it is something they would predict beforehand. But on the other hand, people who do not have any political involvement but put in jail for any kind of unrelated reason and objected to torture would have many difficulties to understand why those people did these to him or her. And due to the subjective meaning associated with political activism, it would be easier for politically active people to cope with the all kinds of consequences of torture incidence whereas the non-activists do not have any medium to do that, in general.

Another analysis was done to see the predictive power of Rorschach variables in terms of the PTSD diagnosis. Before this analysis was done to better understand psychological profiles, index scores of individuals who belongs to four different groups were compared. According to the results four groups significantly differed in terms of anxiety and the general

psychopathology index. In terms of anxiety index both tortured activists and non-activists had significantly higher levels of anxiety scores. Additionally in terms of general psychopathology, tortured non-activists had slightly higher levels of scores than the tortured political activists. For all of the psychopathology indexes even though there was not a significant difference for some the lowest psychopathology scores belonged to the non-tortured, non-activists whereas the highest ones belonged to the tortured non-activists. This finding matches the pioneer study of this thesis (Paker, 2000). But in that study different from this study significant differences found for all of the four psychopathology indices. The difference between the two studies may be due to the small sample sizes of this study's groups.

About the predictive power of Rorschach variables on PTSD diagnosis, only one Rorschach variable, fire content found to have a significant relationship with being diagnosed with PTSD in the lifetime. This finding suggests that people with PTSD history frequently experience increased affective states. In terms of the current PTSD diagnosis, using color determinants which are the variables associated with affect again, science content, sex content and giving deviant responses that do not match with the norms found to be significantly affected. Sex content was found to be significantly higher with traumatized populations in other studies as well (e.i. Levin, 2003), problems with affect and regulation was also well established (considering Fi, CF, FC variables) (e.i., van der Kolk et al., 1996) and also

cognitive impairments due to trauma has been found in previous studies (Danckwerts, & Leathem, 2003). When these variables analyzed in terms of their predictive powers on current PTSD diagnosis only one variable found to have a predictive effect and that is the science content. The explanatory characteristics of this function were fairly low due to the decreased number of individuals who hold current PTSD diagnosis. But this content might signify a tendency to pull oneself back from the world of relationships to a mechanical world or may represent a tendency to alienation. With these in mind science content might be representative of schizoid inclination. This content, to our knowledge did not occur in any other studies that look at the relationship of Rorschach and trauma like the other variables. One study that was done with people with history of sexual abuse predicted that science content would have been unrelated with the trauma history and they proved this prediction (Kamphuis, Kugeares, & Finn, 2000). So, this study suggests a contradictory finding with our study. But one difference between the two studies is that in their study none of the subjects have met any kinds of DSM diagnosis whereas in our study we found that it is predicting a DSM diagnosis. Having a sexual abuse history does not directly mean that person would have developed a PTSD diagnosis. Additionally in their sample non-dissociative patients were included this also might be related with the differences between the findings.

There are several strengths of this study. To start with, this study is one of the first controlled studies that have been carried out with the torture

survivors which investigate their psychological profiles via Rorschach Inkblot Test. Another important element of this study is the fact that it takes into account a subjective property of the subjects, political activism.

Apart from its strengths, this study has some limitations as well. To start with, even though it started with a larger sample size due to elimination of some subjects sample size is small for each group. Also for the tortured group the range which represents the time passed after the traumatic experience and the study is carried varied from two months to one hundred and eighty five months. Taking the number of years passed from the incidence may have created different profiles but for the scope of this study it is omitted.

Another thing which would be probably important but omitted in this study is the content analysis of the protocols. Rorschach Inkblot Test offers an prosperous amount of verbal data in addition to the Exner System's numerical data. Analyzing each verbal response of the participant one by one and having an idea about how they formulate the inquiry and their stories about what they see in the cards may have helped us to understand hidden but important themes for that person or maybe the defenses. Additionally, interpreting some codings in Rorschach would have been more meaningful when taking the content into account. For instance, the white space criteria (S) which represents a tendency for oppositionality which was significantly higher for the tortured individuals in our sample would be an example for this. Looking into the content would propose us an insight about the incidences in which the specific participant

would engage in oppositionality. To exemplify, for one participant this aggressive feelings may arise when a specific emotion is communicated or a specific theme about relational world is emerged. Having a chance to look into content would give more idea about these specific incidences but for the scope of this study it is omitted.

The overall findings of this study suggest that Rorschach Inkblot Test may be used as a practical medium in studying traumatic experiences. This test takes the researchers beyond the numerical nature of other trauma assessing instruments and helps them to gain insight about the psychological structures of the individuals. Further research should use this medium with different populations and different kinds of traumatic experiences. Because of the nature of the trauma it is not possible and more importantly ethical to do a before and after study for the traumatic experiences. But maybe for some special situations exploratory studies may be carried out with using Rorschach with extra concern for the ethical boundaries. The mandatory military service for male Turkish Republic citizens which might be viewed as somewhat traumatizing may be an example for this. Applying Rorschach before and after the service might help psychotraumatology researchers to understand which components of psychological structures of people may be affected by the traumatic experiences.

Another important thing to mention is the fact that the accumulated literature about Rorschach findings about trauma is dominantly made out of

Vietnam War Veterans. There are also some studies with sexual abuse but very few studies with other types of trauma. Since we theorize that the subjective meaning has an important role in experiencing traumatic symptoms we can assume that being in a war like Vietnam and being objected to torture in your own country would not have the same meanings. This means, reaching different findings seem reasonable considering the different nature of traumatic experiences. Two studies who are examining the similar trauma topics and populations would never be identical like two people who experienced the same event would never be identical.

In this study it was found that Rorschach content variables played many significant roles both portraying the profiles of people with history of torture, politically active people and psychopathological status. Content variables might have manifest meanings which reminded participants something about their traumatic experiences (like *blood* for torture or *sex* content for abuse) but at the same time they may have latent, underlying meanings (like *clothing* content represents the feelings of insecurity). And these manifest and latent meanings may change according to the different types of traumatic experiences. Further studies should investigate these content variables more like the other main domains. Additionally, further studies should include analysis with the verbal content of Rorschach Inkblot Test.

All in all, like in many studies that is done with trauma survivors it is important to take these empirical findings, realize the importance of exposing to these life changing traumatic events and transform into an applicable practice to field while working with the trauma or more specifically torture survivors.

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APPENDIX

Torture types percentages (most common to least)

Torture Type	n	Percentage (N= 51)
Abusive language/insult	51	100.00
Extra vulgar/brutal behavior	49	96.08
Beatings (Body)	49	96.08
Beatings (Head)	47	92.16
Binding eyes	43	84.31
Death threats	41	80.39
Greater torture threats	40	78.43
Pulling hair	40	78.43
Forcing to stand up	40	78.43
Blocking one's personal clean-up	34	66.67
Sleep deprivation	34	66.67
Irregularities in torturers' behaviors	32	62.75
Witnessing torture	31	60.78
Threats to family	31	60.78
Electroshock	31	60.78
Nakedness	30	58.82
Hanging	29	56.86
Falanga	29	56.86
Electroshock (Fingers)	28	54.90
Medical care deprivations	27	52.94
Violation of privacy	27	52.94
Rape threat	26	50.98
Beatings (Genitals)	26	50.98
High volume music	25	49.02
Infected surrounding (louse)	24	47.06
Cold shower	24	47.06
Water deprivation	23	45.10
Isolation/Solitary confinement	23	45.10
Hitting outer ears with palms	23	45.10
Electroshock (Genitals)	23	45.10
Blocking urinating/defaecating	22	43.14
Extra cold or hot conditions	22	43.14
Food deprivation	20	39.22
Stroking genitals	20	39.22
Movement restraint	19	37.25
Forced stress positions	18	35.29
Mock execution	17	33.33

Torture Type (<i>cont.</i>)	n	Percentage (N= 51)
Electroshock (Nipples)	16	31.37
Suffocating/air deprivation	12	23.53
Electroshock (Ears)	12	23.53
Exposure to bright light	11	21.57
Burning	10	19.61
Electroshock (Tongue)	10	19.61
Throwing feces/urine	8	15.69
Drowning	8	15.69
Rack (scretching)	7	13.73
Needles under nails	6	11.76
Electroshock (Nose)	6	11.76
Rape threat	5	9.80
Electroshock (Teeth)	5	9.80
Bandaging	4	7.84
The Operating Theatre	4	7.84
Electroshock (Anus)	4	7.84
Electroshock (Others)	3	5.88
Oral medicine	1	1.96
Feces in the food	1	1.96
Electroshock (Eyes)	1	1.96