

A Cultural Psychiatric Study on Tattoos of Young Korean Males

Jong Ju Kim

In 2, 178 tattooed male conscripts in ages of 19-24 years, the most frequent tattoo was a heart mark or a mark of heart and arrow. The Chinese characters which mean "one mind," eagles, dragons, some of 12 zodiacal animals, flowers, and flowers and butterflies or birds were also frequent. The ten Korean symbols of long life and symbols which have been traditionally believed as having evil-repelling powers, for example, blue dragon or white tiger were also found. The frequency of images were different between the provinces with different historical and cultural backgrounds. Data was obtained through interviews with 781 tattooed males. Analysis of the data revealed the following. The prevalence of tattooing was 5.6%. The most prevailing motivation to having tattoos was a contemporary group craze or fashion. Of the 781 tattooed men, 62% had tattoos on their forearms, 34.2% had self-injured scars on their bodies, and 18.6% had criminal convictions. The results of MMPI showed high scores in items of psychopathic deviate and schizophrenia. This suggests that those with tattoos were impulsive, hostile and were prone to delinquent behavior.

These results indicate that selection of the image to be tattooed is heavily influenced by inner needs and the cultural background of individuals.

Key Words: Tattoo, Korean

Tattooing is older than written history. Tattoo marks have been found on Egyptian mummies dating from about 2000 B.C. Tattooing has been practiced in all quarters of the globe, but the highest form of the art was reached in the islands of the South Pacific and in Japan (Shie 1928).

Today, tattoos may be viewed as a means by which individuals express their life patterns and personalities. It can be said that tattoos express inner conflicts and satisfy inner needs of the tattooed. Tattooing can be evaluated as a social phenomenon. Tattooing also signifies deviation from the norms of our culture. It may be considered akin to a spontaneous projective test (Ferguson-Rayport

et al. 1955). Tattoos reiterate a primitive attitude as to their magical significance and can be viewed as representing symbolic aspects of the Korean people (Kim 1978).

Several studies indicate a relationship between tattooing and emotional malfunction. In particular, the use of multiple tattoos is indicative of abnormal personality (Ferguson-Rayport et al. 1955; Yamamoto et al. 1963; Gittleson et al. 1969; Gittleson and Wallen 1973). However, at the time when this study was planned, there had been little knowledge about Korean tattoos. Therefore, in this study, the author has attempted to evaluate the general psychiatric aspects of the tattooed, and especially the cultural influence on selection of the contents of tattoos.

METHOD

This study was undertaken during physical examination for military conscription from 1978 to 1981 in the four provinces of Kangwon-do, Chungchong-

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Department of Neuro-psychiatry, Incheon Christian Hospital, Incheon, Korea

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Address reprint requests to Dr. J J Kim, Director, Department of Neuro-psychiatry, Incheon Christian Hospital, Incheon Korea, 400-130

puk-do, Kyongsangpuk-do, and Chollapuk-do. Each province has a different historical background stemming from differences which existed in the three king-doms of ancient Korea, Koguryo, Shilla, and Paekje.

Two thousand one hundred and seventy-eight conscripts in ages of 19-24 years had various and numerous tattoos. The contents of the tattoos were categorized, analyzed and compared according to provinces. A group of 781 tattooed men from the Kangwon-do Province were interviewed on a semi-structured basis for information on the motivation for being tattooed, the tattooer, location of the tattoo on the body, and presence of a self injury scar. The criminal records of the tattooed were checked. The MMPI test was given to all who were tattooed.

RESULTS

Content Analysis of Tattoos

Of 2, 178 tattooed men, three categories could be found. These included marks, letters, pictures or a combination of these three.

Marks: Among all kinds of tattoos, the most frequent was the mark of a heart or heart and arrow found in 425 men (19.5%) (Table 1). The tattooed men called it "the mark of love" or "the expression of friendship." The next frequent mark was a skull and cross bone (2.3%). Thirty men had tattoos of

either the Korean national flag or the tai-chi tu emblem. In decreasing order a question mark (?), the Cross, and the emblem of anchor were the next frequent to be found.

Letters: Two hundred sixty-nine men (12.4%) had tattoos of two Chinese characters which mean one mind. It was the second frequently chosen tattoo. Two hundred seventeen men (10%) had tattoos of their own names or the names of friends or lovers in English, Chinese, or Korean language. Letters reflecting particular meaning of the patience in Korean culture were written on the skin of 203 men (9.3%). Korean or English letters with the meaning of love, and Chinese letters with the meaning of friendship were written respectively on the skins of 9.1%, and 7.3% of the tattooed men. Chinese letters of cultural significance such as the letters or symbols of one mind, the king, or the swastica were tattooed on the fingers and especially on the middle fingers. Such characters have simple strokes and are easily tattooed on fingers.

Words or sentences with four to seven Chinese characters were found on skin, for example, "faith should reign between friends", or "after a parent's death, it is too late for an undutiful son to regret it." In Korea, filial piety is required of dutiful sons and daughters.

Pictures: Of 199 kinds of pictures, animal pictures were most common. Tattoos of 72 different kinds of animals and 54 different kinds of plants were noted.

Table 1. Content of tattoos

1. Marks	Number (%)	3. Pictures (plants)	Number (%)
Heart, heart & arrow	425(19.5)	Rose	200(9.2)
Skull & cross bones	51(2.3)	The Rose of Sharon	38(1.7)
Tai-chi tu, national flag	30(1.4)	Apple	35(1.6)
Question mark (?)	29(1.3)	Bamboo	34(1.6)
Cross	25(1.1)	Peach	31(1.4)
Anchor	19(0.9)	Clover	21(1.0)
2. Letters	Number (%)	3. Pictures (animals)	Number (%)
One mind 一心	269(12.4)	Butterfly	126(5.8)
Names of self, friend, lover	217(10.0)	Dragon	110(5.1)
Patience 忍, 忍耐	203(9.3)	Serpent	91(4.2)
Love, 사랑	199(9.1)	Tiger	73(3.4)
Friendship 友, 友情	159(7.3)	Eagle	70(3.2)
Life 삶	83(3.8)	Spider	37(1.7)
Numerals	76(3.5)	Horse	17(0.8)
King 王	37(1.7)	Lion	13(0.6)
Hope, 希望	30(1.4)	Deer	11(0.5)

Twenty-seven men had tattooed pictures of a nude female human body.

In analyzing the tattoos of animal pictures, it was discovered that tattoos of birds were most common. Two hundred ninety-two men (13.4%) had tattoos of birds. Among bird tattoos, eagles were the most popular choice and were on 70 men (3.2%). Eagles were especially popular in the Chollapuk-do area where 20 men (5.6%) had them engraved on their skin. The next was the butterfly (5.8%). Butterfly tattoos were more common in the Chungchongpuk-do Province than in other provinces. The dragon was the third most frequently tattooed animal and was most tattooed in the Kyongsangpuk-do area. Serpents, tigers, and horses followed the dragon in frequency of occurrence. In Kyongsangpuk-do area, 2 men had horses tattooed on themselves similar to the white horse painting on the Chonmachong Tomb, an ancient king's

tomb.

Of plants that were tattooed on people, flowers (15.4%) and fruits (3.9%) were most common. Flowers in full bloom were frequently on the skin of the tattooed accompanied by several butterflies and birds. The rose was the most frequently chosen flower for tattoos and was found in 200 men (9.2%). The Rose of Sharon, the Korean national flower, was on 38 men, and the bamboo on 34 men. Other pictures such as landscapes were found on 213 men (9.8%).

Other findings: In one group of subjects, 12 zodiacal animals were used for tattoos in both forms of letters and pictures (Table 2). Of these the tiger, the dragon, and serpent were common, but the monkey and the cock were not found.

The frequencies of the kinds of tattoos were compared among three provinces with different historical backgrounds (Table 3). The meaning of this

Table 2. Distribution of the tattooed according to twelve zodiacal animals

Order	Twelve animals	Pertinent year	Tattooed No. (%)	Order	Twelve animals	Pertinent year	Tattooed No. (%)
1	Rat	1984	5(0.2)	7	Horse	1990	17(0.8)
2	Ox	1985	2(0.1)	8	Goat	1991	11(0.5)
3	Tiger	1986	73(3.4)	9	Monkey	1992	0
4	Rabbit	1987	4(0.2)	10	Cock	1993	0
5	Dragon	1988	110(5.1)	11	Dog	1994	6(0.3)
6	Serpent	1989	89(4.1)	12	Boar	1995	1(0.05)

Table 3. Idols on Korean ancient religion of the three kingdoms

Three Kingdoms	Worshipped gods	Idols	Kangwon	Chungchong	Kyongsang	Cholla
			No. (%)	No. (%)	No. (%)	No. (%)
Kokuryo	Gods of mountain & terrain	Serpent	31(4.0)	27(4.8)	19(4.0)	15(4.2)
		Tiger	28(3.6)	22(3.9)	16(3.4)	12(3.3)
		Pine tree	4(0.5)	2(0.4)	1(0.2)	1(0.3)
		Others (Bear, Lion, Goat, Various trees)				
Shilla	Heavenly gods	Dragon	33(4.2)	41(7.3)	42(8.8)	22(6.1)
		Sun, Moon, Star	40(5.1)	24(4.3)	20(4.2)	11(3.1)
		Swallow	6(0.8)	5(0.9)	2(0.4)	1(0.3)
		Others (Turtle, Fire)				
Paekje	(Sun god)	Deer	4(0.5)*	0	4(0.8)	3(0.8)
	Gods of parturition	Boar	0	1(0.2)	0	0
	Farm animals	Phallic symbol	0	0	0	0
		Horse	3(0.4)	4(0.7)	2(0.4)**	8(2.2)
		Ox	1(0.1)	0	1(0.2)	2(0.6)

* Deer becomes a god of mountain; ** Flying or heavenly horse

Table 4. Four evil-repelling protector symbols for 4 directions expressed on tattoos

Symbols	Direction	Letters	Pictures	Total
		No.	No.	No. (%)
Blue dragon	East	28	110	138(6.3)
White tiger	West	5	73	78(3.6)
Red phoenix	South	0	0	0
Black turtle	North	0	2	2(0.1)

Table 5. Motivation for being tattooed of 781 tattooed men

Motive	Number (%)
Contemporary group craze or fashion	116(14.9)
Reminiscence, promise for love or friendship	79(10.1)
Creed or goal of life, regret	54(6.9)
Out of curiosity	33(4.2)
Masculinity, toughness, heroic spirit	26(3.3)
Decoration, for show	25(3.2)
Others	103(13.2)
Unable to remember	345(44.2)

difference will be analyzed in the discussion. Table 4 shows the comparison between symbols which have traditional evil repelling powers.

Analysis of 781 Tattooed Men

Except for one case of a multi-colored tiger tattoo, all of the tattoos were of a monochromatic color. The prevalence of tattooing in some areas of Kangwon-do Province was 5.6% of the male population. Seventy-four percent of men with tattoos received their first tattoo between the ages of 16 and 19.

Motivation for being tattooed (Table 5): Most men reported that they couldn't remember the motive behind receiving tattoos and they seemed to ignore the problems created by having tattoos.

But 116 men (14.9%) were conforming to a contemporary group craze or fashion. Seventy-nine men were tattooed in reminiscence of a past love or for the promise of love or friendship. In only case, the motivation was talismanic protection against skin disease.

Tattooer (Table 6): In examining interpersonal relationship between the tattooed and the tattooer, it was discovered that 360 men (46.1%) received tattoos from friends such as old playmates, alumni, or co-workers. Another 92 men (11.8%) received tattoos from fellow criminals in the same prison. Nine-

Table 6. Tattooer, relationship with 781 tattooed men

Tattooer	Number (%)
Self	310 (39.7)
Friends	360 (46.1)
co-workers	140
old playmates	111
alumni	79
seniors	30
Siblings or relatives	19 (2.4)
Criminals in the same prison	92 (11.8)
Total	781 (100.0)

teen men were siblings or relatives to the tattooer. But about 40% of tattooed men performed the painful self-mutilating rite without any influence of group pressure.

Sites of body used for tattooing (Table 7): Tattoos were inscribed most frequently on the left arm, especially on the forearm (62%). On the fingers of 27 men, simple characters such as a king, swastika, or emblems of heart were tattooed. Although small numbers of tattooed men had tattoos on their back and anterior chest (5%), their tattoos were more detail and grotesque.

Table 7. Sites of body used for tattooing of 781 tattooed men

Site	Number (%)	Site	Number (%)
Left forearm	484(62.0)	Right forearm	119(15.2)
Left upper arm	142(18.2)	Right upper arm	53(6.8)
Left hand	32(4.1)	Right hand	4(0.5)
Left fingers	27(3.5)	Right fingers	9(1.2)
Chest, abdomen	44(5.6)	Thighs, legs	17(2.2)

Table 8. Frequency of self-injury and criminal conviction

	Tattooed (N=781)	Nontattooed (N=253)
	Number (%)	Number (%)
Self-injury	267(34.2)	8(3.2)
Criminal conviction	145(18.6)	1(0.4)

* p<0.001

Table 9. Comparison of MMPI for tattooed with control

Scale	Tattooed (N=212) Mean ± S.D.	Control (N=212) Mean ± S.D.	p
L	53.1 ± 11.22	54.3 ± 9.35	ns
F	57.8 ± 14.89	52.5 ± 13.87	***
K	52.7 ± 11.91	54.4 ± 10.79	ns
Hs	56.2 ± 12.73	53.6 ± 12.42	*
D	51.2 ± 9.12	49.2 ± 10.72	*
Hy	55.2 ± 11.40	52.5 ± 12.14	*
Pd	58.6 ± 10.93	53.5 ± 10.70	***
Mf	50.0 ± 8.60	49.2 ± 9.24	ns
Pa	54.0 ± 12.39	50.4 ± 11.00	**
Pt	56.1 ± 10.50	52.8 ± 11.35	**
Sc	58.1 ± 13.62	53.3 ± 13.36	***
Ma	54.5 ± 10.68	51.4 ± 10.14	**
Si	51.8 ± 10.12	49.9 ± 10.90	*

ns: nonsignificant; * p<0.05; **p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Self-injury and criminal conviction (Table 8): Two hundred sixty-seven tattooed men (34.2%) had self-injured scars on their forearms and abdominal walls. And 145 men (18.6%) had the history of criminal convictions. Compared with the non-tattooed, the rates of self-injured scars and criminal convictions were significantly higher in the tattooed.

MMPI test: Administration Of the MMPI test was performed in Kangwon-do Province. Four hundred twenty-four men took the test. Half of those taking the test had tattoos and the other half did not. Average scores on the respective scales of the

MMPI were obtained and compared. Except for the masculine-feminine(Mf) scale, all of the clinical scales of the tattooed were significantly higher than those without tattoos based on the t-test (Table 9). In particular, scores on the psychopathic deviate (Pd) and schizophrenic (Sc) scales were significantly higher in the tattooed group.

DISCUSSION

In this study, it was found that tattooing is practiced in the late teens under the influence of group

pressure. The prevalence (5.6%) in this study was not higher than those from other reports. In a review by Gittleson and Wallen (1973), the incidence of tattooing was 9 percent in a series of autopsies for the Chicago Coroner, 38% in English Approved School boys aged 15-19 years, and 33% for a similar Australian group. Yamamoto *et al.* (1963) studied the male population of a general hospital in North America and found that 15% were tattooed. Per Bashir's report (1976) on tattooing in Southern Iraq, revealed almost 90% of the population had been tattooed on various parts of the body for cosmetic or therapeutic reasons. Recently in Korea, tattooing has become popular for cosmetic reasons, and in only one case, the motivation of being tattooed was the talismanic protection against skin disease.

In this study a heart or a heart and arrow was the most frequent choice of tattoos. Generally speaking in Korea, tattooing seemed to come from foreign countries, and also the choice of tattoos were under foreign influences. It can be said that the mark of love, a heart or a heart and arrow tattoo is chosen under foreign influences. For example, Cupid of the Roman myth was called the mark of love. Historically it is very surprising that heart-shaped spangles of gold earrings of the queen were found in the tomb of King Munyong, in Paekje, one of the three kingdoms of ancient Korea (Korean Overseas Information Service 1983).

Among letter tattoos, two Chinese characters with the meaning of one mind were the most common. According to the tattooed's interpretation, the meaning of one mind symbolizes faith with friends and lovers, group loyalty, and whole-hearted devotion to success. In Mahayana Buddhism, the concept of one mind expresses the essential nature of the mind. The term "one" is used in the sense of one without any second and not in the sense of one among many (Hakeda 1967). Similarly it can be said that by having their own names and names of friends or lovers tattooed on their skins, the tattooed swear their constant love to lovers and show their sincere friendship to friends. In this study, the tattoos also help men to establish their own identity. Those receiving the tattoos meaning patience had the need to control their impulse and to endure their lower socioeconomic status.

Some of the tattooed men had the tai-chi tu emblem or the Korean national flag. Tai-chi tu means the great map of the poles (Arnheim 1966). It is the emblem of positive and negative, or the yin and yang principle. The tai-chi tu emblem is also called the diagram of supreme ultimate, and is adorned on

the famous Korean fan and The Republic of Korea flag.

The dragon was the third most frequently tattooed animal and was most tattooed in the Kyongsangbuk-do area. That province had been the territory of Shilla, one of three kingdoms of ancient Korea, and her people had worshiped the dragon as one of the heavenly gods (Park 1975). And also in that area, the horse was referred to as the heavenly horse (Covell 1983). However in other areas, such as the agricultural Chollapuk-do area, the horse was merely regarded as a farm animal. Eagles were especially popular in Chollapuk-do area. The wish of the tattooed men to be tough and masculine seems to make the eagle a popular choice since the eagle reflects these qualities. However, it is difficult to draw a conclusion from this data on difference in tattooing according to the provinces with different historical backgrounds.

It is very interesting to note that the animals chosen for tattoos are frequently one of the twelve zodiacal animals. All zodiacal animals were used for tattoos except for the monkey and the cock. Of these, the tiger, the dragon, and the serpent were the most common. In Korea, every year represents one of the 12 animals. For example, 1984 was the year of the rat and the first year of the new twelve-year cycle. Nineteen eighty six was the year of the tiger, 1988 was the year of the dragon, and 1990 was the year of the horse. Most Korean rural people believe that the zodiacal animal signs of a bride and a bridegroom should be harmonized.

In oriental paintings, flowers and a pair of birds are often one of the favorite themes (Kim 1983). This type of art is called Hwajo-do in Korea. The selection of flowers and birds for tattoos may indicate a feminine trend in the subject matter of tattoos. The rose was the more frequently chosen flower in the Chollapuk-do area than other provinces. The eagle followed the rose in this area. These findings seem to be contradictory, but it can be said that the feminine tattooed men struggle to get masculinity. It is the ambivalent attitude. Ferguson-Rayport *et al.* (1955) reported that the rose was associated with alcoholism.

The ten Korean symbols of longevity were also expressed as tattoos. Of the 10 longevity symbols, magic fungus symbol, sometimes called the herb of immortality, did not appear on the tattooed. However, nine other symbols were found as tattoos. These symbols are turtle (2 men), deer (11 men), crane (8 men), pine tree (4 men), sun (8 men), bamboo (34 men), rocks (3 men), water (16 men),

and clouds (31 men). Much of Korean art has the theme of longevity (Kim 1983; Covell 1983). For example, multi-panel folding screens are decorated with the ten symbols of longevity. In Korea's life style, the screens had the special role and functionally prevented a draught to those seated on the ondol floor. Every important occasion had its screen in front of which many different actions (Covell 1983).

Symbols which have traditional evil-repelling powers were also discovered as tattoos. Koreans have a series of protective symbols which dispel evil forces coming from any of the four cardinal points of the compass. The earliest art works which exemplify these beliefs date to the fourth century. However, Koreans still retain an interest in these four protectors. Even in the 1980s, such symbols as the blue dragon and the white tiger are considered important in keeping evil influences away from homes or grave sites and are found on the graves of former President Park and his wife (Covell 1983). The Korean Army and Marine Corps divisions have also adopted the dragon and the tiger as symbols. These particular divisions are strategically placed to protect South Korea, and in particular the city of Seoul, from communist North Korea. The dragon is an extremely important symbol in Korean culture. It adorned the costumes of the ancient kings and was also inscribed on the main seat for the king, which came to be known as the dragon seat. Many geographical names also refer to the dragon. For example, Dragon Mountain comes from the meaning of Yongasan. The Korean tiger, named Hodori, was also the mascot of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.

Evidently, national symbols are also popular choices for tattoos. The Rose of Sharon, as the Korean national flower, Tai-chi tu, as the emblem on the Republic of Korea flag, and tiger and dragon, as the historical symbols of Korea, have all been discussed.

The most frequent motive for tattoos, was known to be an impulse and the desire to be a member of a group (Yamamoto *et al.* 1963). This study suggests similar findings such as conforming to a contemporary group craze or fashion, reminiscence, and promise for love or friendship. These findings were very similar to that of Gittleson *et al.* (1969). Morgan (1974) said that the tattooed participated in the painful self-mutilating rite so as to be accepted by the group. These motives were correlative with the selected contents of the tattoo. But 44.2% in our group of the tattooed men were not able to remember the motives behind receiving tattoos. They

seem to consciously ignore, or unconsciously to deny or forget the problems created by having tattoos.

The sites of body used for tattooing were related with the attitude to the tattoos, or with the selected contents of tattoos. In this study, the tattooed attitudes to the tattoos could not be evaluated completely due to their evasiveness. The frequency of the tattooing sites was similar with other studies (Gittleson *et al.* 1969; Gittleson and Wallen 1973). They were left forearm and upper arm, right forearm and upper arm, both hands and fingers, and back and anterior chest. Considering order, most of these sites are visible when normal clothing is worn. Although most of the tattooed did not say to want their tattoos to be seen by others, they did want other people to see their tattoos. A small number of the tattooed men said that they had tattoos for decoration and for show (3.2%), and tough or heroic spirit and masculinity (3.3%). Gittleson *et al.* (1969) reported an interesting result that the tattoos of the personality disorder group were significantly more often visible than those of schizophrenics and other diagnoses.

The most frequent site of body for tattooing was left forearm and upper arm, which were sited easily reached by right-handed persons. Some engraved various tattoos on their own skins by themselves (39.7%). About 46% of the tattooed men mentioned groups of friends as the primary instigation. Only 5% of the tattooed men used their own back and chest as the site of body for tattooing, but their tattoos were usually broad and elaborate. Some of them had been tattooed by the criminals in the same prison (11.8%).

The criminal conviction rate of this study was lower than other reports in which 65.5% of the tattooed male patients were convicted at some time. (Yamamoto *et al.* 1963). Sixty percent of the tattooed psychiatric patients (Gittleson *et al.* 1969), 41% of the tattooed male patients (Gittleson and Wallen 1973), and 26% of the tattooed sailors of US Navy Submarine School (Earls and Hester 1967) were convicted at some time. However, unlike my study, these study groups were drawn from specific places, such as hospitals and the army, rather than from the general population. This conviction rate of 18.6% in this study cannot be seen as low. Also the self-injured multiple scars of the tattooed men seem to reveal the impulsive tendency to act out.

This tendency was confirmed by MMPI findings. On the basis of MMPI findings of 38 tattooed male patients, Yamamoto *et al.* (1963) reported that the

tattooed men had a significantly higher score on the Pd scale and a lower score on the Mf scale. He anticipated that the behavioral correlates of these scores would describe an individual who is quite impulsive and likely to act out, and one who aspires to be masculine. Mosher *et al.* (1967) tried to figure out the body image of tattooed prisoners through the personality measures. The results indicated that prisoners with tattoos felt more positively about their body, and had the exhibitionistic tendency and body narcissism. But in this study, the tattooed men had a significantly higher scores on all the clinical scales except for the Mf scale. Particularly the Pd and Sc scales were elevated on the tattooed men. Those with Pd-Sc high-point pairs are typically characterized by a chronic marginal schizoid adjustment disorder (Greene 1980). That is to say, they have difficulty with close emotional relationships, distrust others, and are socially withdrawn. Their angry and resentful qualities only serve to exacerbate their alienation from others. Their behavior is typically unpredictable and nonconforming at best. They frequently get into social and legal difficulties, and a history of criminal activity with numerous arrest is common. According to Welsh and Dahlstrom (1972), those with Pd-Sc profile are more hostile and aggressive, and have more conflicts in their homes. Especially those in puberty have the tendency to show delinquent behaviors. Gittleson and Wallen (1973) concluded that being tattooed was related to personality factors rather than overt mental illness.

All these results in this study are suggesting that tattooing is influenced by the psychological state of individuals and socio-cultural background.

CONCLUSION

During physical examination for conscription, 2,178 tattooed men were studied in four provinces over a period of four years. By analysis of individual's backgrounds, reasons for obtaining tattoos, MMPI scores, etc., the following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Tattooing is most common in group settings where there is a strong motivation to conform to contemporary group fashion.

2. The most common location of tattoos is the left forearm, where the site is easily reached by the right hand and is visible in normal clothing.

3. Some of the tattooed also have a history of criminal conviction and tattooed men have significantly higher scores on the psychopathic deviate and the schizophrenic scales of the MMPI test. This suggests that the tattooed tends to be impulsive and hostile.

4. Selection of the image to be tattooed is heavily influenced by the inner needs and the cultural backgrounds of individuals.

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