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著者	MATSUI HIROKO, HORIKE KAZUYA, OHASHI HIDESHI
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RORSCHACH RESPONSES OF OKINAWAN SHAMANS "YUTA"¹

By

HIROKO MATSUI (松井裕子)², KAZUYA HORIKE (堀毛一也)³

(Tohoku University)

(Morioka Junior College)

and HIDESHI OHASHI (大橋英寿)²,

(Tohoku University)

The Rorschach responses of 11 female *Ss* were used to investigate the personality of Okinawan shamans called "yuta". The responses were analyzed from three points of view: the scores, the contents, and the behavior during the administration. To speak roughly about the scores, they had a rather small number of responses, long R_1T , high $W\%$, few color responses, few responses in P , and rather many in At and Sex . As to the contents, it was remarkable that they frequently imagined *kami* (gods), the Creation, and the Okinawan historical things from the inkblots. Their "Rorschach behavior" were more impressive. They prayed to *kami* for permission to take the tests and also for giving them enough power to imagine. Those Rorschach responses indicate that they have the concept of *kami* as the frame for their cognition of the outside world and that the restriction by *kami* is very strong. Their concept of *kami* or the world view are naive and animistic, and seem to reflect Okinawan traditional culture.

INTRODUCTION

Yuta are Okinawan shamans. Either opposed to or compromising with the thought and technology that are regarded as rational and scientific, *yuta* are widely distributed still now and are performing their function, penetrating into Okinawan daily life. They are usually women, rarely men, and are equipped with the power of inspiration, who experience specific mental and physical disturbances called *kami-daari* (gods' retribution), initiate themselves through faith healing into *yuta*, and practice shamanism, divination, and healing. They inherit ancestor worship, and animistic beliefs or the traditional value system.

Ohashi and his co-workers noticed the role of *yuta* as a counselor adhered to the traditional value system, and were also interested in the fact that both *yuta* and their clients recovered from the disturbances through faith healing. Therefore, we have continued our field studies, choosing the northern Okinawa as the research area (Ohashi, 1976; Ohashi, 1977 a, b; Ohashi, 1978 a, b; Ohashi & Horike, 1978; Ohashi &

1. This research was supported in part by The Toyota Foundation #80-2-062.

2. Department of Psychology, Faculty of Arts and Letters, Tohoku University, Kawauchi, Sendai, 980 Japan.

3. Iwate Prefectural Morioka Junior College, 1-48, Sumiyoshi, Morioka, 020 Japan.

Horike, 1979 a, b; Ohashi et al., 1980; Ohashi & Matsui, 1980). In our studies, we have been trying, from the social psychological point of view, to elucidate the initiation process of *yuta*, the interactions of *yuta* with clients in *hanji* (the shaman session), and the process of clients' dependence on *yuta*.

As mentioned before, *yuta* experience mental and physical disturbances at one time during their initiation process. These *kami-daari* are usually classified into three kinds: *shippai*(failure)-*daari*, *karada*(physical)-*daari*, and *chimu*(mental)-*daari*. *Shippai-daari* means a run of failure and dullness in daily life, such as slumps in business and frequent changes of job. Consequently all *yuta* we interviewed and asked about the initiation process experienced poverty in common. *Karada-daari* means various physical disorders. The main syndrome is headache, general weakening, and lack of appetite. Additional symptoms, such as stomach-disorders, bleeding, skin-disorders, blindness, and difficulty in walking are also reported. Though the patients saw medical doctors and complained of these disorders, the doctors told these disorders were ill-defined, and some of the patients were even advised to go to *yuta* by the doctors. *Chimu-daari* means a variety of mental disorders. The syndrome is sleeplessness, dreamy state, visual and auditory hallucinations of *kami* or spirit, etc., and some were so deranged that they were called *furimun* (lunatic) by their neighbors. Although these *chimu-daari* showed a syndrome suspected of psychosis at that time, they were regarded as *kami-gutu* (possessed by gods) by people, and the patients themselves accepted her disorders as such. And then the disorders disappeared as they began their practice in order to be *yuta*, without any medical treatment of psychiatrists. Some symptoms were left even after that, but they could make them disappear in a short time by regarding the symptoms as *shirashi* (notifications) from *kami* and by behaving themselves to cope with them (for example, they offered a prayer, thinking that this curse had fallen on their clients' negligence in worshipping the ancestors).

As we were interested in their recovery mechanisms through the initiatory rites, it was necessary to investigate the personality of *yuta* in addition to our former studies. From this point of view, the best way is to make a longitudinal study of those *yuta* who are now in *kami-daari* by pursuing the whole process of their recovery through ritual practice. But it is virtually very difficult. In the present paper, we deal with the Rorschach responses of 11 *yuta* whom we interviewed and asked about the initiation process, and shall discuss several points about their personality.

In the Rorschach administration, careful consideration was taken to accord with the general conditions we required for the application of projective techniques. But some limitations were unavoidable, since they were not conducted in the laboratory but in the field. Here we would like to mention these limitations.

First, in these Rorschach administrations, we could not eliminate all the obstacles and were under outside influences, such as visitors and telephone calls, because our administrations were conducted in the rooms where *yuta* met the clients and did *hanji*. Not to mention the influence of social situations on the response which

Kimble (1945) pointed out, one might say that the necessary conditions for projective techniques are not wholly satisfied. But in other words, these test situations were very natural. There was no such anxiety, artificiality, or unusualness on the side of the subjects as are seen in the personality tests conducted under the so-called strictly controlled conditions. Though some consideration must be taken during the analysis, it should be regarded as an advantage that these tests were conducted in the natural situations.

Second, when we administered the Rorschach tests, we met and asked *yuta* in the same manner that we had adopted since our first interview about their initiation process: "We would like to know about *kaminchu* (priestesses or shamans)." Thus the subjects may have adopted a similar posture in the test as they had done before in the interview, because they thought they should assume an attitude proper to *kami-gutu*. But the influence of this posture was rather small. On the other hand, the test results which will be described later have clearly shown that their thought or world view was very strongly oriented towards a certain direction.

METHOD

Subjects: Eleven shamans, who were usually called *yuta* in Okinawa. All of them were females, and their ages and educational backgrounds are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Ages and educations in school grade of Ss

<i>Ss</i>	Age	Education in school grade
1	63	6
2	60	6
3	59	4
4	59	8
5	58	0
6	56	8
7(A)	56	8
8	53	6
9	49	9
10(B)	48	10
11	40	9

Procedure: The standard Rorschach plates were used, and the method of administration and categorization followed that of Kataguchi (1974). Lest the test sessions should be interrupted by unexpected visitors etc., the inquiry about a card was started, in many cases, immediately after the free responses to the card as recommended by Rapaport et al. (1968). The tests were conducted at the subjects' houses (in the guest rooms where they did *hanji* as usual), and there were no others but subject and investigators (See Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. The Rorschach administrations

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We would like to look at the Rorschach responses from three angles: the quantitative scoring analysis, the content analysis, and the analysis of "Rorschach behavior" (Kataguchi, 1966) in the test situations.

The scores: We sorted out the 11 Rorschach protocols and arranged main items individually as in Table 2. Individual differences are so large that we avoid discussing the average. Compared with the standard scores of normal Japanese adults given by Kataguchi (1974) and others, the general trend in our result indicated several things. (1) The number of responses is somewhat small. (2) R_1T are long, even 5 of the 11 *yuta* in-

Table 2. Main items of the Rorschach scoring list

Ss	R	R ₁ T (sec)	W (%)	Dd+S (%)	F% (%)	FC:CF+C	ΣC:M	F+ (%)	A (%)	P
1	2	12.0	0	50	100	0:0	0:0	0	0	0
2	15	25.9	60	0	60	0:0	0:5	67	27	4
3	8	80.0	63	0	75	0:0	0:1.5	30	13	1
4	16	23.5	50	6	44	2.5:0	1.25:6	100	25	3.5
5	10	42.1	100	0	40	0:3	3:2	50	30	4
6	15	-	60	14	93	0:1	1.5:0	36	13	2
7(A)	21	51.2	48	15	43	1.5:2	3:2	78	48	5
8	32	62.7	13	15	69	1:0	0.5:2	73	53	4
9	11	21.3	91	0	100	0:0	0:0	0	0	1.5
10(B)	25	84.6	20	32	52	1:1.5	2.5:8	69	32	3
11	17	19.7	53	12	53	0:0	0:0	56	53	6

dicating mean R₁T which is over 30 seconds. As will be described later, these long R₁T result from their specific Rorschach behavior of praying to *kami* and asking for the permission to take the tests. (3) Though individual differences are large, W% are rather high in general. (4) Many of them indicate W>2M. (5) Generally, few color responses. (6) The form level generally corresponds to the standard, but in some cases it is very low. (7) P responses are rather few. (8) As to the content, At and Sex are prominent. These responses should be regarded as the appearance of their specific ideal system, as described afterwards.

To make a closer examination, these protocols must be compared with the normal responses of the general run of people who are living in the same area of the northern Okinawa, and moreover, of those who are in the same generation. We had no Rorschach protocols of the Okinawan normal adults which could be used as the control group, so we cannot definitely show the special characteristics of *yuta*. In 1969, Kamieda administered the Rorschach tests to 10 *yuta* (mean age 63.7) and 10 normals (mean age 62.6) in Okinawa and compared these protocols (Kamieda, 1969). There are close similarities between the characteristics of *yuta* shown by her and those shown by our protocols. Especially, (1), (2), (3), (5), and (6) in our findings seem to accord with her results. So far as we know from our 11 Rorschach protocols, the general personality of *yuta* may be summarized as follows: their mental activities are rather dull, and they seem to be unable to adapt themselves to new situations quickly and successfully. Though they want to see the matters wholly, they do not organize the whole on the basis of the full examination of details. They proceed from the rough grasp of the matters to the free development of their subjective images. It may be said that their styles of perception are primitive. Their empathy and sensitivity are not so rich, and their way of thinking is not so much based on the consideration to the public society. Therefore, they seem to have poor social adaptations. We do not think that they are so rich in their inner world.

In 1960, Horiuchi et al. analyzed the personality of 20 leaders of new religious sects through the Rorschach responses (Horiuchi et al., 1960). In comparison with our data,

they also had the tendencies of (1), (2), (3), (4) and (7), but on the other hand, they indicated the opposite tendencies such as many M and color responses, and low F%. On the whole, their findings, such as high sensitivity and uncontrolled responses to the stimulus, do not apply to *yuta*. That their subjects were younger than ours (their mean age was 42.7 but that of *yuta* was 54.4) may be one reason, but there seems to be another one. The leaders of new religious sects are expected to be rather showy and self-advertizing because of the nature of their occupation. On the other hand, *yuta* have been occupying quite a different place from *nuru* who have been officiating formally at the ceremonial affairs of the community in Okinawa. *Yuta* have been often escaped the suppression and have been functioning in secret up to the present. These differences between their new religious leaders and Okinawan *yuta* seem to be reflected on the Rorschach protocols.

The contents: The contents on individual responses were scored and the result is shown in Table 3, and Table 4 shows the examples. Lager scores in Abst, Sex, and Obj are due to the abundance of such contents as are *kami*, the Creation, Nature in relation to it, and the Okinawan historical things. In Kamieda's study, many of her *yuta*'s responses were also related to *kami* and the Creation.

Table 3. Contents of the Rorschach responses

Ss	total H	total A	At	Aobj	Obj	Pl	Sex	Na	Arch	Lds	Abst	Fire	Expl	Others
1			2											
2	5	4			3									3
3	2	1					1	1			2			1
4	9	4(1)		(1)					1			1		1
5	2(1)	3		1	1		1	(2)			1		1	
6	3	2	(1)				4		1		5(1)			
7(A)	3	10(1)	2		2(1)	1	1(1)			1	(4)	(1)		1
8	4	17		1		1		1	1	4				3
9	8				2									1
10(B)	11	8			(1)	1	2	(2)	(1)	(1)	3(1)			
11	2	9	2	1		1		1				1		

The responses related to *kami* mainly correspond to the large scores in Abst and (H). Judging from the additional remarks given by the subjects, those responses scored as H and Obj also had the concept of *kami*. And there were such responses as "*ugwanju*" or "*haisyo*" (prayer place). Those responses scored as Arch were also concerned with *kami*.

The responses such as mountains and rivers, land and sea in the concrete, and heaven and earth in the abstract, which were scored as Na or Abst, often implied the Creation. They are also regarded as the responses concerned with *kami* in a wide sense. *Yuta*'s concept of *kami* is animistic, and nature and the heaven and earth ("*utin-jūchi*") have important roles in it.

The responses related to Okinawan historical things, such as "the old-fashioned clothes" and "the fan of *anji* (independent chieftains or feudal lords in the period of

Table 4. Examples of the Rorschach responses

Card	Response (Area chosen)
I	a flag of a Chinese ship in the Tang age (W); two bats in the marriage bed(W); God of the sun (W); <i>takisan</i> (holy place) (W); a statue of <i>Enma</i> (the king of Hell) (W)
II	the relation between man and woman that procreates a child (W); a bearded man (W); woman's implement (vagina) (D); <i>takisan</i> (dr); a janitor of a castle in the old days (W)
III	two men in the primitive age have something (W); a river (D); a man and a woman are procreating a child (W); a King's bowl in the old days (W); man's internals (D)
IV	an anchor in the old days (W); a man in furs (W); <i>haisyo</i> (prayer place) on the coast (D); a statue at a Buddhist temple (W)
V	a devil (W); a celestial robe of a nymph (W); <i>kami</i> with a celestial robe on (W); a statue of <i>kami</i> (W)
VI	the fan of <i>anji</i> (W); <i>kami</i> in ancient times (W); a man with an old Chinese hat on (W); heaven and earth (W); a woman's buttocks (dr)
VII	an old Okinawan dance (W); a man's face in the old days (D); a woman's implement for bearing a child (W); <i>Umiki-Uminai</i> (Okinawan fabulous god and goddess) (W)
VIII	the old-fashioned clothes (D); an old man in ancient times (D); men rushing away from the volcanic eruption in old days (W); the opening where man is born (dd); four heavens and seven periods (W)
IX	a man is playing the flute on the cliff and a big man is supporting the whole of it (W); a volcanic eruption (W); fire, water, and heaven (W); <i>kami</i> of <i>Ryugu</i> (the Sea God) (W)
X	a sign of evil (W); heaven and earth (W); the implements of man and woman (D); the Creation (W); <i>Fudo-Myoo</i> (the God of Fire) (W)

Okinawan Kingdom) are mainly scored as Obj. In the normal adults in the mainland of Japan, there are few responses related to historical things, so these responses struck us unique.

Apart from H and A, the responses scored as Sex were second in number to those in Abst. But only those responses which were directly related to sexual organs or acts are included in Sex. There were many other responses that imply the sexual organs and acts in a roundabout way. And some of those responses scored as Abst and H were also accompanied with sexual images. This was an impressive feature recognized even during the administration.

In general, the responses related to the sex do not appear as such even if people

recognize them on the inkblots. It is thought that the relation between the subjects and the examiners influence the manifestation of sex responses. And the sex of the examiner also influences the responses according to some reports (Alden & Benton, 1951; Rabin et al., 1954), but this is not definite. Usually, to make a lot of sex responses is regarded not as the increased interest about the sex, but as the deviation from the view of a society, because the subjects dare to reveal what is looked upon as taboo. In our investigation, we were in rapport with the subjects through the repeated interviews. But our relation was not close enough for them to express their sexual images without any inhibition. Therefore, our rapport with them cannot be the only cause of so much gain of sex responses. The cards, say, II, VI and VII, and the areas from which we obtained considerable sex responses, are those which usually tend to tempt others to make sex responses, and therefore, no significant deviation was recognized among our subjects.

The contents scored as Sex were those which show the sex organs directly, for example, "a woman's implement" (vagina) and "a man's implement" (penis), and also those which suggest the sexual intercourse such as "the relation between man and woman that procreates a child". "Vagina" responses were more numerous than "penis" responses: this may partly due to the fact that the subjects were all women (Kuroda & Murata, 1961). But what is conspicuous is the fact that most of the Sex responses were closely connected with childbirth, such as "woman's implement for bearing a child", "the opening from which man is born", and "the womb is now to open, and her time is near". As to the responses related to the sexual intercourse, some said that "they are procreating a child". And there were some subjects who developed the explanation about the responses from the sex to the creation of man and the world.

Those points mentioned above seem to tell us that *yuta's* sexual responses do not indicate only sex, they also suggest the birth of man and are closely related to such responses as *kami*, the Creation, and the historical things. In this sense, these Sex responses belong to the similar category as those in Abst and Obj. The uniqueness of *yuta's* thought becomes clear: they are interested in the historical matters, look at Nature with naivete, recognize *kami* in all things, and respect human life. This seems to reflect their animistic religious concept, and their naive and profound worship of ancestors. When a bird comes into a family altar room with the memorial tablets in it, they regard it as *shirashi* from *kami*, and when a child falls down or slips into water, they are afraid that the child will lose its soul. These concepts were common to all the 11 *yuta* under our investigation, and we think that their frame for the cognition of the outside world or "the world view" of *yuta* were involuntarily reflected on the Rorschach responses.

Here, special attention should be paid to the fact that, in the initiation process of *yuta*, there are no "parental *yuta*" who train them, and that they train themselves and practice shamanism by themselves in their own way. In the interview, they

maintained without exception that they wanted to open a way leading to *kami* by themselves without relying upon anybody, and they looked even proud of it. In spite of the fact mentioned above, they shared the similar imagery included in a theme, as far as the Rorschach responses were concerned. It can be said that this is a reflection of Okinawan basic culture which has been fostering *yuta*.

The Rorschach behavior: The characteristics of the responses in a narrow sense are as mentioned before, and here is a more remarkable characteristics on the whole responses to the Rorschach ("the Rorschach behavior" by Kataguchi, 1966). It is the praying to *kami* during the test as the examples are shown in Fig. 2. Only 2 subjects took the test with the same attitude as usual and did not show any apparant connection with *kami*. Among 6 subjects, some prayed to *kami* at the beginning of the test and asked for *kami*'s permission for it, and others expressed their responses to every card after praying. Of the remaining 3 subjects, one assumed such an attitude as if to say that, in the situation like that, she should respond after praying. Another said after the test that she would have made better responses if she had prayed to *kami* at each card, and a third subject adopted an attitude as if her responses were related to *kami* by saying, "So many *kami*, so many responses of *yuta*."

What is common to them all is that they regard their responses not as their own but as suggested by *kami*. To ask for *kami*'s permission beforehand and to pray at every card for the suggestion indicate that they do nothing but what *kami* suggest when they are faced with the strange matters like the Rorschach test. They do not think that they respond of their own free will. In the novel and vague situations arousing anxiety, they rely on such frame as the concept of *kami* or the traditional world view which has been already revealed in the Rorschach contents, and this reliance of theirs is so strong that it would be very difficult for them to be adapted to the situation independently and flexibly with no help from the frame.

As mentioned above, they may have had some kind of posture during the test because we requested them to undergo the test in the context of the interview on the initiation process. But on many other occasions as well as in this test did we observe that they were restricted by *kami* concept, or by fear of *kami*. In our first interviews, for example, they often asked for permission of *kami* to tell about themselves to others. And we often heard them say that such and such an attempt ended in failure because it had been started with no permission of *kami*. To rely on *kami* in the Rorschach test was not a special thing to them but a part of their daily behavior based on their fundamental attitude of mind, though there may have been somewhat influence of the posture. We can say that a cross-sectional study conducted by means of the Rorschach test has indicated how deep the concept of *kami* penetrated to the daily life of *yuta* and how strongly it restricted them.

They generally came to grips with the test, and tried not only to obtain images from the cards but also to catch their meanings. As the examples will be shown later, the process of their making Rorschach responses was the same as that of their *hanji*.

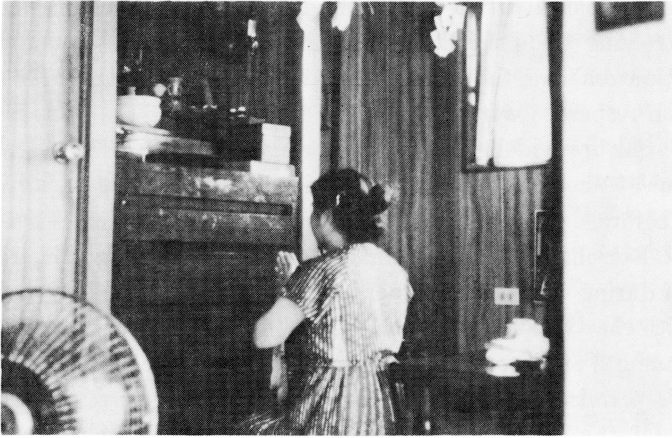


Fig. 2. *Yuta* prayed to *kami* during the administrations

All through their Rorschach responses, they continued to assume the same attitude: They wished to attach their own meanings to all the things and situations, to give explanations to them, and to extract from them the guiding principles for their daily life.

We would like to add here that, though *yuta*'s behavior was restricted so strongly by *kami*, they made no such responses indicative of "manipulated selves" as are seen in the responses of those schizophrenics who have had the experience of being manipulated. Although they were fascinated by *kami*, they did not feel any persecution, crisis, nor impotence such as infringement on the self and loss of the self control, and so we can say that their responses were not so pathological.

Cases: Two cases of the Rorschach protocols are shown below. They are characteristic respectively and clearly indicate the concept of *kami* that is common to all 11 *yuta*. The responses are edited.

(1) Case A: 56 yr.

Summary of her life history

After the completion of the local lower secondary school course, she became a cotton-mill spinning hand in Osaka. Returned to Okinawa, got married and had 5 children. In her early childhood, she had no peculiar experience such as seeing *kami*. Her mother was *nigami* (priestess in the community or kin-group). Her uncle on the paternal side raved himself to death.

Before the occurrence of *kami-daari*, suffered from the frequent changing of occupation and the malnutrition. At 32 yr., had *kami-daari* (headache, lumbago, anemia, bleeding, eruption, withdrawal, weeping, singing, inability to perform normal routine work, etc.). Her mother and her husband regarded it as *kami-daari*, and then she went to *yuta* and began the training. Initiated at 36 yr. She is stable now and has the shaman sessions in nearly usual state. The number of clients is the largest of 11 *yuta*.

Rorschach protocol (the areas chosen are shown in Fig. 3)

Card I

1. (W) a bat.
2. (W) A butterfly.
3. (W) A celestial nymph.

(She combined all responses and interpreted them. She did the same thing as to all the other cards.) Don't be like animals. Show your true self. Do your work honestly. Love all things.

Card II

1. A western woman with a pointed hat on is spreading her skirt.
2. Two bears. The red shows the undeveloped region.

In the undeveloped regions, there appeared a woman and two men who were our first ancestors. The men are supporting the woman. It means the appearance of mankind in primitive times.

Card III

1. (W) A skeleton of man.
2. A quarrel between a man and a woman. The red are their souls and placentae. All men are tied to one another. Don't be greedy and avoid quarrels.

Card IV

1. (W) A monkey bending his arms and showing the soles of his feet. This is the advice to myself. Don't be uneasy like this monkey which is showing the soles of his feet. Do *kami-gutu* in a prudential manner.

Card V

1. (W) Mountains and rivers, the land, Japan, or the earth.
2. The fingerprint of man's thumb.
3. (W) A butterfly.
4. Tentacles of a snail; it tells me not to lock horns.
5. Two (*nihon*) legs of a mantis; it means Japan (*nihon, nippon*). The sun shines on every country, not only on Japan but also on America. So don't fight for territory.

As a man cannot tell where he goes, love every country and thank for all products of the earth. The sun shines on everybody. Heaven and earth belong to everybody. Love one another.

Card VI

1. A *shamisen* (Japanese musical instrument with three strings like a guitar).
2. A guitar.
A body of the guitar means the mother. Even the children born of the same mother have different characters. Bring them up with care so that each may have a good timber.

Card VII

1. Four fish are swimming.
2. A woman's buttocks. Now the womb is about to open. A tense situation. Even a woman of pleasure, who swims and plays around like a fish, becomes pregnant. But in such a case, the delivery is often so difficult. Mothers must tell their children that women should have a blessed childbirth.

Card VIII

1. Wild boars are climbing upwards; a wild boar is my *eto* (the sexagenary cycle. Case A, however, used the word to suggest one of the 12 animals which represent *junishi*, twelve horary signs. "My *eto*" means "the animal which represents the year of my birth").
2. Colorful butterflies competed with the wild boars in climbing upwards; butterflies and flowers mean man and woman, father and mother.

Worship the ancestors on both the parental and maternal sides. The universe, Nature, the ancestor worship, and the relation of both sexes are all governed by the same reason.

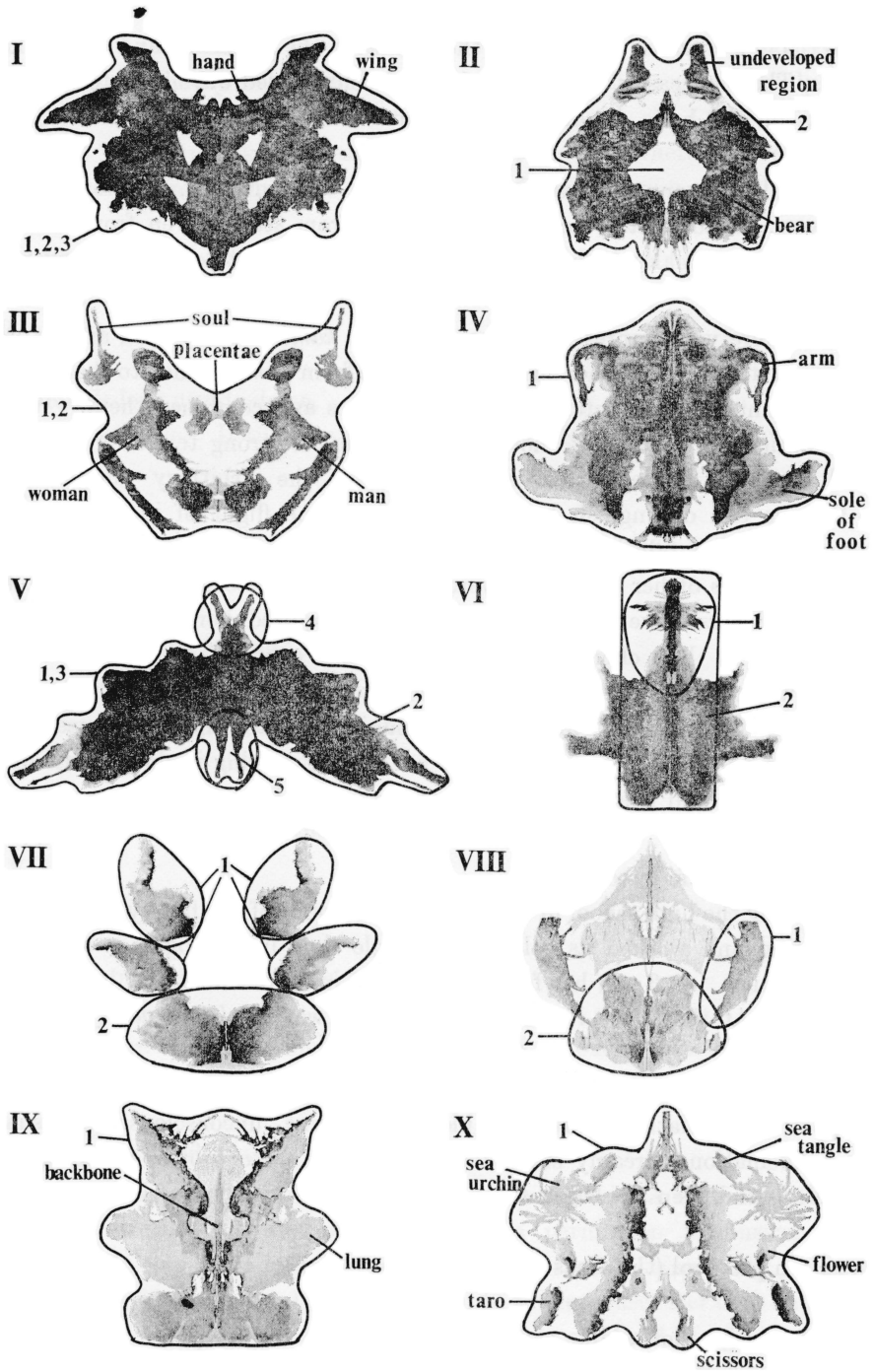


Fig.3. The areas chosen by Case A

Card IX

1. (W) Man's entrails. The lungs, the stomach, the pancreas, and the backbone, etc.; They are easily warmed up but as easily cooled off. This tells me to do *hanji* on the basis of careful judgement of the client's character.

Card X

1. (W) All are connected with one another. Sea urchins, sea tangles, taros, flowers, scissors, etc.; don't separate land from sea, heaven from earth, and males from females. These two must be combined into one. Love everything on the earth.

Her responses were very impressive. She prayed to *kami* at every card and expressed her responses to it, saying that her answers had come from *kami*. Then to the examiner's inquiry, or voluntarily, she interpreted her responses and combined them. When we carefully examine the details, we notice that she had a strong tendency to make up fables and that her fables often expanded from the arbitrary combination of words. But we can distinguish her responses from the flight of ideas, because she could return from her fables to the cards at once by the examiner's suggestion and because the contents of her responses were understandable to us. Her interpretation of the cards had persuasive power. She may have acquired her method of responses through talking to her clients everyday, but the concept about man and the world which was revealed in her responses and interpretations seems to be the typical one possessed by every *yuta*. Her process of making the Rorschach responses was the same as that of *hanji*. It can be said that her way of talking in daily work and her conceptual world behind it appeared as they were in our Rorschach test.

(2) Case B: 47 yr.

Summary of her life history

After leaving the high school in mid-course on account of her family affairs, engaged in housekeeping and worked as sales-girl. Single but lived together at one time, and bore one child. At 3 yr., her father was killed in an accident and her mother got married again. At that time it was said that she was of *kamingwa* (priestesses or shamans) origin.

From about 13 yr., *hon(real)-daari* (headache, vertigo, shivering, coldness, nausea, lack of appetite, emaciation, marasmus, bleeding, anemia, unconsciousness, visual and auditory hallucinations, dreamy state, feeling of going up or down, monologue, skin smarting, etc.), and then she began the practice. At 37 yr. she was initiated and now is stable.

Rorschach protocol (the areas chosen are shown in Fig. 4)

Card I

1. (W) *Kami* in clothes like wings.
2. Mother's breasts; this means her mercy.
3. Two hands.
4. These show 4 quarters. That means 4 *kami*.

Card II

1. (W) Appearance of *kami* from the bottom of the sea into the light. A goddess with newly-washed hair in white clothes. She seems so real and blessed.

Card III

1. (W) Two men talking to each other beside the well where the water is whirling.
2. *Kami*. Something white is going out of the water.

Card IV

1. The house of *kami*. There are many *kami*; they look like an Indian, a woman holding a baby in her arms, etc.
2. A sea horse.

Card V

1. Man's legs upside-down.
2. (W) A horse. It tumbles down and a man falls off upside-down. There are torches.

Card VI

1. The vaginal opening where man is born. Two heads of men appear.
2. A bird.
3. A snake.
4. Two men are folding their hands.

Card VII

1. Two men are praying beside the statues of *kami*, burning sacred candles.
2. *Kannon* (the goddess of Mercy).
3. Faces of animals.
4. Many worshippers on the coast.

Card VIII

1. Two cats.
2. *Kami*.
3. Two squirrels or mongooses.

Card IX

1. There are crops for which men thank *kami*. Four parcels of crops.
2. Two camels.

Card X

1. Seven colored *haisyo*. Seven family crests.

Case B did not combine nor interpret her responses as Case A did. But this is also a typical case, because she also prayed for *kami*'s permission to answer the test in advance and frequently recognized *kami* on the cards. Especially, she saw the very real image of *kami* on Card II and referred to the response later over and over again. When all the administration was over, she wanted to see Card II again and prayed to it with profound reverence. She may be the case where her cognitive distance from the cards is increased and her experiential distance is lost (Kataguchi, 1960). But there was no remarkable deviation either in her Rorschach responses or in her daily life

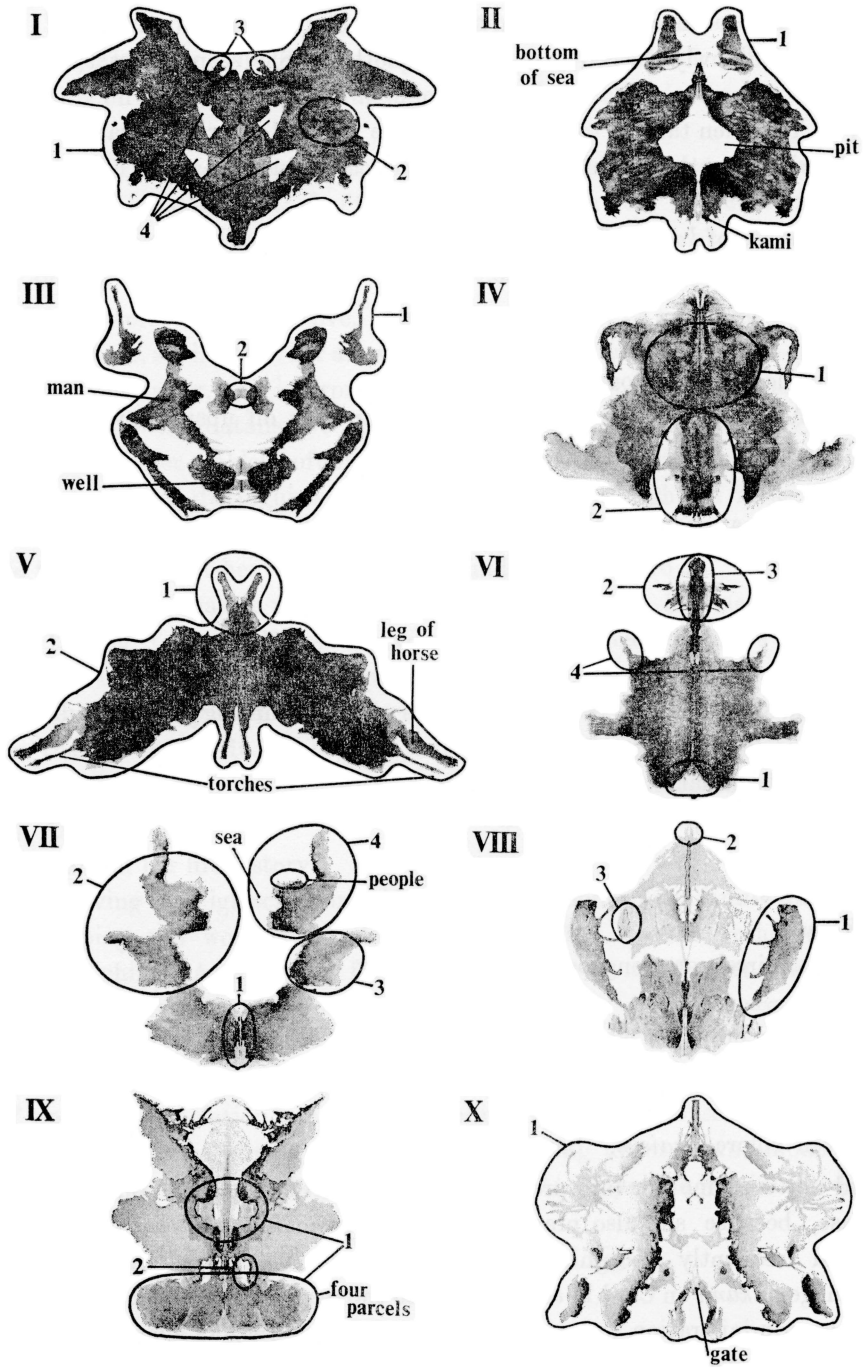


Fig. 4. The areas chosen by CaseB

at that time. This case shows how deep the concept of *kami* had penetrated into her.

CONCLUSION

As we have mentioned so far, we have got some knowledge of the characteristics of *yuta* through the Rorschach responses gained from 11 of them. Having got no control group yet, we cannot discuss the present responses in comparison with those of the normals. These scores of the Rorschach test, however, gave us a rough sketch of *yuta*'s personality. And what is the most significant is that we were able, through this test, to know the imagery or the world view which is common to those *yuta*. This imagery seems to be the reflection of Okinawan culture which still accepts, engages, and needs *yuta*. The Rorschach test is usually used statically giving priority to the analysis of the scores, but in the field study, it is also important to understand and interpret the whole Rorschach responses in the cultural context, that is, to regard them as a means by which the beliefs and the value system of a culture will be revealed. Our next step is, of course, to deepen our present research on *yuta* and at the same time to compare their protocols with those of the normal adults in Okinawa.

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