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**SYMBOLS FROM HOME: THE USE OF PERSONAL OBJECTS
IN AN ART THERAPY DRAWING TASK
WITH FOUR LATENCY-AGED CHILDREN.**

Beverly Monk

A Research Paper

in

The Department

of

Art Therapy

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

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ABSTRACT

Symbols From Home: The Use of Personal Objects in an Art Therapy Drawing Task With Four Latency-Aged Children

**Beverly Monk
1997**

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirement for the Degree of Master of Art Therapy
1997**

Concordia University

This paper is an exploration of an assessment technique in which drawings of personal objects and gift objects associated with significant others are solicited from four latency-aged children. My proposal is that drawings of objects belonging to mothers, fathers and other family members as well as gift objects that have been received, have the potential to elicit information regarding the nature of the children's relationships with these people, their responses to absent parents, the presence of material or emotional deprivation, the presence or absence of supportive individuals and the children's individual defenses, strengths and needs.

As a theoretical framework for this pilot study, attachment theory, notions regarding "goodness of fit" and developmental and artistic norms are considered. As well, anthropological, sociological and philosophical perspectives are discussed as they apply to people's relationships with objects. Areas for future research are presented.

Like the spider with its web, so every subject weaves relationships between itself and particular properties of objects; the many strands are then woven together and finally form the basis of the subject's very existence.

-Jakob von Uexkull (1956)

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INTRODUCTION

Drawing tasks can be extremely useful to art therapists as tools for assessment and treatment planning. Kaiser (1996, p.333) suggests that such tasks can be valuable in terms of gaining information regarding a client's developmental level, defense mechanisms, underlying emotional issues and perception of the self in relation to others. Neale and Rosal (1993, p.37) write that projective drawing tasks are particularly effective in the evaluation of the problems of children, a population that is often reluctant to, or incapable of, verbalizing their needs and concerns. Difficulties can arise for children when their basic drive to express these needs is thwarted. Neale and Rosal stress the importance of designing innovative projective drawing techniques that will provide the information about children's personalities, fears and hurts that is necessary for assessment and treatment planning (ibid.).

The profession of art therapy has developed assessment and treatment interventions since its inception. Some of the more commonly used techniques for the exploration of family-related issues include Draw-A-Family (Appel, 1931; Wolff, 1942), the Kinetic Family Drawing (Burns & Kaufman, 1970), the Abstract Family Portrait (Kwiatkowska, 1978) and the Family-Centred Circle Drawings (Burns, 1990). Kaiser (1996, p.334) quotes Kwiatkowska (1978) in observing that the family drawing is one of the most anxiety-provoking art therapy tasks, often evoking a more defended response than tasks that allow for more emotional distance. With regard to the

Draw-A-Tree portion of the House-Tree-Person assessment task (Buck, 1948), for example, it has been suggested that the request to draw an inanimate object elicits deeper and possibly more unconscious feelings about the self because less desirable personal traits can be more easily ascribed to such an object than to the self (Oster and Gould, 1987, p.18).

My proposal, as explored in this pilot study, is that depictions of the personal objects belonging to significant people in a child's life could be a valuable, and relatively less anxiety-provoking method of assessing these important relationships. The participants were each asked to draw 1) an object belonging to their mother, 2) an object belonging to their father, 3) an object belonging to someone else in their immediate or extended family and 4) a gift object that had been given to them by someone in their family or by someone else, outside their family. It is felt that this drawing task could have the potential to elicit information regarding the quality of the relationships with primary care givers, the presence or absence of supportive others, defenses and coping styles within these relationships as well as the strengths and needs of individual children.

ATTACHMENT THEORY, THE 'TRADITIONAL FAMILY' AND 'GOODNESS OF FIT'

In a previous pilot study using a similar drawing task with adults (Monk, 1996), I borrowed from the theories of Freud (1900, 1933, 1938), Winnicott (1965, 1971, 1986) and Klein (1921-1945) to support the notion that early object relations, in particular with the parents, have important and far-reaching implications. In that study, drawings of parents' rooms and objects were used to explore identity-related issues such as attachment, gender roles, masculinity, femininity and goals. In this pilot study with children, my focus will be primarily on the nature and quality of children's attachments to significant figures in their lives and the extent to which this can be ascertained from drawings of personal objects. Some of the theories that have informed this current pilot study will be discussed below.

Attachment theory was developed by John Bowlby (1969) as a result of his observations regarding the negative effects on children of being separated from their mothers. Basing his work in psychoanalytic theory and ethnological research, he proposes that humans have an innate tendency to seek attachments and that these attachments are necessary for the survival of the species and for an individual's healthy functioning. Bowlby (1973) and Ainsworth (1978, p.21) distinguish between "secure" attachment in which the child learns from experience to trust that the mother will remain accessible and responsive to his/her needs and "anxious" attachment in

which the child, again through experience, learns that the mother will not be accessible or responsive to his/her signals and communications. Both Bowlby (1979) and Ainsworth (1978, p.28) saw these attachment patterns as enduring determinants of attachment in later relationships.

Bowlby (1969, pp.278-279) differentiates between "attachment", a descriptive term referring to a form of behaviour and "dependence", a functional reference to the extent to which one individual relies on another for his/her existence. Attachment, said to be absent at birth and not evident until the age of six months, is seen as a condition to be cherished. Dependence on the other hand, is said to be maximum at birth and diminish steadily until maturity. It is viewed by Bowlby as a condition to be avoided in personal relations. For the purposes of this pilot study with children, both terms will have relevance. The nature of the attachment as well as the extent to which the children's age-appropriate dependency needs are being met will be considered important.

Bowlby has been criticized for what has been termed "matricentric thinking" (Lamb, 1978) and for his concept of "monotropism" (Bowlby, 1969, p.368), the idea that the infant is initially capable of forming only one emotionally meaningful attachment and that this will normally be to the mother. Certainly the "traditional" family that predominated for most of North American history is becoming much less common as we approach the twenty-first century. It has been postulated that if

current trends continue, only about forty per cent of children born in the 1990's on this continent will live with their two biological parents from birth to age eighteen (Berger, 1994, p.345). Also, it has been pointed out that children from the beginning are part of a social network and interact with a diversity of individuals, all of whom have some impact on the child's development (Schaffer, 1992, p.41). Children seem to be capable of forming multiple relationships, and fathers, siblings, grandparents and peers may all qualify as attachment objects. It has also been suggested that a secure relationship with a figure other than the mother can compensate for an insecure attachment with the mother (ibid., p.44). Finally, the child's own individuality must be considered as having a decided influence on the nature of attachments that are formed (ibid., p.51).

In designing and carrying out this pilot study I was aware that only one of the four participants involved was living in a "traditional" two-parent home and adjusted the task to incorporate relationships with other care givers. Also, the drawing task allowed individual participants the flexibility to choose for themselves certain relationships that were most significant for them.

Chess and Thomas (1992, p.73) have formulated the concept of "goodness of fit" as a model for the interaction between children and their parents. This is said to exist when the expectations and demands of parents and other significant people in the child's life are compatible with the child's own temperament and abilities. Such a

relationship fosters healthy development and resiliency. "Poorness of fit" results when excessive demands and expectations are incompatible with a child's temperament and abilities. This type of mismatch leaves children vulnerable and makes healthy development less likely. In some instances however, children supposed to be vulnerable due to such factors as poverty, family instability and serious mental health problems in parents seemed to be "invincible", developing into healthy, well-adjusted young adults (Chess and Thomas, 1992, p.78). In this pilot study, the type of fit between children and significant others as well as the resilience, vulnerability and possible invincibility of the individual children will be considered as they become evident in the drawings and words of the participants.

PERSONAL OBJECTS/GIFT OBJECTS

For the purposes of this paper a personal object will be defined as any object, functional or decorative, that is owned by a significant person. A gift object is defined as something that has been given to the child. In this pilot study all of the objects depicted belonged either to a family member or to the participant. Examples include a chest of drawers, a shaving set, a cat and a puzzle. Clearly, the range of possibilities as well as explanations for why these particular objects were chosen, is nearly limitless.

In my earlier pilot study using significant objects, I looked at the ideas of psychoanalytic theorists Klein (1921-1945) and Winnicott (1965, 1971, 1986) regarding early object relations and then explored the notion that chosen objects are much more than abstract signs representing intrapsychic conflicts (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochbert-Halton, 1981). Although in a psychoanalytic context the term "object" refers to a person, both Klein and Winnicott do speak about relationships with inanimate objects in the environment as well. For both writers, the inherent qualities of a particular object were not considered to be of great importance. Nor were objects viewed as things that had the power to influence or change a person in any manner. Essentially, both Klein and Winnicott saw objects as containers for projected meanings that had been repressed by the unconscious. Winnicott, who became

interested in children's relationships with blankets and toys which he called "transitional objects", believed that such objects stood for the breast, and symbolized the first relationship (1958, p.236).

Other writers claim that such theories, while perhaps accurate to some extent, are "reductionistic" if not taken further. Objects equated with a past relationship have present and projected future meanings as well.

It makes a difference whether the breast is represented by a thumb, a blanket, or a rabbit. To the extent that analysts were interested in the genesis of object relations rather than in their consequences, they have ignored a crucial dimension of psychic activity (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p.23).

In this study with latency-aged children, I did feel that the present and possible future meanings of objects and relationships should be considered as being at least as important as their links with the past. Obviously, while childhood constitutes the past for an adult, it is the present for a child. And while the objects in this study represent the belongings mostly of significant older adults in the child's life, the meanings attributed to them have connotations and consequences that reach into the future.

I did also find that the specific qualities of chosen objects and the activities centred around them were important aspects of the participants' experiences of these objects. Morris N. Eagle, in a paper entitled Interests as Object Relations (1981), disputes the traditional psychoanalytic notion that interests and hobbies are the result

of diverted sexual aims. He writes that even very young infants can differentiate between various visual stimuli and show a preference for particular colours and shapes, implying that an orientation toward an interest in inanimate objects begins very early. Both monkey and human infants become attached to objects that give comforting contact, whether or not these objects relieve hunger or thirst. Eagle concludes that an interest in objects and the development of affectional bonds is not a manifestation of libidinal energies and aims, but is a "critical independent aspect of development which expresses an inborn propensity to establish cognitive and affective links to objects in the world" (1981, as cited in Storr, 1979, p.195).

In writing about person-environment interaction Heidegger (as cited in Seamon and Mugerauer, 1985 pp.36-38) distinguishes between "Zuhandenheit", or "readiness-to-hand" and "Vorhandenheit" meaning "presence-at-hand". "Zuhandenheit" is the condition of implements that we use and with which we actively engage. The meaning of such an object emerges from what it is used for. "Vorhandenheit" refers to the condition of an object that has a more visual relationship with the subject, who stands in contemplation of it. Heidegger writes that it is through our concerned involvement with such objects that our world is "appropriated". Appropriation includes both caring for and taking from the world and is an experience considered to be a fundamental element of existence. The aspect of "caring" involves both respecting and preserving the world as it is, while "taking" means incorporating the world into ourselves, making it our own.

The notions of "Zuhandenheit", "Vorhandenheit" and appropriation all have an important place in this study of significant objects. While all four children in this study chose to depict primarily objects containing the quality of "Zuhandenheit", the resultant object creations have the quality of "Vorhandenheit" and I have spent a fair amount of time in contemplation of them. For the participants and myself, the process of choosing, drawing, looking intentionally at and discussing these objects has involved both the elements of caring for and taking from the world that define appropriation.

Sartre, in referring to the relationship between the object and its owner also speaks of appropriation.

To possess is to be united with the object possessed in the form of appropriation; to wish to possess is to wish to be united to an object in this relation. Thus the desire of a particular object is not the simple desire of this object; it is the desire to be united with the object in an internal relation (1956, p.588).

The act of depiction, in reference to the cave paintings at Altamira and Lascaux, has also been equated with a human need to graphically represent the objects of interest in order to, at least symbolically, "possess" them (DiLeo, 1983, p.12).

To illustrate the idea that possessions are an integral part of a person's being and that the two form a single whole, Sartre uses the example of primitive funeral ceremonies where one's possessions are buried with them. "There was no more question of burying the dead man without his usual objects than of burying him

without one of his legs" (1956, p.587). This idea that to have and to be are closely related is given further support by the fact that when asked to draw an "Abstract Family Portrait", many people spontaneously draw the personal possessions of family members as representations of them (Kwiatkowska, 1978, p.101).

I believe that a person's belongings tell a great deal about his/her being and relationship with the world. I agree that

the bond of possession is an internal bond of being. I meet the possessor in and through the object which he possesses (Sartre, 1956, p.588).

By extension, I think it may be possible, by asking clients in art therapy to draw objects belonging to significant others in their lives, to understand more clearly the nature of the relationship between these two people. While the objects drawn may not be those that are most meaningful to the possessor, the objects chosen as representations of these people and the explanations given may tell us something of the dynamic and strength of the bonds existing in the relationship.

In this pilot study I have included a request to "draw a gift object that has been given to you by someone in your family or someone else who is not a member of your family". With this inclusion, I hoped to learn which of the participant's own belongings was deemed significant and why. As well, I hoped to determine the presence or absence of supportive individuals in the child's life. As already mentioned, one secure attachment in a child's life can compensate for poor relationships with other care givers (Schaffer, 1992, p.44) and this particular drawing

task seemed a potentially effective means of finding out whether or not such an individual was available. Mauss, an anthropologist writing on how the exchange of objects can strengthen interpersonal relations says "this bond created by (giving) things is in fact a bond between persons....to receive something is to receive a part of someone's spiritual essence" (1925, p.10).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I began this pilot study with a number of questions in mind, and before describing the methodology and findings of this project I will outline my primary and subsidiary research questions below. The extent to which these questions have been answered will be explored later in the paper.

1. To what extent might children's drawings of parents' objects and objects related to other significant persons be used to determine the nature of the child's relationship with these people?
2. For children who are living in single-parent homes or with grandparents, what is the effect of this on their relationship with objects?
3. Can a child's reaction to an absent parent or parents be determined through this drawing task?
4. Can the presence of material/emotional deprivation be determined through this task and if so, what is the effect of this on a child's relationship with objects?
5. Can the qualities of presence and absence of supportive individuals in a child's life be determined through the expressive qualities of drawn gift objects received from such people?
6. Can individual defenses, strengths and needs be determined through this drawing task?
7. How threatening will this task be for children?

THE PILOT STUDY

The Participants

The participants in this pilot study were four latency-aged children, three of whom were attending the day program of a psychiatric hospital, and one who had formerly attended this program and was now coming to the hospital from an outside school for art therapy. Information about them that is most relevant to the pilot study is given in the chart below.

PARTICI- PANT	1	2	3	4
SEX	female	female	male	male
AGE	9	9	10	11
RACE	black	white	mulatto	white
PEOPLE LIVING IN THE HOME	grandmother, great aunt, younger brother	mother, father, younger brother	mother, younger step- brother	mother, father, father's girlfriend, 2 older teenaged sisters
DIAGNOSIS	severe emotional disorder bordering on emotional psychosis	adjustment reaction with behavioural difficulties	hyperkinetic conduct disorder	hyperkinetic conduct disorder

All of the participants had been attending 45-minute individual weekly art therapy sessions with me for 2-3 months at the time the pilot study began. A therapeutic alliance had been established with each child and for this reason there was a fairly high level of trust at the time each was asked to complete the drawing task. This factor will be discussed later in terms of ethical considerations, the level of anxiety that was evoked for each child by this task and differences between qualitative and quantitative research.

In choosing participants for this pilot study from the 8 children I was seeing in art therapy, a number of criteria were considered. The drawing task was felt to be inappropriate for children with autism or autistic features. Apart from that, I was looking for a balance of similarities and differences amongst the participants that would result in the most useful information. I wanted an equal number of females and males to be represented. I also wanted to work with children whose personalities and behavioural characteristics were as varied as possible. Finally, it was thought that choosing children from roughly the same age group, would give a clearer and more reliable indication of how relevant this task was for a particular developmental stage. As any assessment task should be seen within a developmental framework, elements of the latency period of development that are pertinent to this pilot study will be outlined below.

THE LATENCY PERIOD: DEVELOPMENTAL AND ARTISTIC NORMS

Freud intuitively termed the developmental phase between 7 and 11 years-old "latency"; an interlude more than a stage, when sexual needs are quiet and psychic energy is directed toward achieving competence in social and intellectual pursuits such as sports and school work. To what extent this supposed diminution of overt sexual drive is effected by biological and cultural factors is unresolved. While the latency period may appear to be a time of equilibrium, the infantile and preadolescent intrusions at opposite ends of this phase, make it an active period of developmental adjustment (DiLeo, 1983, p.viii).

There are a number of advancements made during latency that are important to this pilot study of relationships at this period. Integral to this phase of development, is the progress made by children in the areas of social cognition and emotional understanding. Latency-aged children begin to have an awareness of the importance of personality traits. They may organize their perceptions of a person around observable traits and use these as a basis for predicting a person's behaviour and emotional reactions (Gnepp and Chilamkurti, 1988, as cited in Berger, 1994, p.334). Children at this developmental phase may also begin to understand that emotions have internal causes; that a person can have simultaneous conflicting emotions; and that people can disguise or mask their emotions in order to comply with what is socially accepted (Ibid.).

Social interaction during latency is affected in numerous ways by this expanded emotional understanding. Children of this age may be more attuned to the feelings of others and act accordingly. They may be more sensitive to the social purposes of emotional expressions and aware that their own, as well as the expressions of others may not be true reflections of their feelings. An enhanced ability for and awareness of duplicity, may make these children harder to fool and also more difficult to read. Advancements in these areas may also assist children at this phase in getting along better with others. One study conducted by Gottman (1983, as cited in Berger, 1994, p.335) which looked at social interaction from a developmental perspective found that children of latency age were more likely than younger children to introduce themselves and search for common interests first and differences later when meeting an unfamiliar peer. Importantly, latency-aged children also had a better sense than younger children of whether and when to reveal private information about themselves. On first meeting, older children never revealed very personal information. Latency-aged children were also found to be more adept at resolving conflict, often using humour rather than confrontation to do so. In short, during latency children should be much better equipped than they were previously to interact successfully with others.

Artistically, children aged 9-11 years-old are said to enter a period of what Lowenfeld termed "dawning realism" (as cited in Pear-Cohen and Straus-Gainer, 1976, p.30). At this stage children generally draw from one fixed perspective, exclude concealed parts and are more aware of proportion and the relationship of

parts to the whole. In drawings there is more overlapping of objects and details become more important. Usually there is no understanding of shade and shadow during this artistic stage of development. There tends however, to be a greater awareness of the physical environment. Finally, the increased self-consciousness and awareness of others that has been discussed above becomes an issue in the creation of art as well. Children become more critical of their artwork and are more apt to express dissatisfaction with their attempts at realism (Gray, 1960, p.432).

GENERATION OF DATA

In conducting this pilot study, the approach I took in gathering the data was based on the principles and methodology of phenomenology. Intentionality, or directed seeing, is central to this approach. In fact, the primary assumption behind the phenomenological model is that a person's "intentional" experience of their world, rather than their theoretical knowledge of it, is of value. "The essence of consciousness is not awareness but intentionality; it is essentially relational" (Quail and Peavy, 1994, p.46). Once the participants' attention had been directed toward significant objects, my primary interest was in the essential qualities of their experiences of these objects and the relationships they represented. In soliciting the drawings and conducting the interviews I strove to maintain an attitude of openness and to set my own suppositions aside while respecting the participants' explanations of their works. In fact my reliance on the children's meanings and the extent to which I involved them led one of the children to complain "why are you making ME do all the work?". Even when the participants were not present, my immersion in their drawings and the transcripts of their words ensured a very close connection between us.

Procedure

To begin, I explained to each participant that I was going to be asking them to make four drawings of objects that belonged to different people in their lives. I gave them four pieces of 8.5 x 11" white paper and offered coloured pencils, magic markers of various sizes, oil pastels, crayons, lead pencils and coloured chalk for their use.

The drawings required for this project were completed by each participant in a single 45-minute session. For the first drawing I asked them to "draw an object that belongs to your mother". For the child who was living with her grandmother, I had her draw an object belonging to her grandmother. For the second drawing I instructed each child to "draw an object that belongs to your father". For the participant who had drawn her grandmother's object first, she was asked to draw an object belonging to her mother at this point. A child who had never met his father was asked to "draw an object that might belong to your father as you imagine him". This participant recalled seeing a photograph of a dog that had once belonged to his father. For the third drawing participants were asked to "draw an object belonging to someone else in your immediate or extended family". The final drawing was done in response to a request to "draw an object that has been given to you as a gift by someone in your family or by someone else, who is not a member of your family". I

answered any questions the participants had during this process as simply as possible, being careful not to influence their choices. While they worked I made a mental note of their physical, behavioural and verbal responses to each request and the amount of time each drawing required. I did not initiate discussion while the drawings were being done, but conversed willingly with those children who needed to speak while working. When all four drawings had been completed, I spoke informally with the participants about these works and asked questions for clarification. After these initial sessions I made notes of comments and behaviours that seemed relevant to the pilot study.

Due to a Christmas break, the next session with each participant did not take place for approximately three weeks. During this period I spent time looking closely at the drawings while reading over the written observation notes that had been made for each child. Based on this experience, I compiled individual lists of questions for a more formal, but still quite fluid interview with each participant. This second interview was tape-recorded and each participant was told "if at any time you feel unsure about what you want to say, or need more time to think, press the PAUSE button on the tape recorder. We'll continue when you're ready". The amount of time required for this part of the process varied with individual participants from 25 minutes to 45 minutes.

I carefully transcribed each of the recorded interviews, read these transcripts over numerous times and finally highlighted what I felt were the most significant statements (See transcripts in appendix A). During this part of the process, the drawings themselves were kept in front of me where I could refer to them whenever necessary.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

While my approach to collecting the data for this pilot study was phenomenological in nature, in my analysis of the data I found the use of a "pure" phenomenological methodology insufficient. Incongruities that existed between the verbalized and drawn representations of their experiencing of the chosen objects as well as verbal inconsistencies between the first and second discussions, required another sort of inquiry in some cases. When a child who had exhibited a great deal of anxiety in his drawings responded "I felt o.k. You asked me to do things that were pretty easy" to the question "how did you feel about doing this project?", I realized that a certain amount of interpretation on my part was called for.

Linesch (1995, p.264) writes

research approaches within the field of art therapy must respect and perhaps mirror the way art therapists come to know their clients.

The fact is that in art therapy I do not rely solely on the verbalizations of my clients or always take their words at face value. I do take unconscious as well as conscious experiencing into consideration in my work. The art object itself is an entity that while related to the client, also exists separately and has its own meaning. Discussion around this object is a dialogical exchange between the client and myself and the subjectivity of our individual and shared interpretations is not denied but valued. In my analysis of the data this sort of hermeneutic approach, more in line with my approach as an art therapist, was applied.

a psychotherapy hermeneutics emerges as a multi-dimensional process, acknowledging intersubjectivity as the source of interpreted meaning, valuing the contribution of the subjective reactions of the interpreter in constructing meaning...and catalyzing creative processes as part of the discovery (Linesch, 1994, p.188).

Again, as an art therapist and as a researcher for this pilot study, I also looked at the participants' behaviour around the drawing task as a source of meaning. Whether they appeared relaxed or agitated, how the materials were approached, their degree of absorption and manipulative action while drawing, the speed at which they worked, the amount of erasing done as well as their verbalizations while working were considered important.

In looking at the artwork itself, I first considered the actual object that had been drawn. I was interested in whether it was a truly personal object with the idiosyncratic qualities that attached it to its owner detailed, or if it was a more impersonal object lacking any indications of uniqueness. I also looked at such formal qualities as line, form, placement and colour as indicators of affective responses and for related meanings. I took note of such features as size, detailing, omissions, pressure and transparencies. While considering and analysing these elements of the drawings I used as resources the works of Kaufman and Wohl (1985; 1992) based on the carefully developed and validated interpretations of such figures as Machover (1980), Hammer (1980), DiLeo (1983), and Jolles (1971). I also looked at indicators used with the Kinetic Family Drawing (Burns and Kaufman, 1970), an assessment

task that has been shown to have solid test-retest reliability and concurrent validity (Neale and Rosal, 1993, p.37). Finally, I viewed the series of four drawings as a gestalt, looking for changes over time and possible themes emerging. In seeing the series in its entirety, I was able to get a more complete sense of the reaction to the task, defenses that had been activated and the strengths and needs of each participant.

In listening to the participants describe their experiences of the chosen objects and reading the transcripts made of our conversations a number of factors were considered. Insofar as the verbal descriptions were congruent with meanings gleaned from the art objects themselves and the behaviour around their making, they were considered valid. When verbalizations were at odds with other impressions I had, I attempted to discover the reasons behind this. For example, when children responded "it was fun" or "it was easy" when I asked for their response to this task, they may have been trying to spare my feelings as the creator of the task. I also looked for inconsistencies between what had been said in the first informal conversation immediately following the drawing and the later tape-recorded discussion. I paid attention to how often and at what point in our conversation the PAUSE button had been used as an indicator of anxiety. For descriptions of the objects themselves, I was attentive to whether or not the significations assigned to them were warm and emotional, as representative of human ties and interpersonal relationships or if they were spoken of in cool, neutral or negative terms. I also looked at the stories and activities described in relation to these objects in terms of whether or not they denoted

a solitary activity, a shared activity or an experience that was for some reason inaccessible to the participant. I listened to the descriptions given for information regarding the nature of the boundaries that defined relationships with significant others. Boundaries can be viewed as being on a continuum ranging from enmeshed to disengaged, with blurred boundaries and over-involvement leading to a poor sense of self and rigid boundaries creating a wall of isolation and separateness (Oster and Gould, 1987, p.111). It has been written that in enmeshed families, possessions are not respected as owned by another (Kaufman and Wohl, 1992, p.101). By the same token, it may be true that withholding or a lack of sharing of possessions may signify an isolating disengagement. In considering all of these factors, I tried to learn from the participants' descriptions something about the quality of the bonds existing between them and significant others with reference to the chosen objects.

Cultural sensitivity is very important when considering issues such as boundaries, dependency and attachment. While much of the literature reflects a white, upper middle-class, Western world point of view, the experiences of some of the participants in this study may be entirely different. While the children in this pilot study differ in terms of racial background, all of them come from families with financial difficulties. The culture of the poor, where sharing of possessions may be a necessity and money matters cannot be so easily kept from the children, should also be taken into account.

The blending of phenomenological and hermeneutic principles with the use of drawing indicators that have been statistically validated will, I hope, give a more complete view of each participant. At the same time, my aim has been to respect the individuality and unique contribution of each child to this task.

Interpretation can be aided by taking into account general trends as indicated by statistical studies. But understanding of children can be achieved only by studying them as individuals, since no two are alike (DiLeo, 1983, p.4).

FINDINGS

PARTICIPANT ONE (See figs. 1-4)

Brief Background

C. is a 9 year-old female currently living with her grandmother, her grandmother's sister and a 7 year-old brother. C.'s mother was 17 years old when C. was born and C. lived with her for the first five years of her life. C.'s life was chaotic and unstable during this period with numerous relocations and there is evidence of abuse and neglect. C. was sometimes left in the care of her grandmother for months at a time, and her younger brother was eventually found by child protection authorities alone and without food in an apartment. At this point both children were adopted by the maternal grandmother. C.'s mother is now married, living in another city and has a new baby. C. sometimes speaks to her on the phone, but rarely sees her. C. has not seen her father since she was 4 years old.

When C. was first assessed at the hospital by a psychologist her drawings, according to her file, were found to be "unstructured, spatially disorganized and she was unable to make a story from them".

C. is the only participant in this study who does not currently attend the full day program at the hospital. It was due to her difficulties in adjusting to a more regular

school environment that C. began coming to the hospital for art therapy. C. attached to me almost immediately, throwing her arms around me at our second meeting and telling me that I was "nicer than other people". Her neediness in terms of establishing warm interpersonal connections was quite clear. In our relationship C. initially adopted a caretaking role, bringing me small gifts, doing my hair and telling me "if you ever feel sad, just give me a call". Only very gradually, has C. allowed our relations to be more age appropriate and herself to be the recipient of care.

C. readily agreed to be a participant in this pilot study when the project was explained to her. While drawing she was very quiet and invested, choosing her materials with great consideration. Later, she was able to describe and tell stories about her drawn objects.

In connection with her grandmother, referred to as "mommy", C. used markers and drew a yellow "chest of drawers" with a vase of flowers on top. She later reinforced the general outline of the drawers and one of the flowers with fuchsia (see fig.1). Overall, it is quite a sturdy, stable, cheerful looking object. In speaking about these drawers C. stated

Sometimes I ask mommy what's in your drawer? And she says "you don't know", "you shouldn't know". And then when she's gone, first I check, when she's not inside and, ummm, and then I go inside her drawer...I feel very sneaky.

With this description I got a sense of C.'s overstepping of boundaries that her grandmother attempts to establish. While such boundaries may be appropriate and

there are indeed things that a child "shouldn't know", C. also spoke in our first informal discussion about herself being generally "sneaky" at home and going to the refrigerator for food when she "wasn't supposed to". I felt that while some of the boundaries imposed on C. were necessary and healthy, other needs were perhaps being neglected. The chest of drawers is drawn quite high on the page. This is said to suggest a hard striving for difficult goals (Jolles, 1964, p.41) and optimism that is often unjustified (Machover, 1949, p.54). C.'s feelings of guilt with regard to going into places she's not supposed to were expressed with her final comment about this drawing, "I'm gonna keep out of my mommy's drawers forever!".

This object was also spoken of in terms of similarities between C. and her grandmother. C. said that in looking inside the chest of drawers she discovered that "even she wears the same clothes like me...me and her we have the same skirt and same pants". The chest has been described as an archetypal female symbol, having both containing and protective functions (Neumann, 1955, p.45). Bachelard describes chests as objects that both hide and reveal, protecting the house against chaos (1964, pp.6-7). For C. the chest of drawers seems to connote a shared femaleness with her grandmother who does serve to contain and protect her. The reinforced outlines of the chest and one of the flowers seems to highlight these functions.

As a representation of her mother, C. drew the outline of a shoe (see fig. 2). To do this she placed the paper on the floor, her own shoe on top of the paper, and

traced around it in thick black marker. Later she added lines and a black X for the tread. Her actions suggested a rather angry stamping out of the mother and the resulting drawing is dark and empty. Burns and Kaufman (1972, p.108) write that X's imply an attempt at impulse control. They can be seen as force and counterforce defining areas of conflict. C. told me that the shoes she was wearing used to belong to her mother but she was reluctant to say much about the drawing. "I love that shoe. That's all". Ogden (1977, as cited in Wohl and Kaufman, 1992, p.19) suggests that placement on the right side of the page, as in this drawing, indicates behaviour that is strongly governed by the reality principle. The reality for C. is that her mother is unable or unwilling to care for her and is living with her new family in a different city.

When she was asked to draw an object connected with her father who she had not seen for years, C. was unable to think of an object connected with him. Instead she drew a picture of herself and her father floating above a field of flowers with the word "ouche" written above her father (see fig.3). For this drawing C. switched to crayons, a more infantile medium that perhaps recalls her age when she last met him. The picture is somewhat strange with orange clouds blocking a meagre yellow sun and the two black stick figures haloed, one in black, the other in green. C. described the environment in this picture as "the prickies", saying that the many flowers were covered with thorns. Flowers are thought to represent a search for love and beauty (Burns and Kaufman, 1972, p.188), but in this case they are described in threatening

terms. Her father was also said to be wearing a "suit of thorns". The story associated with this picture was

My daddy told me not to go down so my eyes were popping out. "No, not prickies!". And then I just started floating up in the sky and I never came down.

Asked to describe the experience of "floating up in the sky and never coming down", C. began to talk about seeing God up there and went on to describe him in detail. She told me that she was wearing a "little dress" in the picture and that she was 4 years old in this depiction of herself. Although C. told me that this picture and story were "make-believe", this dissociative fantasy in relation to a dangerous environment and a father who wears a "suit of thorns" may attest to early abusive relationships and C.'s learned style of coping.

When asked to draw a gift object that had been given to her C. again used crayons to create an orange "ball with a hole in the middle" and wrote the words "boll" above and "love", nearly tumbling off the page, below (see fig. 4). In talking about this ball, C. told me that it had been given to her by her father for Christmas but had later been given away by her brother. She said that her father sent her a gift every Christmas but that these gifts always ended up at the wrong house to be played with by another child.

The mailman didn't see the person's name on it. He didn't see that it was mine and he gave it to that child. My daddy said next time when that happens he's gonna go to the court house, to the mail box, whatever...he will sue the mail people.

When I asked her if she thought these measures might enable her to receive her present she replied "no" and later told me "I'm sad because I didn't get my present never". C. admitted to me that this gift ball was "imaginary" and I felt that this need to invent a gift object indicated a paucity of giving, supportive individuals in her life. Attempts to create a fantasy, "God"-like father who fulfils her wishes are essentially unsatisfying and leave her feeling despondent.

In looking at the series as a whole, a transition from a fairly stable, secure position to one which is increasingly regressed and dissociative becomes evident. It is difficult to say whether this is reflective of the various relationships explored or a response to the drawing task itself, but perhaps it is some combination of the two. Her grandmother, the primary care giver for C., seems to be a calming, stabilizing influence. Other relationships appear to be more disengaged and laden with feelings of deprivation and loss.

PARTICIPANT TWO (see figs. 5-8)

Brief Background

S. is a 9 year-old female who was living with her mother, father and 6 year-old brother at the time of this pilot study. Shortly after the study was completed, the parents separated. The marriage had been described as a "rollercoaster" by S.'s mother with the father sometimes threatening to leave and keeping a packed suitcase by the front door. S.'s difficulties seem to have begun with the birth of her younger brother and her entrance into school. At that time she began refusing to sleep in her own bed and was allowed to sleep in her parents' bed with them. At school-age she began complaining of stomachaches and either refused to attend school or had her mother called to the school to pick her up early. Although relations between S.'s mother and maternal grandmother have been strained at different periods, the grandmother often visits the family home and frequently stays overnight. According to S.'s parents, S. and her grandmother "adore" each other.

S. also engaged with me very quickly, behaving initially as if she were my age and I was a cosy confidante. S. told me there were "some things I only want you to know". In this pseudo-mature role, she also sometimes became quite domineering and behaved with me as toward a child. At other times S. spoke in a baby voice and told stories about imaginary siblings that seemed to be a burdensome responsibility to her. Her preoccupation with adult concerns gave me the impression that S. had been

parentified to some extent and in her relationship with me, it was a while before S. allowed herself to behave in a more age-appropriate manner.

S. agreed without hesitation to participate in this pilot study. She was relaxed, quiet and almost nonchalant while drawing. Markers were used throughout the series.

When asked to draw an object that belonged to her mother, S. responded "it's difficult to decide what's mom's because everything is owned by everyone in our family". She eventually chose a black marker to draw a wallet with change visible through a side pocket (see fig. 5). This was drawn in a fast, uninvested manner and the object looks constricted and insubstantial, leaving a lot of emptiness on the page. In relation to this object S. said

It's my moms and just my moms. She keeps her money in there and her credit cards and pictures of me and my brother, um...she always keeps it in her bag. She has her cheques in there too. Just some of them.

S.'s difficulty in finding an object that belonged only to her mother, along with her knowledge of the specific contents of her mother's wallet suggest the possibility that the relationship is an enmeshed one. In the final interview with S. she told me that this drawing had been the "most difficult" for her "because me and my mom share stuff. Her earrings and some of her clothes", reiterating her difficulty with knowing what belonged to whom. The transparency of the drawn wallet that allows the money inside to be seen, again seems to indicate a lack of the usual boundaries.

Transparencies are rarely seen in the drawings of children at this stage of

development and are thought to mirror younger children's egocentric sense that what they see and feel is experienced in exactly the same fashion by others (Kaufman and Wohl, 1992, p.21). The emphasis on money also reflects S.'s often expressed concern with the family's finances, an area of difficulty in the family that S. seems to know far too much about. The wallet is placed quite high on the page, again possibly indicative of a striving for goals that may be unattainable as well as an unjustified optimism.

S. used green, blue and black markers to draw a manual shaver, an electric shaver and shaving cream as objects connected with her father (see fig.6). She took more time and care with this drawing and the objects were drawn confidently and with great fluidity. Her father's objects take up the whole page. In relation to these objects S. talked about watching her father shave and actually using his shaver once on her own face, making herself bleed. S. told me that she chose green for this drawing even though the objects are not in fact green, because "it's a boy's colour". With this drawing S. neatly managed to solve her main stated difficulty with this task, that of finding objects that belonged only to one person, by choosing very masculine objects associated with an activity that her father alone participated in. S. had discovered through a painful experience that shaving of the face was an activity that was inaccessible to her. These objects seem to represent her differentiation from her father and possibly even a lack of shared activities between them. The shaver also has connotations of castrating or cutting off and may reflect S.'s anxiety around the

threatened separation of her father from the family. When asked how she had felt while doing this drawing S. responded "good" but had to press the PAUSE button immediately afterwards.

S. chose to draw an object belonging to her grandmother in response to the request to "draw something belonging to someone else in your immediate or extended family". The object is a television set, drawn in brown marker with thinner brown marker used to depict a smiling "news lady" on the screen (see fig.7). With respect to this object S. said

When I go sleep at her house, we watch T.V. and...she likes watching the news so she knows about stuff. I like watching it too 'cause I find out stuff like who died and like where the police are gonna move...stuff like that.

S.'s need to "find out stuff" that is usually of more interest to adults, highlights her taking on of an inappropriately adult role. Her mention of the police is, I think, reflective of the vigilance with which she observes the adults in her life.

The most striking features in the drawn television are its placement at the extreme bottom of the page, and its overly large "on/off button". Placement this low on the page is said to indicate feelings of insecurity and depressive tendencies (Buck, 1948, p.10; Hammer, 1958, p.35; Jolles, 1964, p.41; Machover, 1949, p.54). In explaining the situation of the television S. said "it's on a stand and like, you can move it, because there are wheels underneath it...you can't see the stand". She also described the television as "old. It doesn't have a remote control". My feeling is that S.'s

choice of an object associated with a shared, enjoyable activity to represent her grandmother speaks of a warm bond between them. The low placement of the television, its emphasized on/off button, the reference to finding out "who died" and the insecure, transitory state of this old television set on wheels indicate a great deal of sadness and anxiety on S.'s part regarding her grandmother's eventual death. This is a concern that has in fact come up repeatedly in my sessions with S.

For the gift object, S. chose to draw an object that had been given to her by her grandmother, giving support to my impression that this woman represents the most fulfilling relationship in S.'s life. This drawing was done with much more investment and deliberation than the others and took the longest to complete. The object is a brightly coloured roll of tape (see fig.8).

It's scotch tape. It's rainbow colours. It's green, yellow, orange. I use it a lot. It's just mine. I play with it in the basement with my school stuff...I like colours.

This object, unlike the others, is solidly coloured in and S. is able to firmly identify it as "just mine". She told me that this object was the easiest in the series for her to draw, again because she knew that it was her very own. This object is also associated with an enjoyable, playful activity and interestingly, it is an object that is used to attach one thing to another.

This image, with its very organic, curved female shape is not immediately recognizable as a roll of tape. In looking at this completed drawing, S. said

spontaneously that it reminded her of an infant.

It's all curled up in the mother's stomach. Or it's in a crib. When it's in the mother's stomach, it's all like curled up. I have a book about that.

Again, the associations to this object are related to containment and protection. S.'s verbalizations regarding this object may also reflect her response to the holding environment of art therapy and our alliance. I found in this pilot study that often the last picture represented a wish or desire that may or may not be being fulfilled. For S., her relationship with her grandmother does seem to meet many of her attachment and interpersonal needs. The last picture is also often indicative of defenses that are being used. S.'s defense against an imposed adult-like role and unsatisfactory relationships with her parents may be the fantasy of a return to an all-protecting and nurturing womb.

In looking at this series of drawings as a whole, there was a gradual increase of care and concern taken with the drawings. The first and last drawings are in striking contrast to each other. The mother's object is black and relatively empty, formed of mostly straight lines and with the swiftness of its execution very apparent. It floats seemingly beyond grasp. The gift object, much more grounded in comparison, is brightly filled in, composed of curves and has an organic, life-like quality to it. It feels as if it could begin slowly rocking back and forth. The qualities of these objects are reflective of my understanding of the nature of S.'s relationships with these people.

PARTICIPANT THREE (see figs. 9-12).

Brief Background

D. is a 10 year-old male who is now living with his mother and 6 year-old step brother. This brother also lives part-time with his father. D. has never met his own father. He has witnessed his mother being physically abused by her ex-boyfriend and was abused himself by this man. D.'s mother has been described by the psychologist who works with her at the hospital as "borderline". In spite of evidence to the contrary, D.'s mother is convinced that her son has various food allergies and she monitors his food intake very closely. She has often accused him of "stealing" food. Locks on food cupboards and alarms have been set up in the kitchen of the home to ensure that D. cannot get food without his mother's knowledge. D. alone is the focus of this sort of behaviour. His younger brother is treated in an entirely different, more nurturing manner. D. rarely mentions his mother and is extremely protective and defensive when he is asked directly about her. Violent outbursts at school and physical attacks on his teachers led to D.'s admission to the day program at the hospital.

Initially D. was quite suspicious of me in art therapy. He needed to look in every cupboard in the room and asked many questions about the microphones and two-way mirror. D. spent early sessions talking very quickly and non-stop, not allowing me to speak. It was only after months of regular sessions, when he realized that I could be depended on to meet him and provide the materials he required, that D. was able to

trust me and relax. At the time this pilot study was done D. and I had established a strong alliance and he was able to allow me to interact with him in a playful manner using the art materials.

Although D. agreed verbally to participate in this pilot study I could see that his suspicions had been aroused by this change in our routine and some of his earlier behaviour and defenses were reactivated. In the 45-minute session set aside for the drawing tasks, D. spent a full half hour on the first drawing done to represent his mother and was still unable to finish it. The other three were done quickly in the 15 minutes remaining. D. spoke rapidly and continuously throughout this session and exhibited a fair amount of anxiety.

When asked to draw an object to represent his mother D. responded "mom hides her things so I don't know". Eventually he decided to draw a cat named "Spunky" which he said "belongs to the whole family". Telling me "I can't draw the body", D. was able only to finish the cat's head. He first drew Spunky's head with lead pencil and then used marker to give the cat yellow ears, one red eye and one green eye. He began to colour in the face with black but left this incomplete as well (see fig.9). This was the only drawing in his series and in the pilot study as a whole that was left unfinished. D.'s omission of the cat's body, said to indicate denial of function (Burns & Kaufman, 1972, p.299), may point to unmet nurturing needs or sexual anxiety with regard to his mother.

To me, this disembodied cat with its sharp ears, strange eyes and sly half grin has a definite "cat that swallowed the canary" aura about it. In talking about this cat, D.'s stories changed quite dramatically between the first and second discussions. Initially, when describing Spunky, D. said "if this cat were human, he'd be on ritalin like me. If he eats one bit of sugar, he goes crazy. He's very sneaky and he steals food. This cat scares me". In the later, tape-recorded interview D. had a quite different version of the cat.

When he was born...he couldn't see... and he had to feel everything and sniff everything. When I had my sandwich, he went near it. Usually, a cat, even if they can't see, they would take it. But him, he just sniffs it. All he did was take a little nibble instead of grabbing the whole sandwich. Usually, other cats I've had they would grab the whole sandwich. Even when they were kittens...Their eyes were open. They were able to see and they didn't have to wait for their mom and they were like "mmm, food. Bye".

When this discrepancy in his stories was pointed out to D., he pressed the PAUSE button, thought for awhile, and found an explanation.

Well, he didn't steal alone. He wouldn't be able to get past the table with the food if he did it alone. But his brother used to help him. He created a diversion, so they'd pay attention to him and the other one could take it...He would steal food if he wanted food and...'cause he can't talk like a person. You can't tell if he wants food or water. Sometimes you give him water, and you find out he wants food when he takes some of your food.

These stories give a vivid picture of D.'s bind in relation to his mother. D. is required to rationalize every sort of behaviour and the line separating good acts from evil ones is not just hazy, it is nonexistent; they are interchangeable. D. is in both a defenseless, "he couldn't see" position and one of "their eyes were open"; stealing to survive. His own brother appears in these stories as a possible ally of D.'s.

Something else that struck me about these stories was that it was often nearly impossible for me to distinguish between the "cat as D." and "cat as mom" metaphors. "If this cat were human, he'd be on ritalin like me" is fairly clear. At other times I thought the references were more to his mother.

It's hard to please cats sometimes... 'til you give them everything you can think of. Food, water. When they're not hungry, they still eat the food, even when they're full. Especially Spunky. When he's full, he still eats food.

Again, the fact that D. could not find an object that belonged solely to his mother, together with his blurred boundary descriptions of the cat suggests a symbiotic, enmeshed relationship. Other details about this cat support this idea.

He always got into everything. Even though he wasn't allowed in my room, he still got in there. Probably when I went to the bathroom. I open my door and he runs right in.

This merging of himself with his mother is obviously a very frightening experience for D. In his final words about this object, talking about Spunky's one green and one red eye, D.'s fear was again stated.

In the dark, when the sun reflects, like it looks really red like a monster, and the other one looks like a cat's eye. They look pretty creepy. Like a cyclops and a cat in one.

Burns and Kaufman (1972, p.154) suggest that drawings of cats often signify a conflict with the mother and that cats are generally symbolic of ambivalence and conflict. As mentioned, D. exhibited a fair amount of anxiety both during the drawing and while speaking about it in the final interview. Lots of erasing, said to indicate conflict or denial (Burns and Kaufman, 1972, p.299) was done and D. needed

to use the PAUSE button four times while speaking. Again, this was a record number for him individually and for the group as a whole.

Because D. spent a half hour of the 45-minute drawing session working on his mother's object, the next three drawings were done quickly in the fifteen minutes remaining. In spite of this time constraint, the following drawings, unlike the first, are all finished and quite detailed. All were done with lead pencil, a medium that is easier to control than others. The lack of colour in the last three drawings I attribute partially to the fact that there was simply not enough time.

D. was next asked to draw an object connected with his father whom he had never met. Although he admitted "sometimes I think I don't have a dad", he decided to depict a dog from the only photograph D. had ever seen related to his father.

That's the only thing I know about my dad. That he had a dog...but the only picture I have...only the dog you get to see. You can see my dad's legs but the rest of his body got cut off the picture.

The finished drawing is of a rather large, muscular-looking dog with a very long phallus-like tail, another large phallic shape hanging down between the front legs and sharp claws. Together with these masculine features, the dog also has ears that are more feline and a posture and facial expression that are evocative of a sad, baffled, cowering withdrawal (see fig.10). In spite of these ambivalent qualities, D. described the animal as a "trained guard dog that nearly killed a robber once". He also

expressed satisfaction with the finished drawing saying "I'm glad it turned out good".

Interestingly, it was much less anxiety-provoking for D. to represent a complete object for his father, a shadowy figure in his life, than it had been to represent his mother. There was much less erasing and the PAUSE button was used only once in the final interview. The myth of the hero has been described as being "generated by the needs of ordinary mortals. He is the answer to our prayers and will do those things which we are completely incapable of doing for ourselves" (Butler, 1979, p.5). Perhaps in fantasy D. is able to call upon a strong, if somewhat reluctant "trained guard dog" to protect him from his mother.

When D. was next asked to "draw an object belonging to someone in your immediate or extended family", D. responded "I don't know anyone in my extended family". It seems that D.'s mother is not in close contact with any of her relatives and that the family is quite isolated. D. chose to draw an object belonging to his step brother saying "it's the only thing that I gave to somebody that I know". Again, this seems to signify an unhealthy lack of social ties. This object was drawn with much less hesitation and no erasing. It is a model "war jet" complete with "guns that shoot" (see fig.11). It is flying off the right side of the page, and perhaps speeding towards the end of a series of drawing tasks that are difficult for D. Like the dog, the jet seems capable of aggression but with this threat moderated by the fact that it is quite literally taking flight. D. spoke about how his brother treasures and protects this

object that D. gave to him.

He still has the plane. He doesn't bring it to his dad's house 'cause he has a dog there and the dog gets into everything because he's a puppy so he keeps it at my house and he keeps it where the cats can't get to it.

My impression from this statement was that D.'s bond with his brother was an important one that needed to be protected from the mother. It might also be an alliance that is used as protection against the mother. In further descriptions of the model jet, the delicate nature of the attachment became clear.

If it falls it will break. Since...the plastic is breakable so if you drop it or throw it into a wall, it will come all apart. Because after you paint it the plastic becomes even softer. So it's fragile. All model planes and other models are fragile. Well model planes are fragile. Model cars aren't fragile. If they just snap together, they'll come apart. If you use special glue, they'll stay together.

When asked to "draw a gift object that was given to you by someone in your family or someone else", D. again chose his brother, this time drawing an object that had been received from his brother. This drawing was done with the greatest amount of confidence and again, no erasing. It is a "transformer", a very powerful looking robot with a menacing expression, walking straight toward the viewer (see fig.12). For this drawing D. changed the paper from the horizontal position of his previous three to a vertical, upright position. This is the only case in the pilot study, where the position of the page was changed mid-way and I believe this action reflects a sensitivity on D.'s part to figure/environment relationships as well as his ability to make the necessary adjustments to suit his needs. This action is indicative of a more upright, proactive stance on D.'s part.

This drawn figure is clearly a much more confrontational object than any of those drawn previously.

(It's) Devastator. (He's) stronger. 'Cause it can come apart into little transformers...they made it big size...it can come apart if you pull them off, but they don't break when they come off.

The drawing and this description also suggest a hypervigilance that may tend toward fragmentation in order to cathect the targeted part or parts of the body of the psyche that may need to be split off to survive. Issues of "being under attack" and "protection" were mentioned repeatedly by D. in reference to this object. In spite of "Devastator's" obvious and reported strengths, D. also indicated that Devastator was not entirely indestructible. He spoke of other robots that were "able to bring Devastator down. Even when Devastator rebelled, and was fighting". In the drawing, the robot has only one small hand to use. It appears as though D. needs some help in dealing with relationships in his life.

I have already stated that in this pilot study the last picture often gave clearer information about desires and needs as well as the major defenses and strengths being used. This final picture of D.'s is a good example of that. Certainly he has both a desire and a need for greater strength and protection. He said of this gift "it was something that I always wanted". When I asked him what he would transform into himself if he had a choice D. answered "anything that could be as protection...so I could protect myself when I'm under attack by other people...So I'm not small. I'm big". The defenses currently being used may include fragmentation or splitting as

was mentioned earlier.

This drawing also suggests that D. has other, healthier resources at his disposal when he feels he is being "attacked". D. is able to "transform" himself into an armoured, more assertive, sometimes aggressive figure when the need arises. His creative ability to adjust both himself and his environment may offer him a certain resiliency. D.'s reference to Devastator's words "combine and destroy" again imply that his brother may assist him.

In viewing the series as a whole, I tend to view D.'s last three drawings as responses to issues raised in the first, with the overriding theme being one of defense. While there is some evidence that D. is able to rely on his brother, this brother is only in D.'s home a few days a week. D.'s relationships outside the hospital consist almost exclusively of that which he has with his mother. Each of the last three drawings seems to represent one means of coping with this relationship. The dog is strong but fearful; the plane enables escape; the robot stays and fights. Aggression is a last resort. D. clearly experienced my intrusion into his life through this task as threatening, perhaps mirroring his experience of his mother. When his anxiety was too long-lived, his strongest defenses were brought forth. The fact that his aggression was expressed creatively and contained, rather than erupting in physical violence as it had in the past, is a sign that D. is learning more adaptive means of coping.

Finally, D. was able to make positive comments such as "it turned out good" and "I'm pretty good with those" in reference to his drawings and his own skills. This healthy self-esteem is evidence that some amount of nurturance is present in his personal relationships.

PARTICIPANT FOUR (see figs. 13-16)

Brief Background

J. is an eleven year-old male presently living with his mother, father, his father's girlfriend and two sisters, aged 15 and 12. The father, who left his wife two years ago to live with her best friend, has only recently returned to the home with his girlfriend. Reports seem to indicate that this living situation is satisfactory for all involved. It is true that while J. seemed very anxious and ambivalent while anticipating his father's return, he appeared more contented afterwards. J. was referred to the hospital program because of attention problems and aggressive outbursts at school.

In our relations, J. was quite tense and reserved initially and this feeling has remained although to a much lesser extent. When he did become warmer he seemed to view me primarily as a peer rather than as an adult. He also seems to think that my experiences have been the same as his own. J. asked me if the hospital program had been the same when I attended. He was the only child in this pilot study who wanted to listen to the recording of the final interview saying "let's listen to us two losers on tape". While listening, J. picked up on my idiosyncrasies and laughed about them in a friendly manner. He has also learned to trust me with some of his most pressing concerns and sought my advice on personal issues. J. has let me know in various ways that his time with me and our relationship is considered valuable

although difficult for him.

J. complied somewhat passively when asked to participate in this project, though I felt he was reluctant to do so. He showed signs of agitation and nervousness while drawing and during the interviews. He took great pains with his work and was fairly quiet. When J. did speak, it was mostly to ask "is this wrong?", "should I write down what it is? You can't tell" and to make other disparaging remarks about his creations. He was the only participant who moved back and forth between the drawings while working. All of the images were drawn with lead pencil and sometimes a ruler first, and colour was added later with markers. The frame-like geometry around the images began with the final object and was added to the others subsequently. My sense was that J. wanted to continue working and adding elements to each drawing until the time was used up and he wouldn't have to talk much about them. Control seemed of the utmost importance to J.

When asked to draw an object he connected with his mother, J.'s first response was "underwear", before he laughed nervously and said "no". He went on to draw a pencil with an eraser, later searching for "skin colour" to fill it in (see fig.13). He used a ruler to draw this one and did a great deal of anxious erasing. In speaking about this and his other objects, J. did not have much to say. "I was selling pencils for school and mom bought some...(I was) a bit nervous. It was the first one so I didn't know if I was gonna mess it up or if I was gonna get it". J.'s reference to his

mother's underwear, together with his desire for "skin colour" and the actual form of this object, led me to view the drawing as a small penis. The actual pencil, inside the larger frame, is minuscule on the page. Unusually small drawings are said to indicate possible feelings of inferiority, ineffectiveness, or inadequacy as well as withdrawal, (Buck, 1948, p.10, Hammer, 1958, p.35) depressive tendencies and a weak ego (Machover, 1949, p.54). These qualities do form a part of my overall impression of J. and they may be features of his relationship with his mother as well. This object does represent a connection between J. and his mother in that she supported his efforts to sell pencils, however there is a feeling of weakness about it. In his sessions with me, J. has indicated that he blames his mother to some extent for his father's departure. It is possible that he views his mother as a castrator and fears his own incestuous feelings for her.

J. drew money, a purple \$1000 bill and a grey \$10 bill to represent his father. Again, these bills are confined within a rigid framework (see fig.14). This was the only drawing during which J. showed much affect and it was an angry, frustrated response to trying to get the colours he wanted. He talked about his father in terms of all the money that he had.

He has more than that there... 'cause he has a lot of money... 'cause he always gives me money and everything... to go Christmas shopping. And whenever we finish school he gives us fifty bucks each... makes a hundred and fifty dollars... if we pass. But if we fail, he's probably still gonna give it.

Sartre has written that "money is synonymous with power... it is in fact capable of procuring for us what we desire... it represents my magical bond with the object"

(1956, p.590). J. does sometimes seem to view money as a magical solution to his current difficulties and has spoken of his desire for "a million". In terms of human relationships, a genuine bond is probably of greater value than a magical one. Money is generally a transitory object that offers little gratification in and of itself. It can be used to satisfy material needs, and in that respect it may serve an important function for J. Money is however powerless to fulfil emotional needs. When it is given to J. whether or not he passes school, even its value as a symbol of reward is cheapened. In a study of personal objects, this object stands out as being the coldest and most impersonal.

J. chose his maternal grandfather to represent in the next drawing. He drew a very tiny brown golf club and ball (see fig.15). Again, J. did not have much to say about either this object or the person who owned it.

He always goes to play golf. All the time. He leaves in the morning and goes to play golf. He comes back in the afternoon. Always plays golf.

When I asked J. if he ever played golf with his grandfather, the response was "nope". This object seems to represent an absence rather than a presence. J. did tell me later that he bikes to his grandfather's house regularly and helps him with raking in the summer. I did not get the sense though that this was a particularly fulfilling relationship. J.'s difficulty in knowing his grandfather was possibly implied in his expressed problems with drawing a golf club that was not present.

'Cause you don't know how, if you're not looking at one, you know? It's hard to know, you know, if you're doing a putter or if you're doing other things.

For his gift object J. decided on a puzzle that had been given to him by his mother. It is a tiny brown box with "Puzzle" and "500 piece" written on it (see fig.16). This drawing was the most time-consuming and like the other object connected to his mother, required more erasing than the others. The geometric frames began with this drawing. This object also has an impersonal feel to it and J. seemed quite reluctant to identify it as a particular puzzle given to him specifically by his mother.

(It's) something that somebody gave me. That a lot of people give me. O.K. It was a puzzle, 'cause I always get puzzles. 'Cause I ask for them and I always get them...(And this one was from your mom?) Yeah. That one, yeah. But I've got a whole bunch from other people.

J. seems to deny that his mother has given him anything particularly meaningful. He noticed himself that this drawing was somewhat smaller than the others. "I think I wrote it too small and I did the square too small and everything like that".

While J. chose his mother as a giving person in his life, there is little evidence from this drawing or J.'s explanation of it that the relationship goes very far in sustaining him. A puzzle is an object that requires the joining of interlocking parts, and to some extent a "good fit" with his mother is implied. But J. admitted that he usually works alone on his puzzles and for the moment, this one is not attached but in "500 pieces". There is little suggestion of the wishes or desires that were seen in the others' final drawings, unless it is that someone put the puzzle together.

These drawings are more striking as a series than they are individually. There is an incredibly controlled sameness about them; the objects themselves are all quite impersonal; they are invariably tiny; their black frames may protect, but they also isolate them. Each object sits alone in a separate box, accentuating the already existing separation of the individual pages. The geometry of the frames is also such that they are reversible forms and can be viewed as both projecting and retreating into space. The ambivalence of these configurations is certainly reflective of J.'s attitude towards me and may also indicate the nature of other relationships in his life. All that J. could tell me about these frames was that "it goes in the middle and makes it a bit nicer". Each of the framed objects is indeed in the exact center of the page. Such placement, is said to suggest insecurity and rigidity, especially rigidity in interpersonal relations (Buck, 1948, p.10, Jolles, 1964, p.41, Machover, 1949, p.54). J. was the only child in this pilot study who did not include any sign of a living being amongst the inanimate objects. There is a deadness and general lack of animation in this series that speaks of a vulnerability to depression that may be the result of highly ungratifying, disengaged relationships.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE PILOT STUDY

In assessing the strengths and limitations of this pilot study I will refer back to my original research questions as they were stated earlier. My expectation is that the reader, having access to both the visual and transcribed data, will also be in a position to critically evaluate the findings of this pilot study in terms of the usefulness of the drawing task.

To what extent might children's drawings of parents' objects and objects related to significant persons be used to determine the nature of the child's relationship with these people?

I felt that both the object drawings and the children's descriptions of them were sources of a great deal of information regarding the qualities of the relationships with the people represented by these objects. Formal qualities of the drawings, meanings and stories related to the objects themselves and behaviour around the drawing task all provided insights into the bonds between the participants and their significant others that might not have been so readily accessible through another family representation drawing task. The protection against chaos embodied in the chest of drawers, the insubstantial quality of the wallet, the double bind feeling evoked by the cat and the ambivalence of the reversible frames all seemed quite telling in terms of the relationships they represented. Much of the information gathered could be confirmed in the context of my total art therapy experience with each participant.

For children living in single parent homes, or with grandparents, what is the effect of this on their relationships with objects?

This question cannot be answered sufficiently within the scope of this pilot study. In this small sample of four children, only one was living in a "traditional" two-parent home at the time the pilot study was conducted. Also, the quantitative terms "single-parent" and "two-parent" may themselves mask qualitative family dynamics of object relations with parents. "Split" families may work hard to provide a caring environment and some two-parent homes may have one or more parents who are emotionally absent. My feeling is that when "goodness of fit" exists with at least one present individual and the child has been helped to tolerate the loss of absent parents, relationships with objects need not be unhealthy. Further research with a larger sample is required to support this belief. Comparative studies with children living in two parent homes, with different age groups, with children outside of psychiatric institutions and comparing object to family assessments are other possibilities for further research.

Can a child's reaction to an absent parent or parents be determined through this drawing task?

It seems to me that important information regarding the children's experiences of absent parents was accessed through this task. These losses appeared to be very present in the minds of the participants. With object drawings of the shoe, the father and daughter floating, the imaginary ball and the guard dog, responses to absent parents were externalized. These included anger, feelings of being contaminative,

retreat into fantasy, idealization and a deep-felt desire to know more about parents who were absent. The impact these absences seem to have had on the participants was not readily perceptible outside of this drawing task as these absent figures were never spoken of. And yet this knowledge seems vital to a more complete understanding of the children.

Can the presence or absence of material/emotional deprivation be determined through this task and if so, what is the effect of this on a child's relationship with objects?

This drawing task did seem to indicate where there was a possibility that basic material and emotional needs were not being fully met in some cases. The need to invent a gift object and the word "love" written below this imaginary ball, the "cutting off" function of the shaver, talk of "stealing" food and the depiction of "cold, hard cash", all seem to speak of unmet needs. Determination of different sorts of deprivation is necessary for therapists in establishing the goals of therapy and helping clients learn to tolerate relationships that may fall short or be on the borderline of being "good enough".

Can the qualities of presence or absence of supportive individuals in a child's life be determined through the expressive qualities of drawn gift objects received from such people?

First of all, drawings of gift objects did seem to indicate whether or not supportive individuals were present in the lives of the participants. The particular expressive and formal qualities of these gift object drawings did also often seem to reflect qualities in the relationships with the people they represented. The imaginary

ball, the attachment and holding environment of the roll of tape, the "devastating" love relationship suggested by "Devastator" and the ambiguity of the puzzle all seem to parallel features of the relationships they represent. Also, in every case the gift object was the second representation of a person who had come up earlier in the series, though the task itself did not dictate this occurrence. This made it possible for me to compare the qualities of the two drawings and descriptions and make a more informed analysis.

Can individual defenses, strengths and needs be determined through this drawing task?

It seems to me that the drawing task was particularly successful in this regard. The fourth drawing, the gift object, was especially useful in determining coping styles, needs and strengths. I feel however, that this information emerged as each individual series evolved, and could only be accessed in the context of a number of drawings. Kaufman and Wohl write that no conclusion should ever be based on a single drawing (1992, p.17). One of the strengths of this assessment is that four drawings are required. This allows for the development of patterns over time as well as for the corroboration or refutation of observations derived from any single drawing.

How threatening will this task be for children?

While the first two participants exhibited little or no anxiety in relation to this drawing task, for the last two participants, the assessment was undoubtedly a source of stress. An element here might be that the first task, for the males, who are nearing

puberty, demands an object connected with the opposite sexed parent. The fourth participant's first association of "underwear", for example, and my physical embodiment of the female sex, may stimulate the censoring process immediately. One possible modification of the task might be to allow participants the choice of what order to do their object drawings in.

I also do not know what each participant's level of anxiety was relative to what it would have been if they had been asked to do one of the other available family representation drawing tasks. Doris Arrington states that "family portraits are inevitably tension producing" (1992, p.165). DiLeo writes that "only among children from broken homes have I met with a flat refusal to draw the family" (1983, p.102). While the notion of a "broken home" is now dated, and the children he describes are becoming a majority, the fact is that such children may be more likely to be seen in therapy (Berger, 1994, p.345). A "flat refusal" from such children, when asked to draw the family, could mean that a valuable source of information is lost. My feeling is that at least half of the participants in my small sample would have been either unable or unwilling to do a family portrait. Several of them have an extraordinarily difficult time speaking about their parents or primary care givers, and others simply never do talk about these people or allow the subject to be pursued. I can't really conceive of any other means, apart from object drawings, through which I could have accessed the information that I did. Also, and this is very important, the level of anxiety was never such that it could not be contained. While the participants were

aware that they could discontinue at any point, if I had felt myself that the material being drawn and discussed was in any way detrimental, I would have ended the process myself.

My final point, having to do with my own response to giving the assessment, is also related to the issue of the anxiety that can be provoked during assessments. In the standardized procedure for obtaining a Kinetic Family Drawing, after the instructions for the drawing have been given

the examiner then leaves the room and checks back periodically....No time limit is given....If the subject says "I can't," he/she is encouraged periodically and left in the room until he/she completes the K-F-D (Burns, 1982, p.68).

It seems to me that this experience of being left alone in a room for as long as it takes to complete a difficult drawing task, and having a stranger check in periodically to see if you have finished, is potentially very stressful. Of course, in quantitative or traditional scientific models where the emphasis is on an unbiased, objective, rational approach, the "examiner" would necessarily be unknown to the person doing the assessment. One assumption within this paradigm is that subjective elements of bias and feeling can be sifted out; in fact should be sifted out in order to increase validity. Inherent in this assumption is the notion that precise measurement of internal and external realities is both possible and more useful than understanding people's experiences.

Humanistically-based qualitative methods on the other hand, embrace subjectivity and the search is for meaning rather than "truth". In depth interviews, indwelling with the data and "feed-back loops", with the researcher returning to participants for further descriptions and clarification, are all believed to enhance qualitative validity. A close relationship between the researcher and participants is integral to these methods.

Laing (1982, as cited in Allender, 1987, p.475), writes

when (objectivity) is used as the dominant and practically only value to determine the methods and course of research, the results are necessarily disconnected from other human concerns...a holistic understanding is impossible when we look at human experience with analytic, unfeeling eyes.

My feeling is that art-based assessments of significant relationships are best done in the context of a secure relationship, as they were with this group. In this way, the number of sources of anxiety are reduced and the results may have greater validity as a result. In her initial assessment with a psychologist at the hospital, the first participant in this study was found to produce drawings that were "unstructured, spatially disorganized and she was unable to make a story from them". However, in this pilot study she was able to both create structured drawings and tell stories about them.

Personally, I felt better offering participants the distance provided by object, as opposed to figure, representations in asking them to explore potentially stressful material. I also felt more comfortable with my role during this pilot study knowing

that the children felt secure with me, and that I had some understanding of *their* strengths and limitations before asking them to do this particular drawing task. Qualitative studies take into consideration how the participants themselves benefit from taking part in the research. In this pilot study, initiated within an already established therapeutic relationship, the children were also allowed to continue to work through any object representations that emerged and that seemed to need further attention.

CONCLUSION

I found that a broad theoretical base was required in order to encompass the rich array of potential meanings evoked by significant personal objects. Bowlby's (1973) and Ainsworth's (1978) notions regarding "secure" and "anxious" attachment were useful in looking at the children's object drawings. The participants' choices of objects such as scotch tape, model jets and puzzles, objects that quite literally involve attachment, together with verbalizations regarding the relative strengths of these attachments, point to the relevance of these theories. Lamb's (1978) criticisms of "matricentric thinking" and "monotropism" and Schaffer's (1992) proposal that children can form multiple attachments to fathers, siblings and grandparents, were also supported in this pilot study. Only one participant chose his mother when drawing a gift object and other attachments were seen to have great importance. Chess and Thomas' (1992) concepts of "goodness of fit" and "poorness of fit" with respect to the expectations and demands placed on the child by the parents, were also pertinent to this project. Through object drawings I was able to get some sense of how various expectations and demands had impacted on the participants. In cases where parentified children were being expected to shoulder adult concerns and responsibilities, it was difficult for them to behave age-appropriately in their relationships. For another participant, continually shifting demands and expectations had forced him to assume a highly defended, potentially aggressive position in his relationships.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's (1981, p.23) theories regarding the projected future meanings inherent in object choices, were also valuable in considering the implications for future psychological development contained in the objects chosen and depicted. I found that the gift objects in particular often represented current desires with implications for the future. These included wishes for increased support, nurturance, strength and protection. Enhanced understanding of children's needs gives some indication as to how therapy might proceed as well.

Finally, the philosophical notions of "Zuhandenheit", "Vorhandenheit", object "appropriation" and object "possession", with its closely related, often feared and desired possession by the object, were very helpful in exploring the nuances of meaning contained in the various objects chosen by the participants. The participants chose "Zuhandenheit" objects such as shoes, shavers, models and pencils, and created "Vorhandenheit" drawings of them. Through these experiences the children and myself were able to consider meanings that emerged from what these objects were actually used for and also engage in a contemplative relationship with the visual representations of these objects.

My experience in art therapy with children having behavioural and emotional difficulties has been that many of their concerns are relationship-based. If a relatively non-threatening drawing task were available to art therapists and children for the exploration of significant relationships, it would be an extremely useful tool. Children

would have a forum for discussion of their relationship needs, hopes and fears. Art therapists could be assured that they were opening this discussion up in a manner that was less stressful. Enhanced understanding of children's significant relationships and the identification of possibly dysfunctional relationship patterns, could assist art therapists in promoting new, healthier styles of relating.

Neale and Rosal encourage art therapists to develop innovative, idiosyncratic projective drawing tasks aimed at studying specific problems, adding that establishing such tools is both "necessary and timely" (1993, p.48). The potential of the drawing task discussed in this pilot study will only be fully understood with further research. I do believe however, that drawings of personal possessions can be a rich source of information about interpersonal relationships.

Possession is a magical relation; I am these objects which I possess, but outside, so to speak, facing myself (Sartre, 1956, p.591).

Fig. 1

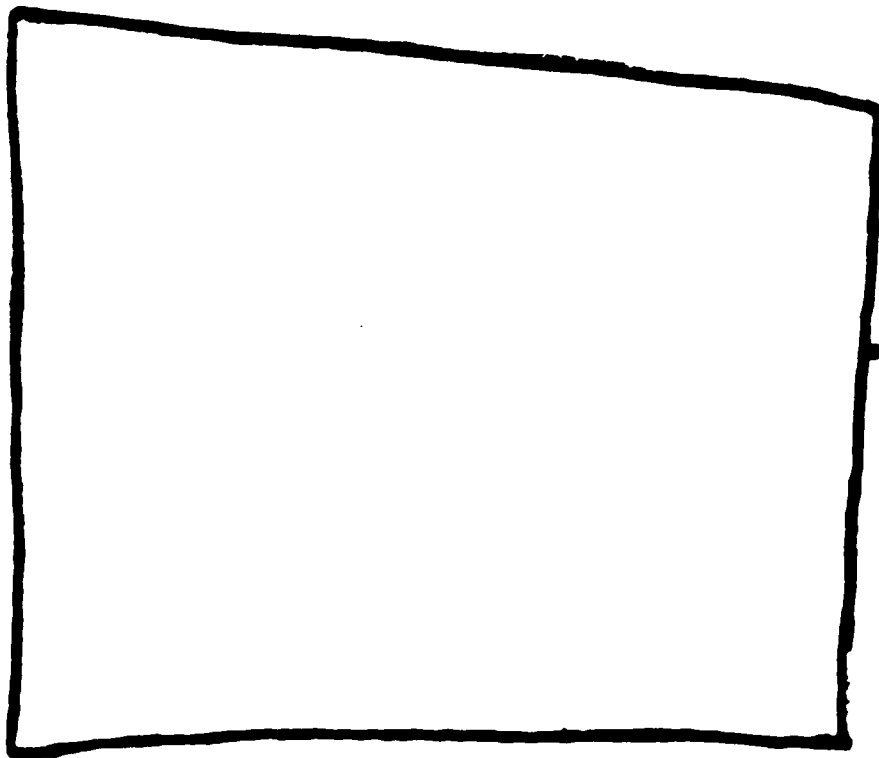
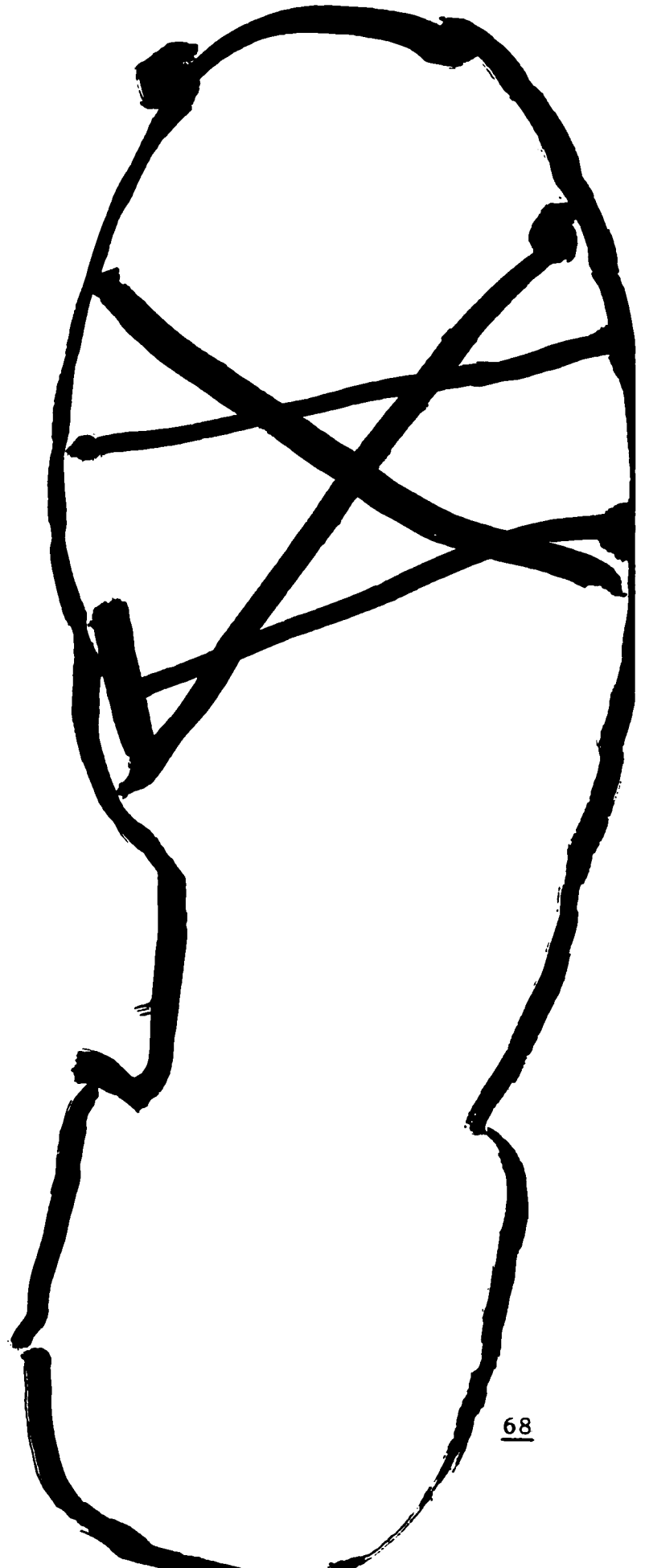


Fig.2



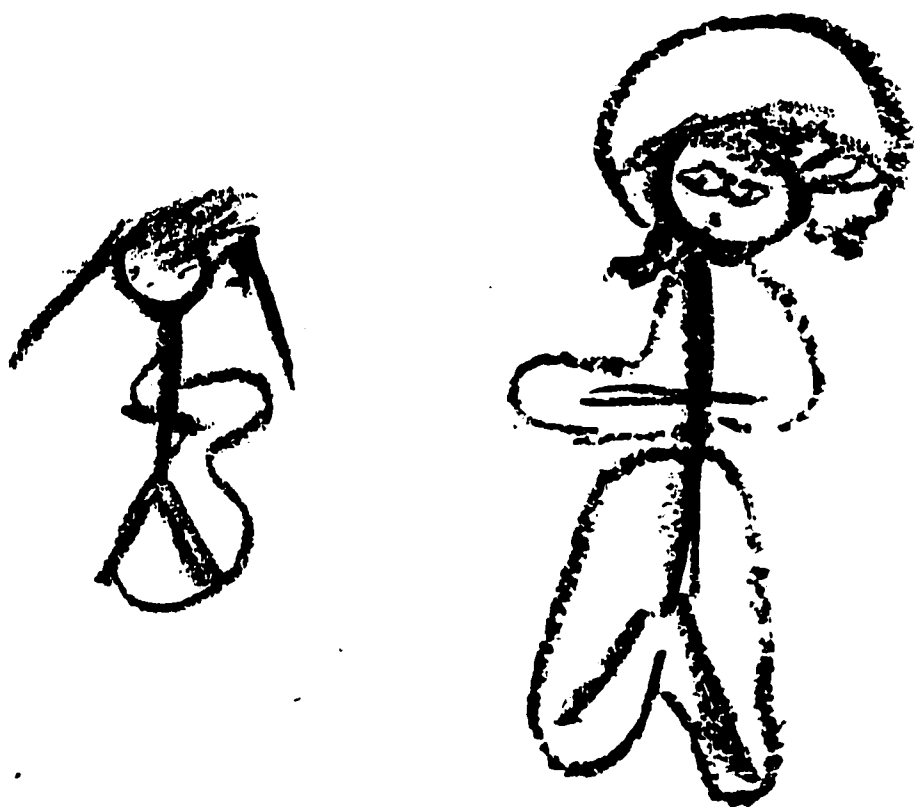
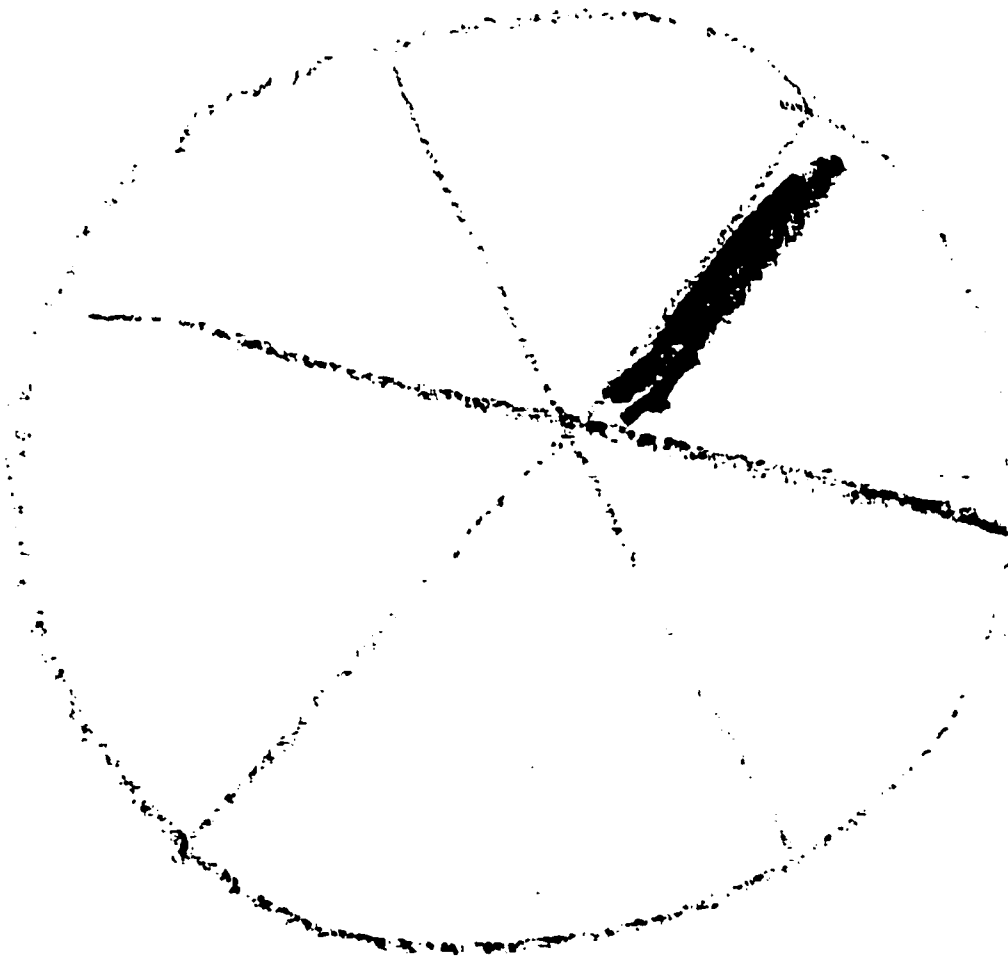


Fig.4

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Fig.5

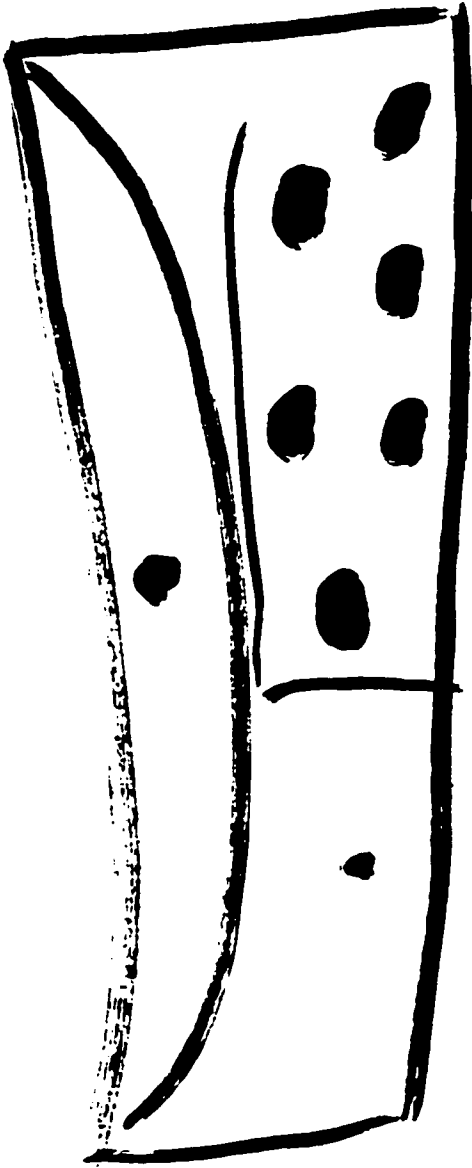


Fig.6

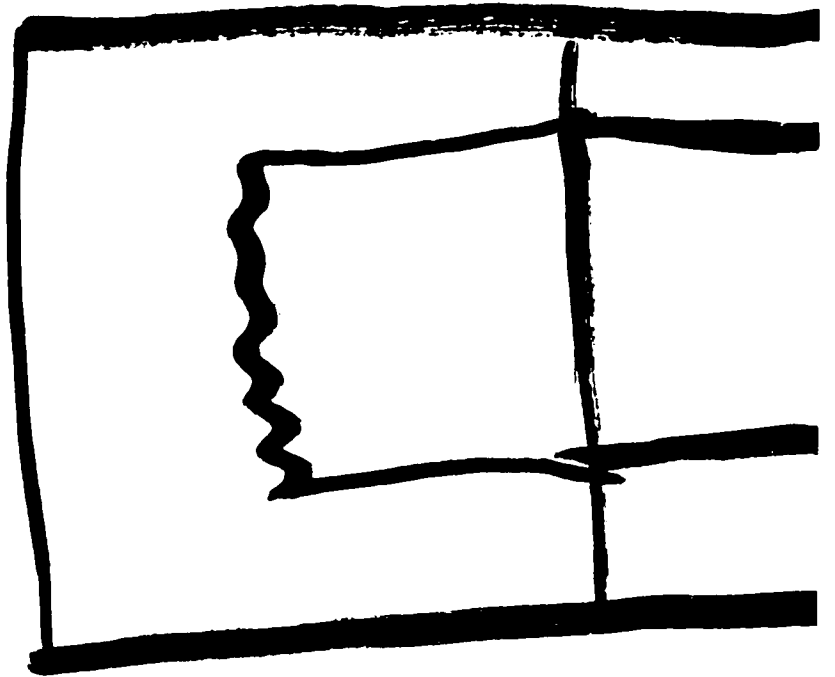
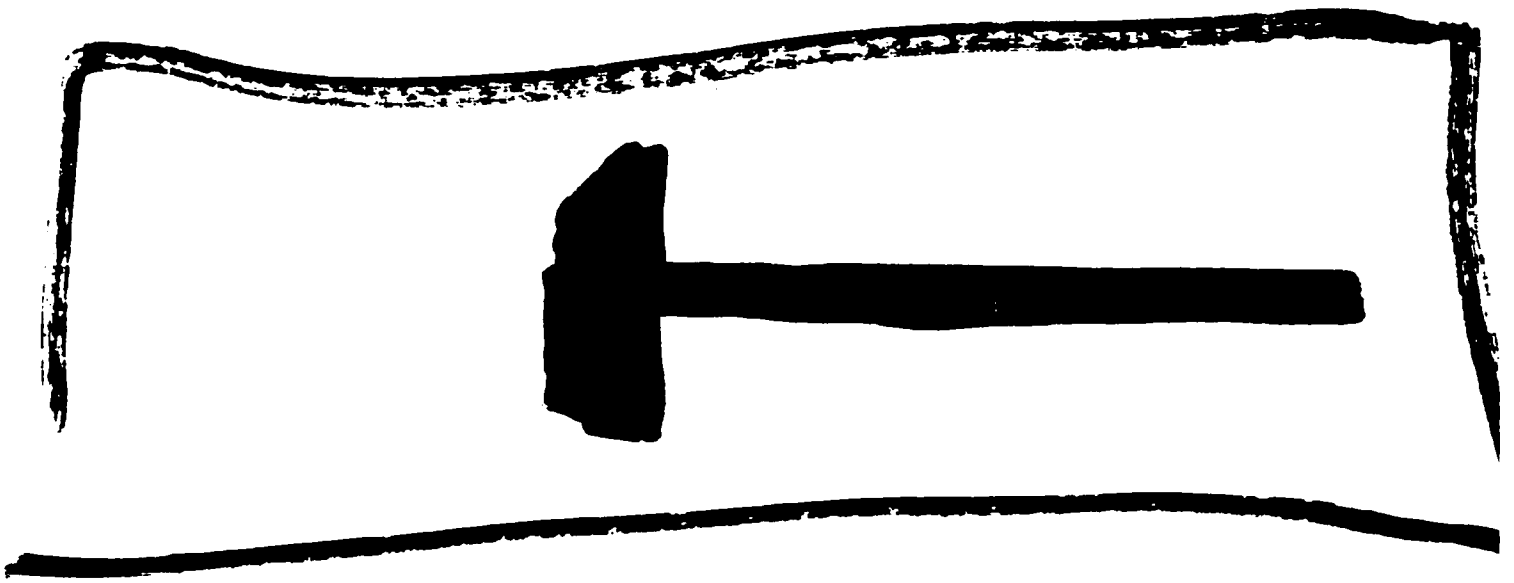


Fig.7

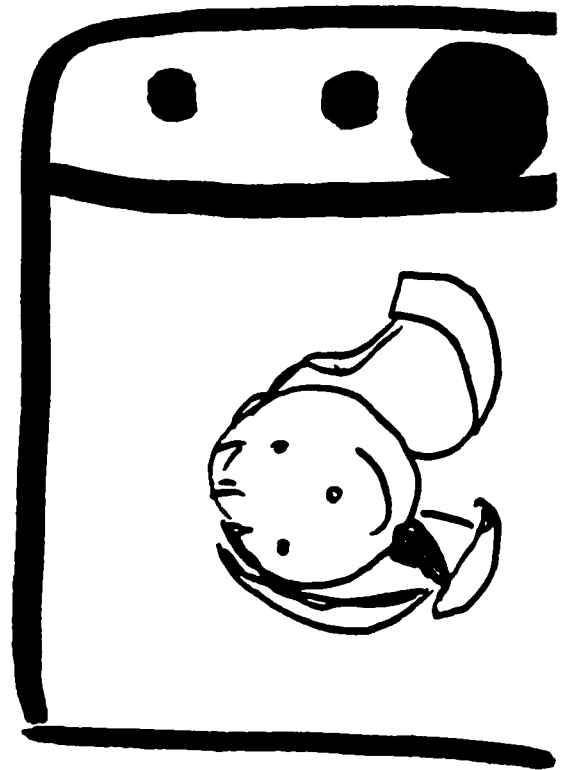


Fig.8



Fig.9



Fig.10



Fig.11

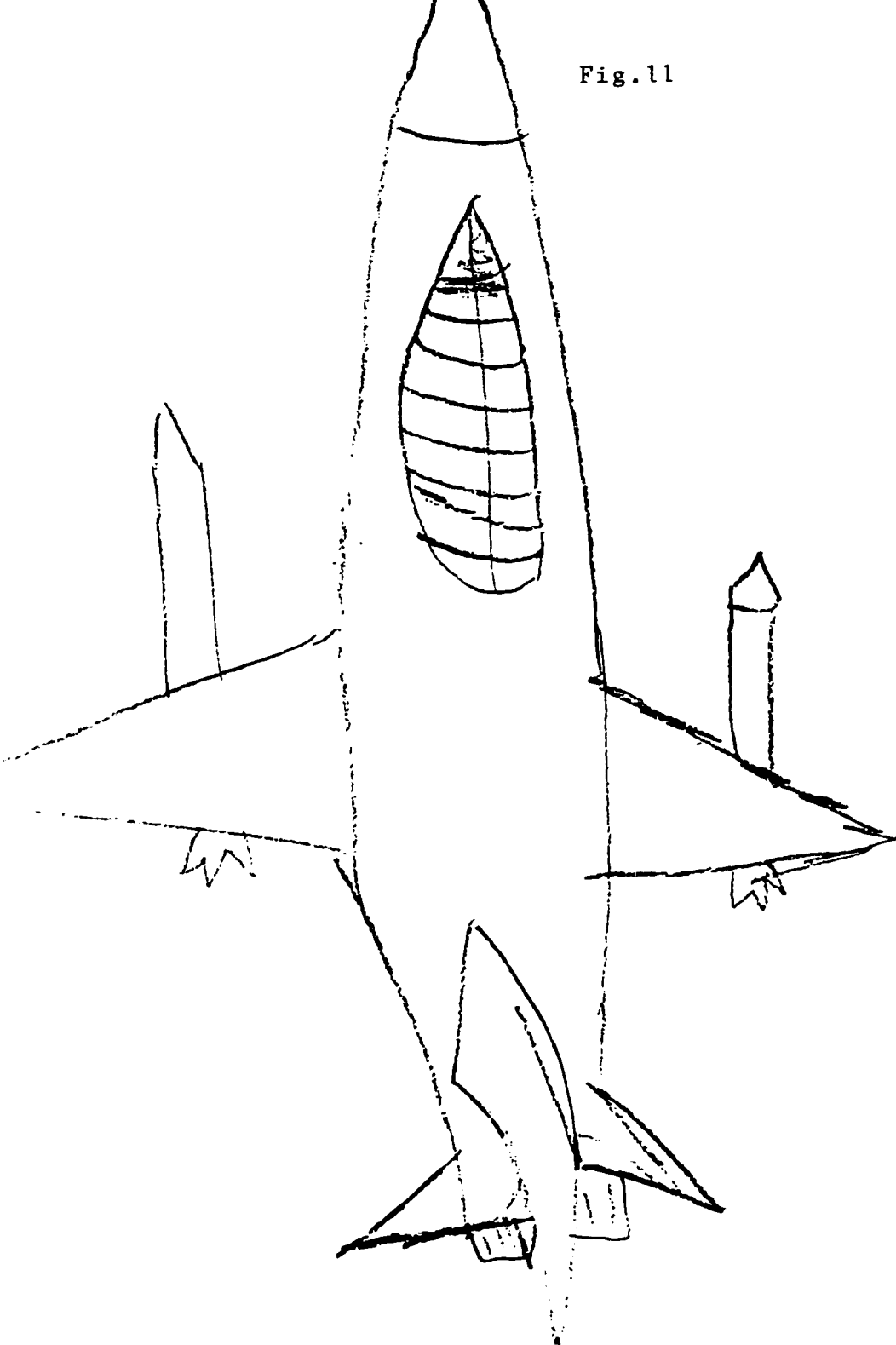


Fig.12

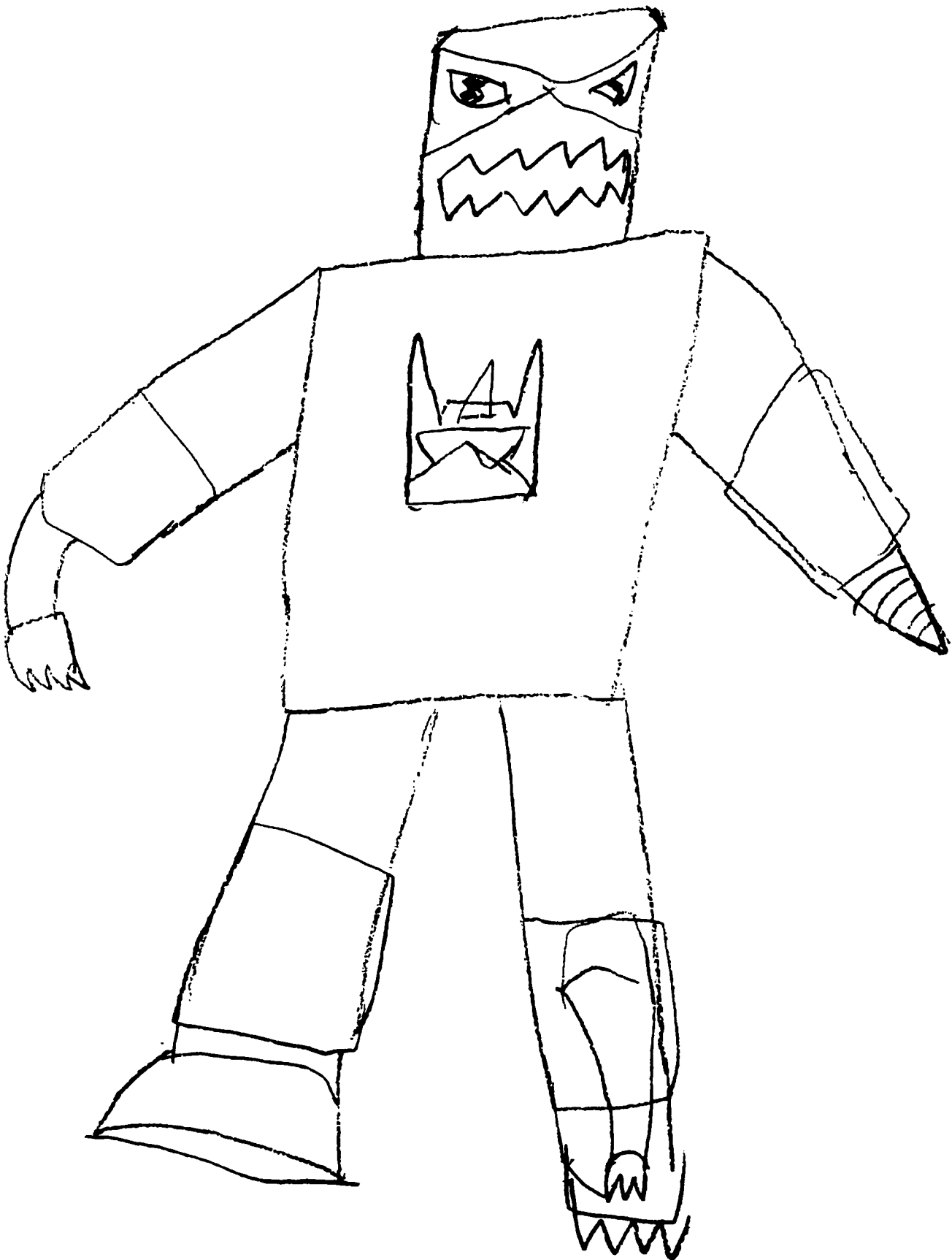


Fig.13

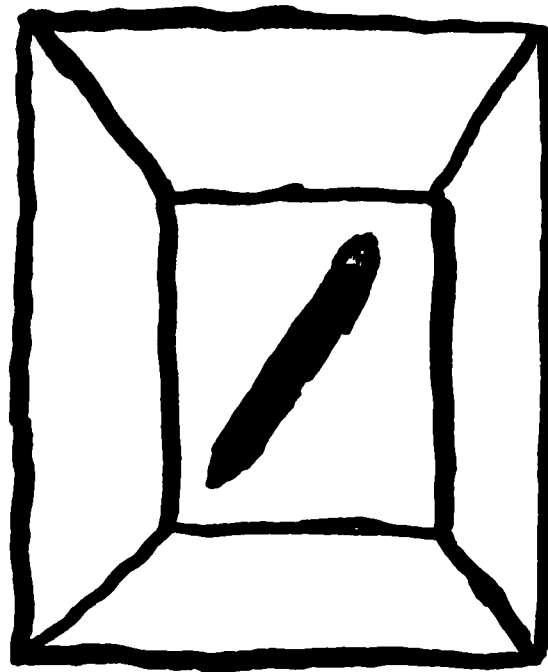


Fig.14

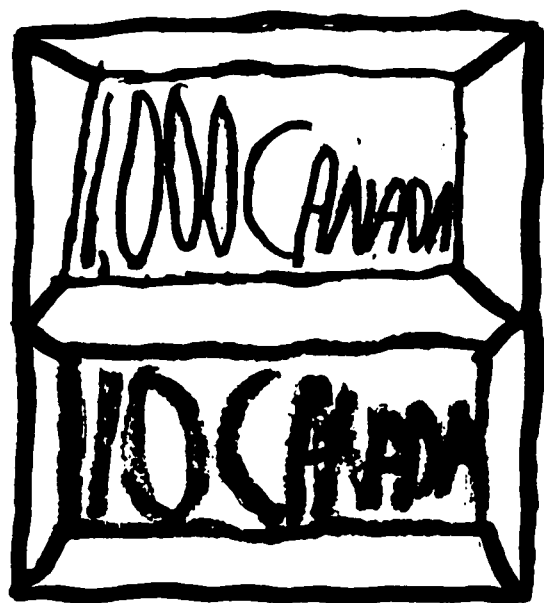


Fig.15

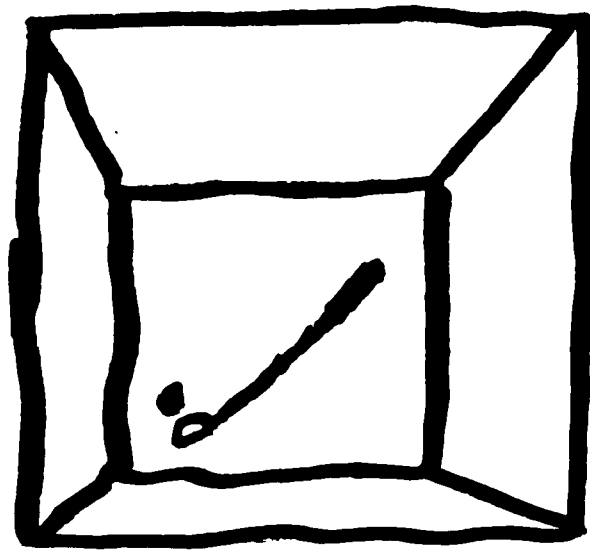
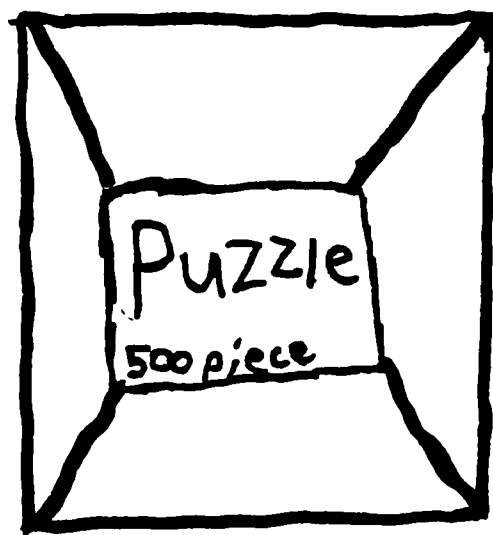


Fig.16



INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Participant One

INT: O.K. we're looking at the four drawings that you did before Christmas and I'm just going to ask you a few questions about the drawings, and we'll see what happens O.K.?

RESP: Super duper!

INT: The first drawing that you did, I asked you to draw something that belonged to your grandma. Can you tell me about this drawing? Can you describe it to me?

RESP: This is hers, the flowers and this, the drawers.

INT: The drawers? O.K. You were telling me before that these were your grandma's drawers and that you're not really suppose to look inside but sometimes you do.

RESP: Yeah. I always do that. I always... I'm always sneaky.

INT: You're always sneaky?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: Sometimes you get curious and you just want to look inside?

RESP: Yeah. Sometimes I ask mommy "what's in your drawer"? And she says "you don't know", "you shouldn't know". And then when she's gone, first I check, when she's not inside and, ummm, and then I go inside her drawer.

INT: And how do you feel when you're doing that?

RESP: I feel very sneaky.

INT: You feel very sneaky. Do you like feeling sneaky?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: And do you find interesting things inside?

RESP: Yeah. Even she wears the same clothes like me.

INT: Is this your grandma that you're talking about or your mom?

RESP: My grandma.

INT: O.K. Do you and your grandma share clothes?

RESP: No.

INT: But you say she wears the same kind of clothes as you.

RESP: Yeah. Me and her we have the same skirt and same pants. That's all.

INT: Can you tell me if you remember, how you were feeling when you drew this picture?

RESP: I felt happy!

INT: You felt happy?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: You told me that the flowers weren't really there but you put them in because you thought they looked pretty.

RESP: Yeah

INT: O.K. Is there anything else that you want to say about the first drawing?

RESP: The only thing I want to say is that I'm gonna keep out of my mommy's drawer forever!

INT: Do you call your grandma "mommy" sometimes?
RESP: I call her "ma".
INT: O.K. for the second drawing I asked you to draw something that belongs to your mom, and you drew...you traced around your own shoe and you told me that the shoes you were wearing used to belong to your mom.
RESP: Yeah, but it's still hers and I have another one that belongs to her, and it's right over there (points to her winter boots).
INT: O.K. Can you tell me about this drawing?
RESP: What drawing?
INT: The second one. Can you tell me about the drawing of the shoe?
RESP: O.K. Yeah. I love that shoe. That's all.
INT: That's all?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: Do you and your mom share clothes?
RESP: Only shoes.
INT: Only shoes?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: Do you like wearing your mom's shoes?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: Do you remember how you were feeling when you drew this picture?
RESP: Super duper!
INT: You were feeling super duper for that one too?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: Is there anything else that you want to say about the drawing of the shoe?
RESP: I like that shoe.
INT: What do you like about it?
RESP: It's big. That's all. Yeah.
INT: Do you and your mom have the same size feet?
RESP: No. My own is bigger than my daddy-oh's.
INT: For the third drawing I asked you to draw something that belonged to your dad, and you said that was a little bit difficult for you because you only met him a couple of times, and you weren't really sure what belonged to him.
RESP: Yeah. That's why I drew him down in the prickies. OOh.
INT: Can you tell me about that drawing. You told me that your dad was wearing a "suit of thorns" and that there were thorns down below too so you were floating.
RESP: My daddy told me not to go down so my eyes were popping out "no, not prickies" and then I just started floating up in the sky and I never came down. But that one was a make-believe.
INT: That one was a make-believe. How many times have you met your dad?
RESP: (Holds up four fingers)
INT: Four? When was the last time?
RESP: At my grandmother's house and at my house.
INT: O.K. So you said you floated up in the sky and you never came down. What's that like?

RESP: Hmmm. It's fun. I saw God up there.

INT: Did you?

RESP: Yup.

INT: What was God like?

RESP: He's white. And he has brown hair and he wears a white robe and um...black sandals.

INT: Have you seen pictures of God in real life?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: And did he look like that?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: But the part of the world where God or Jesus came from is very very hot. So I think that really God has dark skin. Not white skin.

RESP: Dark like yours?

INT: No, dark like yours.

RESP: No. No, no, no, no, no, no, no.

INT: Why not?

RESP: Don't you know he's looking over us? He's never sleeping. His eyes are always open.

INT: So why can't he have dark skin?

RESP: 'Cause. That's how life is. You can't change your colour even if you dye yourself in a washing machine.

INT: Hmmm. Do you ever think about dying yourself in a washing machine?

RESP: No way! I don't want to be spinning around in circles. And then when I come out I turn dizzy.

INT: Hmmm. Is there anything else that you want to tell me about this picture?

RESP: I like the flowers.

INT: Mmm hmm, they're pretty. You told me that your dad was wearing a "suit of thorns". What are you wearing in the picture?

RESP: I'm wearing a dress.

INT: Is it a dress? What kind of a dress?

RESP: A little dress.

INT: A little dress? Are you a little girl in the picture? How old are you?

RESP: I was four years old. One, two, three, four. Two plus two is four.

INT: O.K. You are four years old there.

RESP: But now I'm nine. My birthday was in September.

INT: Now you're much older. And bigger.

RESP: Anyways, I'm gonna be ten.

INT: How were you feeling when you drew this picture?

RESP: Super duper! That one is mwa (makes kissing sounds).

INT: O.K. for the last picture, I asked you to draw something that had been given to you from someone in your family or someone else outside your family. And you drew a ball and told me that it was a gift from your dad. Later, you told me it was an imaginary ball. Can you tell me a little bit about that picture or about that ball?

RESP: That ball was...that ball was so nice to me until my brother gave it away.
 INT: Your brother gave it away. Who did he give it to?
 RESP: His mean greedy friends.
 INT: Hmmmm. That must have made you feel bad.
 RESP: Yeah. Make me very sad. I already took one of his balls and gave it away.
 And I said to him "do you know how that feels?". He says "no". He says he's
 very glad. I say "would you like if I did that to you?". And then my auntie
 gave him a soccer ball, and I gave that away and made him feel sad.
 INT: So, is it important for your brother to know how you feel and for you to make
 him feel the same way?
 RESP: Yeah. Yeah.
 INT: This picture says "love" at the bottom.
 RESP: Yeah. Because I love that ball.
 INT: You love that ball. Did you tell me that it was an imaginary ball?
 RESP: Yeah.
 INT: And you love that imaginary ball.
 RESP: Yeah.
 INT: You told me a story about getting gifts from your dad on Christmas eve, but
 that sometimes the gifts go to the wrong house.
 RESP: That person...the person...the mailman didn't see the person's name on it. He
 didn't see that it was mine and he gave it to that child. My daddy said next time
 that happens he's gonna go to the court house, to the mail box,
 whatever...(attention wanders)
 INT: Your dad said the next time that happens...
 RESP: Yeah. He will sue the mail people.
 INT: Do you think that might work?
 RESP: No.
 INT: Do you remember how you were feeling when you drew that picture?
 RESP: Yeah. Sad.
 INT: Sad. Sad about...
 RESP: The ball. I'm sad because I didn't get my present never.
 INT: It's disappointing when you're expecting a present and you don't get one.
 RESP: Yes. That's the end!
 INT: You don't want me to ask you anymore questions?
 RESP: No.
 INT: O.K.

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Participant Two

INT: O.K. So we're here looking at the four drawings that you did before Christmas,
 and I'm going to ask you a few questions about them. I know that you talked
 about them before, but I want to go over a few things and get a little bit more
 information from you. O.K?

RESP: O.K.

INT: So we'll look at the first one first. I asked you to draw something that you think about connected to your mom. And you drew a wallet with some change in it. Can you tell me about this drawing?

RESP: Well it's my moms and just my moms. She keeps her money in there and her credit cards and pictures of me and my brother, um...she always keeps it in her bag. She has her cheques in there too. Just some of them.

INT: O.K. And a couple of times recently, I remember when you drew that one you told me about how last Christmas there wasn't enough money and you wanted to go to the Ice Capades and you were disappointed. Sometimes you talk a little bit about worrying about money. Do you think that might have something to do with you drawing the wallet?

RESP: 'Cause I didn't have anything else to draw about.

INT: I remember you said it was difficult for you to choose because everything in your house belongs to everybody.

RESP: Yup.

INT: It was difficult to choose something that belonged just to your mom. Does your mom's money belong just to her?

RESP: Yes. Well, my mom and my dad...like when my dad doesn't have money my mom gives him some.

INT: That's generous. I noticed you drew this picture really fast. Zip zip zip. Can you tell me about drawing so fast?

RESP: I don't know.

INT: O.K. Anything else you want to say about this one?

RESP: Nope.

INT: Can you tell me how you were feeling when you drew this one?

RESP: I was feeling good.

INT: You were feeling good?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: Can you describe the next one to me?

RESP: It's my dad's shaver set. There's a shaver, another shaver, an electric shaver and some cream for him to put on. And the electric one is just when he has longer. But the one that's not electric, he can use it anytime.

INT: What do you mean "when he has longer"?

RESP: Well I mean like, when he has short hair, he can't shave it 'cause it doesn't go through. I did it to myself once but it didn't shave.

INT: Really? Because you didn't have any hair on your face?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: Can you tell me why you thought of a shaver for your dad?

RESP: Because he uses it almost every day. And the cream, when he puts it on, it's blue. But when he rubs it against his face, it's like suds.

INT: That's neat huh? I remember when you were talking about this one you said, "it's not really green but I want it green". Why did you want the shaver to be green?

RESP: Because it's a boy colour.
INT: Green is a boy colour?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: This one compared to the other ones, this one you used the whole page for the drawing.
RESP: 'Cause it's his whole set.
INT: To draw the whole set you needed the whole page.
RESP: Yes.
INT: Can you tell me how you were feeling when you drew this one? This one I think you drew more slowly.
RESP: 'Cause I wasn't sure how to draw it.
INT: And how were you feeling when you drew it?
RESP: Good.
INT: You were feeling good.
RESP: Yeah. (PAUSE).
INT: O.K. We took a bit of a pause and now we're back. So we're going to look at the third picture. Can you describe it to me?
RESP: It's my grandmother's T.V. And when I go sleep at her house, we watch T.V. and...she watches "Super 7" on there at night. She likes watching the news so she knows about stuff. I like watching it too 'cause I find out stuff like who died and like where the police are gonna move...stuff like that.
INT: What do you mean "where the police are gonna move"?
RESP: Well they said on the news yesterday that the police are moving, like into a smaller building, like one building, stuff like that. Not just one building for all the police. Several.
INT: Ah. Do you stay over at your grandma's house often?
RESP: Just on fridays, I sleep over and sometimes it's my brother. And sometimes on sunday.
INT: Is it sometimes you and your brother at your grandma's?
RESP: No. Because we fight a lot. We don't get along. But sometimes I can sleep at her house on monday, or tuesday and stuff because she comes and watches me in the morning until my bus comes. And my bus comes late.
INT: How do you feel about spending time with your grandma?
RESP: Good.
INT: You told me that you love your grandma.
RESP: Yup.
INT: What do you like best about your grandma?
RESP: I don't know. (PAUSE). I like everything about her.
INT: O.K. This drawing, like your moms, is very small. Can you tell me about that?
RESP: Well because it's on a stand and like, you can move it, because there are wheels underneath it.
INT: How does that explain why it's small?
RESP: 'Cause you can't see the stand.
INT: And who is that on the T.V.?

RESP: The news lady.
INT: She looks happy huh? She's got a big smile. What's that in her hand?
RESP: It's a microphone.
INT: Of course. How did you feel while drawing this one?
RESP: I felt happy about ALL of my pictures when I drew them.
INT: O.K. Number four. Can you describe this one to me?
RESP: It's scotch tape. It's rainbow colours. It's green, yellow, orange. I use it a lot. It's just mine. I play with it in the basement with my school stuff.
INT: It is really colourful. It's more colourful than the others. Can you tell me about that?
RESP: I like colours.
INT: And you say that was a gift from your grandma?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: Tape is good huh? It keeps things together.
RESP: Yup.
INT: What do you stick together with your tape?
RESP: Papers, arts and crafts. Stuff like that.
INT: O.K. When we were talking about that one last time, you told me that it also reminded you of a baby in a mother's stomach.
RESP: Yeah. Sort of a baby. See the little nose and the mouth? (Points to area on drawing).
INT: Oh yeah.
RESP: It's all curled up in the mother's stomach. Or it's in a crib. When it's in the mother's stomach, it's all like curled up. I have a book about that.
INT: Do you? And is there a picture that looks like this in the book?
RESP: Yes, but it's not colourful.
INT: It's not colourful. But yours is colourful. Were you thinking about that while you were drawing, or did you think about that afterwards?
RESP: Afterwards. I didn't know that it was gonna look like that.
INT: Should I ask you how you were feeling while you were drawing this one or are you tired of that question?
RESP: (Laughing) Tired of that question.
INT: Can you tell me which drawing was easiest for you? The idea came quickly and it wasn't so difficult to draw.
RESP: The scotch tape. And the second one was my dad's set. And the third one was my grandmother's, then my mom's.
INT: O.K. Why was the scotch tape the easiest I wonder?
RESP: Because I have a lot of things that are mine in the basement.
INT: O.K. So the first one, the wallet was the most difficult?
RESP: Yeah, because me and my mom share stuff. Her earrings, and some of her clothes.
RESP: So you and your mom share lots of things so sometimes it's difficult for you to know what's your moms and what's yours.
RESP: Yeah.

INT: But the wallet is definitely hers.
RESP: Yup.
RESP: O.K. Can you tell me what you thought of this project? When I asked you to do these drawings what did you think?
RESP: It was fun.
INT: Anything else?
RESP: Nope.
INT: O.K. Now it's your chance to ask me any questions you have about this project.
RESP: Why did you want me to do these?
INT: Why did I want you to do these? Because I'm thinking about relationships that you have with different people in your life and I'm thinking about...I'm trying to understand those relationships using objects. Does that make sense to you?
RESP: Yeah.
INT: O.K. Any other questions?
RESP: No.
INT: O.K. Thanks very much.
RESP: You're welcome.

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Participant Three

INT: So, we're looking now at your four drawings that you did before Christmas, and I want to talk about this one first. I asked you to draw something that you connect with your mother. Something that belongs to your mom. Do you remember?
RESP: (PAUSE).
INT: O.K. I asked you to draw something that belongs to your mom, although you say that this cat belongs to the whole family. Can you describe this drawing to me?
RESP: (PAUSE). The cat's black. He's big. He's still a kitten. He has one red eye and one green eye. He's very pudgy...
INT: You said his name is Spunky?
RESP: Yup.
INT: What does "Spunky" mean? Why did you call him Spunky?
RESP: Because when he was born, even though he couldn't see, he could jump high, and he had to feel everything and sniff everything. When I had my sandwich he went near it. Usually, a cat, even if they can't see, they would take it. But him, he just sniffs it. All he did was take a little nibble instead of grabbing the whole sandwich. Usually, other cats I've had they would grab the whole sandwich. Even when they were kittens, because they were like, I don't know. Their eyes were open. They were able to see and they didn't have to wait for their mom and they were like "mmm food, bye". I thought the other kittens wouldn't take it. But instead they grabbed it right off the table. Especially my old cat did that.
INT: But Spunky didn't do that.

RESP: Nope. Instead he ripped off part of the crust of the bread.

INT: Can you tell me why you chose a cat when you were thinking about your mom?

RESP: Because I like cats. My mom likes cats.

INT: You both like cats. You were telling me before that this cat steals food, and that he was sneaky. And sometimes he scares you.

RESP: Well..(PAUSE). Well, he didn't steal alone. He wouldn't be able to get past the table with the food if he did it alone. But his brother used to help him. He created a diversion, so they'd pay attention to him and the other one could take it.

INT: So he would steal food if he had some help.

RESP: Yes. He would steal food if he wanted food and...cause he can't talk like a person. You can't tell if he wants food or water. Sometimes you give him water, and you find out he wants food when he takes some of your food.

INT: A cat gets hungry and he just has to take care of himself.

RESP: It's hard to please cats sometimes.

INT: You don't know what they want.

RESP: Yeah. 'Til you give them everything you can think of. Food, water. When they're not hungry, they still eat the food, even when they're full. Especially Spunky. When he's full, he still eats food.

INT: Maybe he's not sure when he'll get food again.

RESP: Maybe he doesn't know when he's full, even when he is full. He's pretty heavy now and he's pretty big.

INT: You like Spunky huh?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: Something else you told me earlier is that "if this cat were human, he'd be on Ritalin like me". Can you tell me more about that?

RESP: (PAUSE)Hmmm.

INT: I think at the time you told me that this cat had lots of energy and was jumping around all the time.

RESP: Yeah. He always got into everything. Even though he wasn't allowed in my room, he still got in there. Probably when I went to the bathroom, I open my door and he runs right in.

INT: This drawing I remember took a long long time for you to draw.

RESP: 'Cause I didn't want to make a mistake.

INT: Can you remember how you were feeling when you drew this one?

RESP: O.K. I was O.K.

INT: You felt O.K.

RESP: Mmm Hmm. Felt good.

INT: O.K. Is there anything else you want to say about this one?

RESP: Nope.

INT: I do have one more question. I'm wondering why does Spunky have one red eye and one green eye?

RESP: I don't know.

INT: In real life Spunky has one red eye and one green eye?
RESP: Mmm hmm. Pretty creepy too.
INT: Is it creepy?
RESP: In the dark, when the sun reflects, like it looks really red like a monster, and the other one looks like a cat's eye. They look pretty creepy. Like a cyclops and a cat in one.
INT: That is a bit creepy. Also, this cat doesn't have a body.
RESP: I never got to finish drawing him. That's why.
INT: You just didn't have enough time for that one. For the next one I asked you to draw something that was connected to your dad. And I know that this one was difficult for you because you haven't met your dad...
RESP: A dog was pretty hard to draw...the rest of it was o.k. it was just the nose. I couldn't get the nose right.
INT: Yeah, you had to erase the nose and work on it a bit. Are you happy with it now?
RESP: Mmm hmm. I'm glad it turned out good.
INT: Yeah, it did turn out good. Can you tell me why you chose the dog when you were thinking about your dad?
RESP: 'Cause that's the only thing I know about my dad. That he had a dog.
INT: Yeah, you were telling me before about a photograph.
RESP: Yeah, but the only picture I have...only the dog you get to see. You can see my dad's legs but the rest of his body got cut off the picture.
INT: Ah, yeah.
RESP: 'Cause the camera wasn't big enough.
INT: You told me sometimes you think you don't have a dad.
RESP: 'Cause I've never seen him.
INT: Yeah. So you must be curious about what he looks like.
RESP: Yup.
INT: So I understand why you chose the dog. Can you describe this picture to me?
RESP: (PAUSE) Well the dog is pretty big. He's black. Long tail, I don't know why. That's all I remember.
INT: I'm wondering in this picture what this part in the middle is, that comes down?
RESP: That wasn't supposed to be on it. I erased it but it didn't come off all the way.
INT: Maybe you were going to make the dog sitting down at first and then you decided to have it standing.
RESP: Yeah. I can't draw it really good sitting.
INT: Can you tell me how you were feeling when you did this one? Was it hard for you or easy?
RESP: Pretty easy.
INT: Is there anything else you want to say about this one?
RESP: No.
INT: O.K. For the next one I asked you to draw an object from someone else in your immediate or extended family and you chose...

RESP: (PAUSE).

INT: ...No. For the third drawing I asked you to think of another person in your immediate or extended family and draw an object that you connected with them. Not that they gave you. And you chose to do this plane from your younger brother.

RESP: It's a jet actually.

INT: It's a jet?

RESP: Well, it's a plane. I don't know what kind of plane. I can't remember.

INT: Can you explain this drawing to me and why you chose a jet?

RESP: That's one thing that I gave to somebody that I know.

INT: You gave this jet to your brother?

RESP: Yeah. I made it for him and then I gave it to him. I had to paint the pieces first. They came like blank and grey pieces. The plane was supposed to be blue so I had to paint it.

INT: What kind of a jet is it? Is it a fighter jet?

RESP: Yeah. It's one of them, I had a picture that came with it. It's called an F-16. It's a war plane from one of the world wars. Made in the U.S.A.

INT: An American fighter jet from one of the world wars.

RESP: Yeah. I think it was World War II. Because it's not one of the old planes. It's from World War II.

INT: O.K. So it's not a passenger plane. Yeah it looks a bit dangerous to me. Do these things fly off?

RESP: No. They're almost like guns that shoot.

INT: O.K. So they don't come off. They just shoot. Can you tell me how you were feeling when you drew this one?

RESP: I felt good.

INT: You felt good? O.K. We'll look at the last one now. For this one I asked you to draw something that had been given to you by someone in your family or someone else outside of your family and you said that this had been given to you by your little brother...

RESP: Yup. He gave that to me the day right after I gave him the plane. Matter of fact he still has the plane. He doesn't bring it to his dad's 'cause he has a dog there and the dog gets into everything because he's a puppy so he keeps it at my house and he keeps it where the cats can't get to it.

INT: You're talking about the plane.

RESP: Yup.

INT: So he has to keep it safe. 'Cause it's important to him.

RESP: 'Cause if it falls it will break. Since it's um...the plastic is breakable so if you drop it or throw it into a wall, it will come all apart. Because after you paint it the plastic becomes even softer. So it's fragile. All model planes and other models are fragile. Well model planes are fragile. Model cars aren't fragile. If they just snap together, they'll come apart. If you use special glue, they'll stay together. He also gave me a model car.

INT: Can you tell me about this transformer. You told me it was a Deceptacon

called Destructo.

RESP: It was Devastator actually.

INT: Sorry. Devastator. Is it also fragile or is it stronger?

RESP: Stronger. 'Cause it can come apart into little transformers.

INT: O.K. You told me it was really big too. It comes up to your waist?

RESP: Yeah. Because they made it big size.

INT: So the pieces are big and you don't have to worry too much about it breaking?

RESP: Well, it can come apart if you pull them off, but they don't break when they come off.

INT: O.K. And you were happy to get that gift from your brother?

RESP: Yes. It was one thing I always wanted.

INT: I'm glad he found something you always wanted.

RESP: Yeah. I'm glad he was able to buy it. Since it was the big one he got me, it cost a lot of money 'cause they had to buy them separate. It comes two or three pieces in a box. And you need two boxes of different pieces.

INT: So he had to go to a bit of trouble to get it for you.

RESP: He got them both the same day. It turned out probably about five to seven dollars.

INT: Wow. That's a lot huh?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: So can you tell me a bit about the drawing and about a Deceptacon?

RESP: (PAUSE). His name is Devastator.

INT: Can you tell me about Devastator? He looks a bit dangerous.

RESP: Well, on t.v. he is. Because he's huge on the show. His eyes light up and shoot lasers.

INT: That's quite a talent.

RESP: He's the biggest of the Deceptacons. There were two Autobots who were able to blow him down. One was Supertron. He's built out of Autobot planes. I got his legs also and his chest. All the parts except his head. Another one is Autobot Trainstation. He transforms and he's huge. Bigger than Supertron. And they were both able to bring Devastator down. Even when Devastator rebelled, and was fighting against both teams. The Deceptacons had to team up with the Autobots to destroy him.

INT: Can you tell me about...

RESP: But then, on the show, when they were together, there were about a hundred of them.

INT: Can you tell me more about this one?

RESP: Huh?

INT: What does he use this arm for?

RESP: He can take it off. It comes out like a laser gun. A robot comes out and it opens up almost. Like a satellite. The things for t.v. and it shoots out.

INT: So he can shoot lasers from his eyes and arms.

RESP: Well, he usually uses his eyes.

INT: And his feet. Are they both different?

RESP: They're two different Deceptacons and they both change. They don't say "maximize" or "terrorize". They're usually in robot form and they say "combine and destroy". They all combine. Then they change into trucks and stuff. Like a dump truck. The face is round at the front. It looks like a transporter. The head doesn't look like the other ones. Things come out...

INT: Do you think that would be a useful thing to be able to do? To transform?

RESP: Yeah. Especially when you're under attack by ten million... Predacons... Deceptacons and Autobots together.

INT: If you could transform, what do you think you would transform into?

RESP: I don't know.

INT: You don't know?

RESP: Maybe...anything that's able to be as protection. Maybe a dinosaur. Like in Beasties. Almost like Megatron. That'd be cool. Because Megatron's pretty strong.

INT: What do you mean something that's good at protection?

RESP: Like so, I could protect myself when I'm under attack by other people...being under attack. So I'm not small. I'm big.

INT: That would be really handy.

RESP: Like Devastator, if you're under attack by too many people...especially big people....I've heard a saying "the bigger you are, the harder you fall". When Devastator...in that one...there's two parts...Devastator does fall. When Devastator knocks down Supertron, Autobot ...Supertron's body, this little plane comes out and it's teeny weeny compared to them...

INT: So sometimes it's possible, even when...

RESP: That was the one when the Deceptacons...the Deceptacons and Autobots were living together.

INT: So sometimes it's possible, even when you're small, to protect yourself?

RESP: Yes. Smaller than a giant. You have to be smaller than a giant.

INT: Sometimes you can run faster when you're small.

RESP: Well Devastator didn't run fast, but most of the time he was in the city, in planes, but where they were, they were in the Grand Canyon and the Deceptacons crashed. The Autobots were attacking and they crashed into the Grand Canyon and the ship went right down into the Colorado River. His head came right off (laughing)...

INT: Poor guy. Can we...

RESP: He's not poor. He's the leader of the Deceptacons. He was the one who created Devastator. He built them.

INT: Can you tell me why your brother bought that one for you?

RESP: Because he knows I like transformers.

INT: O.K. I just have a couple more questions.

RESP: One more?

INT: Um...three more.

RESP: OOOh...

INT: It's o.k. It won't take long. Can you tell me which one was easiest for you to

do?

RESP: Um...Devastator and...almost all of them except the plane and the dog.
 Actually the plane was the hardest. The other ones were pretty easy. Especially Devastator. On Devastator I rushed. I didn't do all the designs on him.
 For real, he has more stuff on him. He has two cannons on him. Oh no, it's not him, it's...what's his name...the thing that came out of Supertron. He transformed into this plane on the show, and it turns out...

INT: O.K. Sorry, we're almost out of time, so I'm going to have to interrupt. O.K.?
 Sorry about that.

RESP: Are we done?

INT: No. Just one more thing. Can you tell me how you felt about this project?
 You told me you felt rushed.

RESP: Besides feeling rushed, very rushed, I felt o.k. 'Cause they were easy. You asked me to do things that were pretty easy.

INT: O.K. And the last thing is, do you have any questions for me about anything to do with this project?

RESP: Nope.

INT: No questions?

RESP: Except, when's it gonna be turned into a book?

INT: It might take a long time. Maybe six months.

RESP: Will it ever come out in stores and stuff?

INT: No. There will just be maybe one or two copies.

RESP: Ah. Like in the library? 'Cause I want to read it when it's done.

INT: You want to read it when it's done? You think that would be interesting to see your pictures in a book?

RESP: Mmm hmm. But if they're gonna be in a book, I have to finish the pictures.

INT: Are you not happy with the pictures the way they are?

RESP: Well they'd look much nicer if they were finished.

INT: Mmm. That was the problem with being rushed. You didn't have a chance to do them the way you wanted to do them.

RESP: Well, I did most of it. I never got to finish them. Well...some of...only one of them I didn't get to finish.

INT: Which one?

RESP: Actually...one of them...it was the cat. I didn't get to finish Spunky. Well, the other ones I...with Devastator...I don't remember what colours he is anyways.

INT: Yeah. The cat took the most time. I think the cat took about half an hour.

RESP: Well, to draw a cat...like for an artist to draw a cat, it would probably take him a few hours to draw a cat perfect.

INT: Yeah. And you wanted your cat to be perfect.

RESP: Not perfect 'cause I can't do animals really perfect. More like umm...transformers and stuff and robots...and planes. I'm pretty good with those.

INT: I think you did a good job with the animals.

RESP: Thanks.

INT: You're welcome. Any other questions or comments you want to make?

RESP: Nope.
INT: You sure?
RESP: Yup.
INT: O.K. Thanks a lot.

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Participant Four

INT: O.K. We're looking at the four pictures that you drew for me before Christmas. And I want to talk about the first picture first. I asked you to draw an object that you connect with your mother, and you drew a pencil. Can you tell me why you drew a pencil?

RESP: Because I was selling pencils for school and my mom bought some.

INT: That's great. I was noticing that your pencil had a big eraser and I was noticing that when you were doing that picture, and also picture number four, you did a lot of erasing. Could that be why your pencil has a big eraser?

RESP: No. It's just because...I put an eraser because...I don't know why.

INT: You don't know why?

RESP: Well, no, I just put an eraser to make it go with the pencil.

INT: Can you tell me how you were feeling when you drew the first picture?

RESP: A bit nervous. It was the first one so I didn't know if I was gonna mess it up or if I was gonna get it.

INT: Yeah. O.K. Anything else you want to say about the first picture?

RESP: No.

INT: For the next one I asked you to draw an object that you connected with your dad, and you drew money, big money. A thousand dollars and ten dollars.

RESP: He has more than that there.

INT: Can you tell me why you decided to draw money for your dad?

RESP: 'Cause he has a lot of money...I don't know...'cause he always gives me money and everything so...I just drew that.

INT: Yeah, you told me last time that your dad had given you and your sisters twenty dollars each, or twenty dollars to share.

RESP: Twenty dollars each. To go Christmas shopping. And whenever we finish school, he gives us fifty bucks each. And my sister too, makes a hundred and fifty dollars.

INT: Wow.

RESP: Whenever we finish the end of school. If we pass. But if we fail, he's probably still gonna give it. I don't know.

INT: So you get the money if you pass or if you fail.

RESP: Probably.

INT: Do you like it when your dad gives you money?

RESP: Yeah.

INT: What do you do with it?

RESP: I don't know.

INT: Do you buy candy?

RESP: Sometimes. But I don't spend it all on candy.

INT: Can you tell me how you felt when you were doing this one? I remember you were a little bit frustrated because you couldn't find the colours you wanted.

RESP: And nervous 'cause I didn't know what colour and I wanted to pick the right colour.

INT: Yeah, we couldn't remember...

RESP: I was nervous for all of them.

INT: You were nervous for all of them. For number three, you did a golf club and a golf ball. That was for your grandfather?

RESP: Yup.

INT: Can you tell me why you chose a golf club and a golf ball?

RESP: It's gonna be easy. O.K. Because he always goes to play golf, all the time. He leaves in the morning and goes to play golf. He comes back in the afternoon. Always plays golf.

INT: Do you ever play golf with him?

RESP: Nope.

INT: Have you ever played golf?

RESP: Yup. Couple of times.

INT: Did you like it?

RESP: Yeah. But I wasn't on this side. I was on this side. I'm right. I'm not left. Ah,...I'm left. I'm right. That's what I just said huh? I'm right. I'm not left. Right?

INT: Yes.

RESP: No. I'm left. I'm not right. Sorry.

INT: You're left. Does a right-handed person chose a left club?

RESP: No. 'Cept I had to use this side because they didn't have...the other side is my cousin. One of my cousins. And I had to use this side. I couldn't go good. Because I'm on this side. I'm on the left and he gave me a right stick. I use left.

INT: O.K. So you said you were nervous for all of them. You were nervous for this one too?

RESP: Yeah. I didn't know if I was gonna mess it up.

INT: Mmm. For the last one I asked you to draw a gift.

RESP: Something that somebody gave me. That alot of people give me. O.K. It was a puzzle, 'cause I always get puzzles. 'Cause I ask for them and I always get them. So that's why I drew that.

INT: And this one was from your mom?

RESP: Yeah. That one yeah. But I've got a whole bunch from other people.

INT: For this one you did alot of erasing. Was it difficult to do that one?

RESP: Well...just cause um... I did like um...ah 'cause I think I wrote it too small and I did the square too small and everything like that so that's why I erased it.

INT: O.K. Um, do you usually do the puzzles that you get by yourself or do you do them with somebody?

RESP: I do it by myself...'Cept sometimes other people do some with me.

INT: They come by and do a piece?

RESP: Sometimes.

INT: Which picture did you find the easiest to do?

RESP: This one here. The puzzle. Yeah. No, no, no...this one here. Sorry. The money. The money, except, it was just the colour. Just like it was easy 'cause like, I thought it said Canada and everything. I don't think it says Canada eh? On the other ones?

INT: Yes. It says Canada.

RESP: O.K. Just cause of the colour. That's all. But it was easier.

INT: O.K. And which one was the most difficult?

RESP: The golf stick.

INT: The golf stick. And how was it the most difficult?

RESP: Well, 'cause you don't know how, if you're not looking at one, you know? It's hard to know, you know, if you're doing a putter or if you're doing other things, you know something like that? So I just did it like that. I just did it with a ball like that.

INT: For the picture, with your grandfather, do you see him very often?

RESP: Yeah, in the summer, yeah. In the winter, yeah, but not as much as in the summer 'cause in the summer, I go rake. I bike there and everything like that. So.

INT: So he lives pretty close by?

RESP: Yeah. I just bike there.

INT: All of your pictures have interesting frames around them that go in. Can you tell me about these frames?

RESP: Well it goes in the middle and makes it a bit nicer. I don't know.

INT: They are nice. Just two more things. Can you tell me, what were you thinking when you did this project? How do you feel about this project?

RESP: Good. I like it.

INT: Did you like it?

RESP: Yeah. It's just 'cause I don't know what to say. I'm too nervous. I don't know.

INT: Yeah I know. The last thing is, do you have any questions for me about anything to do with this project?

RESP: No.

INT: No questions?

RESP: No.

INT: O.K. Thanks very much.

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I, the undersigned _____, authorize _____,
art therapy student intern at _____ to use reproductions of
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