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Gender and genre: A study of children's war drawing

Dalton, Robert Charles, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1991

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GENDER AND GENRE: A STUDY
OF CHILDREN'S WAR DRAWING

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Robert Charles Dalton, B.A., M.F.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1991

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1991

To Phyllis

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FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: Art Education

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The Problem

My 9-year-old son Stephen is fascinated by war. He saved his allowance for weeks in order to buy an army helmet. He brings home as many library books on the subject as he can carry. On one occasion Stephen made a grenade launcher from a mouthwash bottle, paper roll, and several other found objects. And Stephen does war drawings--lots of them.

As a parent, I would like to understand my son's interest in war. I recall my own spontaneous drawings as a child, drawings in which tomahawk-wielding Indians always seemed to prevail over pistol-packing cowboys. And I wonder --what knowledge, skills, attitudes and values are gained through involvement in this genre or theme in drawing?

As an art educator, I am intrigued by the energy children pour into such drawings. No one makes them do it. No one tells them they must fill in all the white spaces. And no one tells them they must research their subject in order to make their airplanes look more like the real thing. They do all these things because they want to. As an art

educator, I would like to learn more about the role of self-motivation in art education.

What the Literature Says

The literature suggests that what differences there are in subject matter preferences of preschool boys and girls, seem to dramatically widen in the elementary school years. Art teachers who work with children between the ages of 6 and 12 could probably draw up a list of subjects which seem to be perennial favorites. One such list was compiled by Betty Edwards (1979).

Boys begin to draw automobiles--hot rods and racing cars; war scenes with dive bombers, submarines, tanks and rockets; legendary figures and heroes--bearded pirates, Viking crewmen and their ships, television stars, mountain climbers, and deep sea divers; block letters, especially monograms; and some odd images such as (my favorite) an eyeball complete with piercing dagger and pools of blood. Meanwhile, girls are drawing tamer things--flowers in vases, waterfalls, fashion models with incredible eyelashes, elaborate hairstyles...(p.72).

Edwards' list comes from her observations as a practitioner. It is likely that some changes have occurred over the past decade since Edwards' list was constructed. The influence of popular culture will have introduced new warriors such as Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. Other shifts in subject matter

preferences may have come about as a result of more general changes in social attitudes and values. Nevertheless the list provides a beginning point for this investigation.

Writers with widely differing philosophies find a degree of consensus on their observations of gender differences in subject matter preferences. Lark-Horovitz, Lewis and Luca (1973) describe boys as favoring ships, tanks, airplanes, rockets, flying saucers and space ships. Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987) offer a similar description, referring to airplanes, guns and particularly cars. Brent and Marjorie Wilson (1982) speak of violence, villainy and vehicles, as characterizing the drawing subjects frequently chosen by boys. Conrad (1964) says "girls if left to their own devices, select feminine subjects; the boys select subjects such as war and masculine sports, which are socially condoned as the proper province of males" (p. 74). It is reasonable to conclude that an interest in war drawing is significant for many boys in middle childhood.

Though it has been widely reported that such differences exist, little research has been published about particular genres. Wilson (1974) has written about the superhero drawings of one boy. Fein (1976) has documented the development of one girl's drawings of horses. A few other studies have been published. These tend to investigate the output of a single young person. But very little has been done on the specific genre of war.

Sylvia Feinburg (1975) wrote about the war drawings of her son Douglas. This study has provided many of the ideas upon which my research is constructed. Feinburg takes issue with some psychoanalytic researchers such as Naumburg (1947) who suggest that war drawing is an indication of social maladjustment and suppressed hostility. Noting that war drawing is a genre chosen almost exclusively by boys, Feinburg concluded that it has to do with issues of gender identity. In drawing soldiers and their military equipment, boys are coming to terms with what they perceive to be the adult male role, albeit an exaggerated or stereotypical one. And they are exploring values of cooperation with age-mates in a highly competitive situation. When they draw weapons and other military equipment, youngsters gain feelings of competence and mastery. Using complex technology is part of the adult world. Feinburg conceded that aggression seems to be part of what these drawings are about, but she reminded us that aggression within socially acceptable limits is something to be valued.

In this study I have extended Feinburg's inquiry in a number of ways. The Feinburg study investigated the drawings of one child. I identified and interviewed a number of youngsters who do spontaneous war drawings. This made it possible to learn whether some of the things she has reported are idiosyncratic. It enabled me to find out if the observations she made of Douglas could be found in other

children. Related to this is the issue of what might have been missed. Is it possible that there are certain aspects of war drawing which might be fairly common among those who draw about war, and yet were somehow not present or noticed in Douglas?

My focus is more cultural than hers. I asked, for example, what these youngsters have learned from others, and what others have taught them in regards to their interest in war and war drawing. These are questions which the Feinburg study does not address.

And there have been changes in the political climate as well as in popular culture in the 16 years since the Feinburg study was done. During the Vietnam era from 1964-1975, war toys such as G.I. Joe increasingly became the object of public boycott. In all likelihood some of these same public sentiments were raised over children's spontaneous drawings about war. While conducting this study in 1991, the Gulf War was fought. The war was relatively brief, and approval of the American public was much higher. War toys experienced a surge of sales rather than widespread boycott. Of course there are many other differences and ways to describe them, but the point is simply that public attitudes about issues of war are subject to change. Feinburg's study was conducted in a different political climate than mine.

In recent years too there has been a proliferation of games for home computers. These have had an effect on children who do war drawings and on the drawings they make.

But rather than pursue the similarities and differences between my study and Feinburg's, let me simply acknowledge the debt and move on to the questions.

Two Questions for Research

This study investigates two questions:

1. What are the distinguishing characteristics of this genre? By genre, I am referring to a major theme or subject found commonly in the history of art.

2. Who are the individuals who work in this genre? The previously quoted educators have identified the makers of war pictures as 6 to 12-year-old North American boys. Still there is much we don't know. How do these children interact with other children? Do they fantasize about being a participant in the battle? Do they assume the detachment of a military strategist?

By investigating war drawings and the North American children who make them, this study reflects on a wider issue--the role of self-motivation in art education.

Theories and Perspectives

In this study I deal with war drawing as a case. And in investigating this phenomenon or case, I employ multiple perspectives. Each perspective is trained like a spotlight on the case as a means of illuminating it.

Gender Identity

Sylvia Feinburg has suggested that one of the major accomplishments of war drawing is the strengthening of male gender identity. Based on the following evidence, I would agree with this hypothesis:

1. Among North American children who have not experienced war, the genre of war drawing is practiced almost exclusively by boys. It could be that war drawing is a manifestation of a strong male identity. Or it could be that war drawing is one of the means by which a boy achieves a masculine self-image. But the significant correlation between war drawing and 6 to 12-year-old boys, seems to suggest some link with gender identity.

2. The apparent arrival and departure times of the genre coincide with particular developments in male gender identity formation. The 6-year-old boy entering school, becomes more keenly aware of societal expectations for gender-appropriate behavior. He is now more likely to explore adult roles in play and drawing. The departure of the genre seems to coincide with adolescence, a time when physical changes in boys and girls result in noticeable differences. It may be that exaggerated gender identities such as warriors and superheroes, can then be replaced by more realistic ones.

If war drawing is connected with issues of gender identification, then an investigation of theories of gender identity acquisition is in order.

I approach gender identity development from three main theoretical vantage points: psychoanalytic, social learning, and cognitive development. Each of these theories is applied to children's artistic production. Each theory raises our awareness of different aspects of war drawing. The objective is not to pit one theory against another but to find out what can be gained from each. Holly Devor (1989) summarizes the theories:

1. Psychoanalytic theory holds that children have an innate predisposition to identify with and to emulate the behaviors and attitudes of their same-sex parent. Gender identity comes from this process, and it is both natural and universal. Of particular relevance to the issue of war drawing is Chodorow's contention (1974) that the relative absence of the father from the home leaves boys without a role model. Boys consequently tend to fantasize about male roles, where girls are less likely to fantasize about female roles. From the psychoanalytic perspective then, we have a possible explanation for the apparently greater departure from realistic male roles that occurs in boy's drawings.

2. Social learning theory regards children as being completely malleable; behaviors are entirely shaped by society. Societies pressure members to conform to

established social patterns. The relatively late arrival of interest in this genre in the life of the child means that the children are increasingly affected by culture. Social scientists would argue that boys are not imitating their parents or fantasizing about adult roles; they are socialized to embrace certain values and acquire a particular body of knowledge which is seen to be "masculine." Researchers who support this view would pay more attention to the sources of influence which promote such an interest. This view would call our attention to such things as the graphic models in popular culture which are used by children in constructing their drawings. Culturally transmitted patterns of behavior vary considerably from one society to another. Proponents of this view would also look to the art of other cultures to discover differing levels of interest in war drawing and varied approaches to representing it.

3. Cognitive development theory sees children as taking an active role in learning gender. Humans are born with a need to make sense of their world. We accomplish this by organizing and simplifying experiences. Children proceed through stages. One of the earliest distinctions they make is that the world consists of males and females. Once children learn which group they are in, they observe and imitate others of their gender. As children mature, their conceptual abilities become more sophisticated and their gender roles acquire more subtle nuances.

Cognitive developmentalists like Kohlberg (1966), see gender identity as a conceptual achievement. By about age 5 gender constancy is gained; the boy learns early in life that he is male but later comes to understand what that means and that he will always remain a male. In coming to understand his gender role, the boy tends to stereotype the male role. At this age gender boundaries are exaggerated and rigidly held to the point where the child believes he has a moral duty to act in a gender-appropriate manner. This explanation would account for the choice of ultramasculine subject matter and the importance boys attach to their drawing.

Effects of War on Children and Their Drawings

Having looked at drawings about war which are motivated at least in part by gender identity acquisition, it then proves useful to look at war drawings which are done for other reasons. I introduce drawings done by children whose imagery grew out of a direct experience with war. In looking at drawings which are not fantasy, we may learn something about drawings which are. When gender identity is not a primary motivation, for example, we might expect to find greater numbers of girls choosing this subject. When war has actually been experienced, we might expect to find very different understandings about it.

The recent Gulf War has added further value to such an inquiry. The events in the Middle East have had an effect on

some of the children in my study. And fantasy has drawn closer to reality as a result. One child came to my attention who was dramatically affected by those events. She did spontaneous war drawings only in response to the war situation in the Persian Gulf. When we examine her drawings we will see that they come very close to some from war-torn countries. An investigation of drawings made by children who have had a direct involvement with war contributes more than contrasts; at this time there are some meaningful comparisons to be made.

To begin an investigation of this kind it was necessary to first learn how children experience war. For this I report on the findings of such scholars as Freud and Burlingham (1943) who studied the effects of war on children in England during the Battle of Britain. De Shalit (1970) wrote about Israeli children's experiences during the Six-Day War. And others have contributed as well.

Turning from these writings about children, to drawings by children, I examine works from three wars: the Six-Day War, the Iran/Iraq War, and various civil wars in Central America--chiefly the war in El Salvador.

The Perspective of Adult War Art

Another way to become more keenly aware of particular qualities present in children's drawings about war is to look at adult art about war. People have long recorded the

events of war by pictorial means, and the genre of war has held an important place in the history of art.

By looking at the graphic work of adult artists, certain similarities and differences emerge. Regarding the similarities, in the work of adult artists we see greater specialization. Where a youngster may explore issues of strategy in war, there are adult artists such as the British army topographers who have extended that approach. Where a child may represent war as narrative or tragedy, there are adult artists who have depicted war from these points of view. The work of adults has guided me in the search for themes in the work of children.

There is another reason for pursuing this particular inquiry. One of the questions which must be asked at some point in the study is--what are the implications for art education? When it is found that specific types of children's war drawing are conceptually linked to particular adult works, then it may well be that art educators could use these works as bridges. Teachers can invite children to extend their interest in making war drawings, learning about adult war art.

The review of adult art however, is limited to the work of four artists. While it would have been tempting to pursue this inquiry further, I have not pursued this or any other perspective beyond its immediate usefulness to this study. That usefulness resides in suggesting themes and showing possible connections for art education.

Imitation, Imagination and Drawing

Even in the most fantasy-like drawings there is a large element of imitation. And it requires a good deal of imagination to create even the most factual or realistic drawings. Issues of imitation and imagination must be considered as a context for any discussion of war drawing. Previous perspectives in this study have dealt more with the subject of war. In this section greater emphasis is given to the activity of drawing. Various theories of children's drawings are reviewed. And once again each theory is invited to contribute to the explanation of why children's drawings look as they do. What intrinsic biases are there? And what does culture contribute to the character of the child's drawing? On this subject I call upon such notables as Gombrich (1960) and Arnheim (1974).

All that the child experiences may be source material for war drawings. Probably the majority of ideas come from visual sources. The most directly applicable of visual material is that which concerns the subject of war. Nevertheless we should remember that visual ideas can and probably do come from a wide range of sources. This study uncovers some of those.

Drawings are difficult to do. Enlisting contributions from Freeman (1980) and the Wilsons (1977), I review some of the challenges faced by the child who attempts a war drawing. Part of the character of children's war drawings,

or of drawings in any genre, can be accounted for as we come to understand something of the difficulties of representation. And if drawings require perseverance, concentration, and other characteristics, what does this tell us about the children who make them?

Related to this question is one about imagination. It is imagination which enables us to bring into existence the form on the page, and it is imagination which allows us to enter the work of another. If imagination is required in the making of a war drawing, what do we know about imaginative children which might help us to profile these youngsters? The ability to imagine is an important kind of intelligence. Singer (1975) provides a number of clues, and these are reported in this study.

Other Perspectives

I have not limited myself to these four perspectives. Others have informed the investigation. Other perspectives however, are not addressed as directly through having entire chapters devoted to them. Instead, they are integrated into the discussion as it unfolds. When I discuss issues related to the process of making war drawings and the uses to which they are put, and when I talk about the "artist," the topic of play becomes a very relevant one. The connection between games and spontaneous war drawing invites investigation. One seemingly obvious connection is that of arranging toy soldiers for a battle, and drawing soldiers on a page. In

more active games, Lever (1976) noted that boys tend to play by themselves or with large age-heterogeneous groups. Their games are normally competitive and complex. We see in such a description possible ties to war drawing.

Mass media and popular culture have also informed the investigation. The issue of war drawing is one which is closely related to controversies on the effect of television and other mass media on children's aggressive behavior. The A.C. Nielsen Company (1990) estimated 6 to 11-year-olds watch television more than 22 hours weekly. Groups like the American Academy of Pediatrics contend that television violence promotes violent behavior among children. Others maintain that television violence is the consequence of societal attitudes, and not the cause of them. A middle ground is held by those who believe that television violence promotes violent behavior only in those persons predisposed to violence. Information about war can come from television, but can we say that values are formed by exposure to mass media? Is war drawing an activity promoted by television? And is there a clear distinction in the minds of the children between real people in real life and actors on a screen, or pencil marks on a page?

All of these questions could also be asked with reference to comics and other books children read. How is war depicted in their books, and how influential are those books in shaping values and attitudes? Is the stationary

image on the printed page more likely to affect drawing style and content? Is the moving image on the television screen more likely to excite or motivate drawing activity?

These and other perspectives are called upon throughout the study where they seem able to contribute to the discussion.

Methods

The Inquiry Process

Certain research questions require particular research methods if answers are to be found. This investigation of children's war drawings and the children who make them, calls for ethnographic research methods. I have already talked at length about the various perspectives which must be employed to understand the phenomenon or case. But along with multiple perspectives are multiple sources of information and ways of accessing that information.

The approach required is much like detective work. A structure must be designed which facilitates the gathering of information, but one which can be dismantled and reconstructed in order to accommodate new information. In this section I briefly talk about defining the bounded system which is the case, I outline the structure, talk about the subjects, and review the various means used to collect data.

Definitions

Ideally it is those who are in the system who should take responsibility for defining the boundaries. This the youngsters have done. When interviewing the children, I asked them to define "war drawing" through selection of particular drawings which they regard as war drawings.

Structure

The format for investigation is a synthesis of work by Haselberger (1961) and Feldman (1987). My bias as an art educator is to begin with the object--the artwork itself. I begin with description as does Feldman. Having begun by examining the product, I next examine the process in order to learn how it was made. Once the process is understood, the next step is to ask about its intended use. What were the artist's reasons for making such an object? This brings me to reflect on the individual artist. Moving still farther from the art object, I can then investigate the wider culture that supports the activity. What social values encourage the making of these objects?

The structure begins with a very focused look at the drawings, and it moves back from the object through a series of steps to gain an ever-widening perspective.

Finding Subjects

The children in this study are between the ages of 6 and 12. This age-group, sometimes referred to as middle childhood, is neither arbitrary nor rigid. Childhood could

be seen in simple terms as consisting of three periods: preschool, middle childhood and adolescence. The period of adolescence is marked by important physical changes. And accompanying those changes is a changing self-image and societal role. Marking the end of middle childhood is pubescence which occurs at about age 12 or 13. Adolescence is a period which usually lasts until about age 18 or 19. The change from early childhood or preschool, to middle childhood is not marked by such dramatic physical changes. But by age 6 formal schooling for most children in North America will have begun. The child is now entering a new phase in life; the child is now ready, socially and intellectually, for the challenges and responsibilities of school (Smart & Smart 1967). Whether we begin middle childhood at age 6 or 7, and end it at age 11 or 12, it is important to recognize the change that occurs in the life of the child. Prior to this the family is the primary socializing agency. Now there is a shift to peers and school as the predominant influence. At this age gender distinctions become pronounced (Katz 1978), and war drawing reaches its peak of involvement (Feinburg 1979).

Individuals selected for study were children who frequently and spontaneously do war drawings. In order to conduct the study, I asked teachers of students in elementary grades to identify children who engage in this activity. So as not to foreclose on the possibility of

finding girls who also like to draw in this genre, the appeal was for "children" and not just boys. Through this and other contacts, I was able to get a group of 17 youngsters who were willing to be interviewed. All of those recommended to me were boys.

Location of the Study

All but two of the children live in Columbus, Ohio, and in surrounding Franklin County. Those two not from Franklin County, live in a nearby county to the northeast. Franklin County has a population of roughly 1.2 million. Columbus is mainly a service-industry community, although there is some light manufacturing. Many see Columbus as "middle America," representing the norm of American macroculture.

None of those referred to me were refugee children who had direct experience with war. All of those in the study draw spontaneously, deriving their knowledge and attitudes about war from secondary sources, rather than from first hand experiences with war.

Interview Questions

The questioning strategy was based upon Spradley (1979). All questions were asked of each subject. The format was sufficiently open to permit follow-up questions in order to clarify information received, or to pursue emerging insights.

Using the product-process-use-artist-culture structure outlined above, I developed questions. These I asked of each

youngster in a semi-structured interview. The complete set of interview questions is provided in appendix D, but sample questions from each category are supplied here:

1. Product: What is this picture about? I notice you used pencil (markers, crayons, poster paint...) to do the drawing. Why did you decide to use pencil?

2. Process: Where do you get your ideas for drawings? How do you decide when a drawing is finished?

3. Use: What do you do with your drawings when you're finished making them? What kinds of things do people say about your war drawings?

4. Artist: Do you ever play war? Do you think of yourself as an artist?

5. Culture: Do you like to play sports? What do you think about real war, is it a good thing or a bad thing?

Observation

The interviews were conducted in the children's homes. They began with our talking about the drawings. This gave me an opportunity to learn how the children define war drawing. It also gave me a chance to see if what I learned in talking with the child, could be found in the drawings. Observation extended beyond looking at the product to watching the child at work on a drawing. This afforded additional insights about the process. I made notes describing the sequence of development and other aspects of the performance. I had a number of questions about the process before I began these

observations. While at work, do these children become physically involved, acting out the narratives they are drawing? Do they select a single moment in time? Or do their drawings attempt to show the passage of time through erasure and changing the positions of the various actors on their page? Do these children make sounds to correspond with explosions, shouts, and cries? Do these children speak to others while they work? Do they wish to tell their adventure to others or are they very private at these times?

Visiting the children in their homes permitted the gathering of an even wider body of information. I was able to learn about the social and physical environment in which these drawings were made. I could observe the interaction between the boy and his younger sister. I could see the drawing of a helicopter taped to the refrigerator.

Key Informant

In addition to interviews and observations, I have also used my 9-year-old son Stephen as a key informant. Having close at hand a child who does war drawing permitted more unobtrusive investigation. I kept field notes over a 10 month period on aspects of his life which may contribute to his interest and involvement in war drawing. In addition I have engaged him as a key informant, asking him to explain some of the finer points of Nintendo games or whatever else may be a part of his world and that of youngsters like him.

Portfolio Review

The final element of the study involved a portfolio review. Here I asked the participants in my study to review whatever they had in the way of a collection of drawings. Besides seeing what other genres are represented in the portfolio, it more importantly enabled us to see how the drawings have changed over a period of months or even years. The review provided answers to questions of particular relevance to art education. How aware are these children of their growth as learners? Do they recognize their shifting interests and developing abilities?

The Study

The chapters follow the structure outlined above. Each chapter in the study expands to report on answers given to a particular section of questions asked in the interview. And responses from the children were matched with information gathered in other ways: observation of the drawings, observation of the process of drawing, information gathered informally by discussion with other members of the family or by observing the setting, observation of the portfolio. What follows here is a brief discussion of the contents of each chapter.

Product

Two chapters are devoted to product. The first arranges collected drawings into sub-genres as suggested by the children in their descriptions and explanations of them.

Every child is represented by at least one drawing. Explanations are largely limited to the descriptions or narrative as reported to me by the youngsters.

In the next chapter I deal with more general issues raised by the product. Here I consider such issues as the character of the combatants and the causes (or lack of them) for which they fight. The historical and geographic setting of drawings is discussed--when and where does this event take place? Graphic representation is the next issue covered. Here I asked youngsters to tell me how they make certain objects on the page and how they deal with illusionistic devices in portraying movement and depth. After this I deal with composition: Are some areas or parts of the drawing more important than others? Related to this is a question about the completeness of the drawing itself. Is this the whole event, or does it continue beyond the page? What strategies do the children employ in order to show the whole story or at least to reveal more of the action? The final topic I cover in the treatment of product relates to the materials. What media were used, and why were these chosen?

Process

I begin this chapter with a consideration of all that it takes to start the drawing. Where and when are these drawings usually done? Where do the child's ideas come from? What external referents, if any, are used? To what extent

does the child form a mental picture of the finished drawing before starting to draw? And what is normally the first thing drawn?

Once the drawing is underway, how are individual objects drawn; what is the sequence of additions? Here I deal with affective and physical aspects of the drawing process--the feelings and labors involved. Another factor is time: How long do drawings take to complete? Then I inquire as to the care taken to preserve the drawing.

Finishing the drawing involves decisions too. I ask how children arrive at the decision that a drawing is done. And having determined that it is, are there judgments made as to its quality?

Use

In the chapter on use I deal with intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of war drawing. Intrinsic purposes are those which the maker alone has for the drawings. Is the chief satisfaction to be found in the process of creating the pictures, or is viewing the finished product what brings most satisfaction? With extrinsic I consider relationships: interactions with friends who do war drawings, identification with figures in the drawings themselves, and war drawings used in play. Each of these has to do with actual or symbolic relationships centered around the drawing.

Artist

A number of topics come together in the chapter on "artist." The chapter begins with a look at war play and war games. War drawing is an activity which has connections with many other areas of the child's life. Gender identity is a topic introduced earlier when I outlined various perspectives. Now I return to probe this with questions about relationships with friends and perceptions about the drawing interests of girls. Since school plays such an important part in the life of the young child, it is of value to inquire into likes and dislikes about school. The portfolio review is yet another access road to the "artist." By inquiring about other interests expressed through drawing, and by asking their perceptions about their growth and development, youngsters reveal something about who they are. From all this a profile of these children begins to emerge.

Culture

In this chapter I examine those values identified by Feinburg as underlying an interest in war drawing. Values of competition and cooperation are accessed by questions about children's interest in sports. And values dealing with power and mastery are probed through questions about their interest in, and use of technology.

Knowledge about war was elicited in a series of questions intended to learn all the possible ways these children might have come to gain information on this subject. Included in this section are their answers to questions about: toys, clothing, books, posters and so forth.

I conclude this section with a return to values. What do these children think about real war? And what career goals do they have?

The Gulf War

With war in the Persian Gulf imminent, I expanded the originally planned series of questions to include specific queries about events in the Middle East and the effect these might have had on the children in my study. In this chapter I also deal with the drawings of one child who had not previously done spontaneous war drawings, and whose drawings at this time were in direct response to issues raised by a real though distant war. After dealing with this separate yet important case, I review the motivations for drawing about war of those children who have had direct experience with war. We will see that these motivations can be found to some extent in drawings done by several of the children in my study.

Significance of the Study

This study investigates the spontaneous war drawings of children. The children who do these drawings are also the

subject of investigation. In describing the drawings themselves, various sub-genres are identified and illustrated. Suggestions are made as to what each might signify. The study also looks to the challenges of drawing; and it further considers the learning, growth, and moral issues touched upon by this interest in war and drawing. By so doing, this research describes a genre which has often been reported but seldom investigated.

But studies must do more than satisfy an intellectual curiosity. One way to approach the "so what" question is to talk about the various groups who might benefit from it. I do this throughout the study. Those groups include the children and parents who participated in the study as well as other children and parents who, in one way or another, become acquainted with the findings. Others who work with youngsters in institutional settings, particularly teachers, will also become better acquainted with certain children in their care. And they will have suggested to them certain strategies or perspectives for building connections between these interests and the wider world. Lobby groups who vigorously campaign on issues such as the content of television programming or the sale of toys, will find my study useful or perhaps problematic, as they debate the issue of censorship.

In the final chapter which deals with implications of the study, I take a somewhat different approach, one which begins by talking about a basic awareness of the genre. Included here is a discussion of children teaching and learning from each other--something that might be called "street art education," or as Hamblen (1991) calls it, "local art knowledge." I discuss what I see to be the value of spontaneous war drawing, and I call into question the alleged harm it poses.

Assuming the reader is still with me at this point I move on to talk about ways in which adults may support this activity. And then I proceed to suggest ways in which adults might become more actively involved.

Finally I suggest ways in which researchers might make use of this study. Examined here are the methods as well as the content. Many possible extensions of the study are discussed, and I hope this sparks an interest in pursuing some of these.

But the main value of the study is awareness and understanding. By studying the drawings children do, which are not assigned by adults, we can gain greater insights into the ways children think, feel and act. If the war genre or any other genre is important to children, then it behooves us as parents, educators and researchers to take notice.

CHAPTER II
PARADIGM AND POLITICS: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
PERSPECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Introduction

In this chapter, in chapter VI, and again in chapter XV I consider important issues concerning the uses to which this study might be put. This chapter concludes with a more general question: How do I foresee the results of my study being used? In chapter VI, I address a more specific question: Can curriculum and instructional issues be influenced by my findings? The "so what-ness" of this, as with every study, is an important consideration.

Closely connected to the question of: Where is the study going?--is an equally important question: Where is the study coming from?

This chapter addresses both these questions beginning with an outline of my social and political perspectives. These perspectives connect with the research problem itself and with the choice of those specific research methods which I have used to investigate the problem.

Next I will consider the various groups which might benefit from the study and the ways in which they stand to

gain. The issue of generalizability warrants some attention in this regard. Having considered the ways in which my study might be used, it is worthwhile then to reflect upon the use and usefulness of my study to individuals holding social and political perspectives different from my own. It is possible that my findings would be dismissed as irrelevant. It is also possible that my findings might be misused. In trying to anticipate criticism of the study and misuse of its findings, I conclude with a defense and an appeal.

Social and Political Perspectives

Scientific research is still perceived by many to involve the "pure" pursuit of knowledge, serving the common good by uncovering natural and immutable laws. Its use is to predict and control. The data gathered is quantified and statistical generalizations are drawn.

The scientific method I have been describing is a model or paradigm of inquiry known as the dominant paradigm. Its origins are in agricultural botany. Applying this model to the study of human behavior however, raises questions about the underlying assumptions of the paradigm: assumptions about the role of the researcher, the role of the subject, the objectivity of the process, and so forth.

A more recent paradigm, appropriately termed the emerging paradigm, is one which has grown out of social anthropology. It is allied with qualitative research. The researcher commonly comes into close contact with the

persons being studied, and the purpose is to understand human behavior. Documenting the complexity of human behavior calls for "thick" description. Here too there are underlying assumptions which need to be examined.

Each paradigm is founded upon, and contributes to certain social and political perspectives. Before proceeding further, I will discuss my social and political views. The discussion will be organized under three main headings: Art and Politics, Education And Democracy, and Challenging the Dominant Paradigm. In each of these areas my views are consonant with the emerging paradigm.

Art and Politics

Art, and material culture in general, brings ideas into the world of objects where we are able to examine and discuss them. Art provides us with an important means of communicating with one another. Communication between persons of the same time and space is likely to be more complete than is communication across generations and cultures. Art is not a universal language, but neither is it as closed a form of communication as speech. Each of us experiences a work of art differently, even more so when separated by culture and time. Like culture itself, art is a social construct. There is no right art or wrong art. There are points of view, each of which may adequately describe a particular reality for the person who created it and for the audience for whom it was intended.

In that art is created to be used/viewed by an audience, art is social. It is also social in that it is created by persons shaped by society. Some art however, is meant to exert a stronger influence upon social behavior. Advertising art is meant to persuade a public to purchase consumer goods and services. At other times the call to action may be overtly political. Suffragette posters or Marxist murals are undisguised efforts to proclaim an ideology and rally believers to concerted effort on behalf of "the cause." At times the message may be less immediately apparent, as in Italian futurism or abstract expressionism. But these movements as well supported certain political ideologies. Even the apparently apolitical "art for art's sake" slogan produced art which conveyed values of efficiency, predictability, standardization, progress, and individual achievement. It was argued to be democratic in that it was pan-cultural or universal (Hamblen, 1990). The simple fact was that it was not universally accessible. The elite used it to reinforce their own prestige and superiority. The common person has little understanding for cubism and regards its fractured and disjointed images with resentment or amusement. All art may be seen as political inasmuch as it affects the relative distribution of power within society. Art serves the interests of one group or another.

In describing contrasting points of view, we commonly refer to the "political left" or the "political right." But what notions about the nature of reality undergird and sustain these views? Lanier (1987) refers to two major schools of philosophical thought. He makes no reference in his article to the political right or left, he simply characterizes these two philosophies as equally valid accounts of reality. According to Lanier, realism holds that a material universe exists independent of human understanding. The role of the researcher or the artist is to uncover the underlying structure or natural laws. Since it is unchanging, neither time nor place nor human instrumentality will affect it. There exists then a preferred body of knowledge which is universal, and experts seek to uncover that knowledge through a process of fragmenting and reducing. This gives rise to a view that art is universal, and the "natural laws" lead to formalism. Art that is universal has no need to consider cultural or historical context. Artists are seen as superior beings, geniuses more in tune with great ideas than are the common folk. Their work is directed towards other elites who display their superior taste and wealth by purchasing this work. This kind of art supports social stratification by adding to the prestige of the privileged.

The other school of philosophical thought referred to by Lanier is pragmatism. Pragmatism also accepts the

existence of a material world, but sees it as changing. What is important then, is our interaction with it. If interaction is important, then time and culture must play a role. Context becomes important. Art is a part of the everyday world, a social construct serving social purposes. Art should not be seen as cut off from life but part of daily experience. And knowledge is not gained by fragmenting and reducing, but is viewed more holistically. When art is viewed this way, the role and status of the artist changes. The artist becomes more connected with society, and is more egalitarian. Art is not judged by absolute standards but by the community it serves. Relativism is the outcome of this way of thinking. My social and political views are more compatible with pragmatism than with realism.

Similar dichotomies have been proposed by Hamblen (1989) and Jones (1988). Hamblen identifies as poles, universalism and relativism. Jones refers to objectivism and relativism. These dichotomies are related to the paradigms introduced earlier in this paper. Realism, universalism, and objectivism are connected with each other and with the dominant paradigm. Pragmatism and relativism are similarly connected to the emerging paradigm.

The weakness of a continuum is that it tends to oversimplify. The value of the continuum however, is that it provides a compass with which to navigate through the currents and eddies of rather complex material. A further

advantage of a continuum is that we are freed from choosing one pole or the other. We are able to take a position anywhere between those two extremes. With Hamblen's continuum of universalism to relativism, the difficulties of either extreme must be apparent. To wholly embrace universalism, is to hold to the Western view of high art, a form of cultural imperialism which asserts that formalism--a distinctly Western idea--is the common denominator of all great art. While there are indeed ways in which we are alike, a failure to recognize our differences is folly. Holding fast to relativism is also problematic. To suggest that we are all so different that there is no way we could ever understand one another, leads to cultural isolation and ultimately to misunderstanding and hostility. Both extremes are problematic. My position on the continuum might be described as slightly left of center.

Freedman, Stuhr, and Weinberg (1989) connect Hamblen's scale to politics. Universalism is the position commonly held by the political right and relativism is commonly held by the left. Politically I would describe myself as a moderate left. Those to the far right see others as selling their birthright in attending to the art of other cultures (Smith 1983). Those to the far left will not accept even popular culture; they see it as an extension of capitalism (Jagodzinski 1982).

Education and Democracy

Dewey (1934) declared art in the West to have become a monument to capitalism, colonialism, and conquest. Through wealth and warfare, the West has plundered the rest of the world, taking captive its artistic treasures and visual forms.

In our own society the fine art tradition of modernism is sponsored and legitimated by publications, museums and so forth. Hamblen (1990) suggests that serious scholars are reluctant to study "second rate" art such as illustration, for fear of being thought second rate scholars. It seems apparent that the art of the common people has largely gone unnoticed by both cultural and educational institutions. Where there is a belief in a universal aesthetic, and an artistic tradition that is inevitable and superior, there is little incentive on the part of children to learn about their own community and its aesthetic. There is little encouragement to become involved in art.

My social and political views are founded upon two premises. The first of these is that our society is multicultural rather than unicultural. The melting pot may be farther from realization today than it was a hundred years ago. Despite predictions by some (Grigsby, 1977) that the unifying forces of mass media and marketing will soon bring about a single American culture, subcultures seem to be born, and older ones reinvented (Clifford 1988). Groups

within national boundaries are finding and asserting their cultural identities. Cultural diversity is alive and well.

The second premise is that democracy is the best system of governance. Bersson (1986) uses the phrase "cultural democracy" in making the point that culture is everyone's right. For those scholars politically furthest to the left, cultures are equally viable ways of organizing reality, and we cannot attempt to impose upon them our own concepts of art, or make judgments about the art they choose. To those less relativistic such as Gans (1974), all forms of artistic production--or taste cultures--may not be equal, but all are equally valuable to those they serve.

Each one of us lives and moves in a variety of cultural milieux including: age, gender, and ethnicity. In the interest of preventing those cultural boundaries from becoming barriers, it is important for people to interact with others already competent in particular cultures, and to provide opportunities for individuals to move from one culture to another. If we give little heed to cultural diversity, individuals will have less opportunity for growth and fulfillment. If we neglect multiculturalism, we risk misunderstanding among cultural groups. Cultural diversity should be valued as a strength for all of society. A multicultural society is one which possesses multiple solutions to the numerous problems of modern society.

In art education I would support the use of multiple perspectives including multiple disciplines, multiple viewpoints within a discipline, and exposure to multiple arts such as popular art, folk art, and design.

For the realist, knowledge is already "out there" and the mission of the educator is to present it to students. For the pragmatist, knowledge is constructed as teachers and students interact. Students are perpetually dependent if they believe that experts are the sole guardians of knowledge. Students are empowered to become informed and responsible citizens when they are invited to explore issues, and are not told what to think. In becoming ultimately responsible for their own learning, and in investigating problems holistically, students become prepared to encounter new situations.

Educators do well when they undertake a self-examination in order to uncover their biases. A curriculum should also be evaluated to determine its underlying assumptions. And students should participate in decisions about their curriculum. This does not mean however that consensus is the mark of a successful curriculum; disagreement and controversy may ultimately be of greater challenge and benefit to students.

Challenging the Dominant Paradigm

Since the Enlightenment, the dominant paradigm has indeed dominated. The "hard" sciences have been regarded as

more rigorous and reliable. Sherif (1987) notes the prestige of experimental research in the scientific community. The belief is that the best way to gain knowledge is to study the parts and find lawfulness in their relationships. The more controlled the independent variables, the more pure the research. Applied to the study of human subjects, the researcher acts as though the subjects had no prior experiences. The researcher has the illusion of creating history at the moment. These and other assumptions about the impartiality and objectivity of science are now being challenged.

In an attack aimed at sociology, Millman and Kanter (1987) say that sociology frequently supports the status quo, rationalizing and lending legitimacy to existing power distributions. Sociology traditionally looks to the existing structures and those who occupy the visible and dramatic roles. Rarely does it explore needed social transformations which might lead to a more just society. Continuing the assault, Gilligan (1987) accuses science of holding a male bias. She points to Erikson and Kohlberg who, in discussing human development, identify stages which elevate the characteristics for which males are socialized, and devalue those for which females are socialized. Basic conceptions of time and space are also being challenged (Freedman et al. 1989). Culture and history can no longer be seen as progressive and linear. There are aspects of any given

culture which are ordered, others in a state of conflict and disorder (Clifford, 1988). Cultures are complex and dynamic, and are better described in terms of multiple axes.

These examples have been provided to illustrate the nature and vigor of the challenge to the dominant paradigm. Changing conceptions of knowledge cannot escape our attention. Science and philosophy are turning from analysis and verification of natural laws to an interest in the meaning and value of human existence (Margolis, cited in Delacruz, 1988). All inquiry involves interpretation. Science increasingly is coming to be seen as a viewpoint and not the ultimate objective reality.

Summary

Reviewing the key points of my social and political beliefs, I argued that art is a social construct and one which is political in that it serves the interests of one group or another. I briefly presented two philosophies, realism and pragmatism, and announced my affiliation with the latter. To further politicize these two points of view, I showed that realism and pragmatism can be connected with the political right and left. While there are difficulties to be encountered by attempting to hold to either extreme of the continuum, my own view is that of the moderate left. In education this translates into support for democracy and multiculturalism. Pragmatism also encourages a kind of research which acknowledges the importance of change and

interaction. The emerging paradigm is quite compatible with my social and political views.

The Study

Question, Method, Methodology

Having outlined my social/political orientation, it now becomes possible for me to outline my destination.

My research involved a study of children's spontaneous drawing about war. The questions were:

1. What are the distinguishing characteristics of this genre?

2. Who are the individuals who work in this genre?

The participants in the study were children ages 7-11 who spontaneously do war drawings, children who fantasize about war rather than having had direct experience. The research involved interviewing these children in an effort to come to a greater understanding of the product (the drawing itself), the process by which the drawing is made, the use or purposes served by the drawing, the role and character of the child who creates these works, and an understanding of the culture which supports this interest. In addition to interviewing the children, I also reviewed their portfolio and observed them at work on a drawing.

One child, my 9-year-old son Stephen, has served as key informant. I have kept field notes on aspects of his life which seem to contribute to his activity of war drawing. As

questions arose, I asked Stephen to aid me in the search for answers.

To further illumine the subject, I employed multiple perspectives: various theories of gender identity formation, and cross-cultural investigations of adult war art and children's drawing about war.

This is the research problem, and these are the methods I have used to investigate it. But are these methods compatible with the research intent? To answer this question I must deal with methodology--the theory and analysis of how scientific research should proceed. It is not enough to simply fit my research methods to my social and political views. The research methods must also fit the research problem itself.

We might distinguish between research which deals with societal norms, research which deals with what is rather than what might be. For this kind of research, quantitative methods are able to take large and random samples of individuals and situations, leading to the widest possible generalizability. Where the purpose is to reveal the exceptions--what might be-- qualitative methods are more appropriate. Not all children ages 5-12 draw spontaneously; and of those who do, only a minority choose the genre of war. For this reason an investigation into children's spontaneous drawing about war is well-suited to qualitative methods. Shulman (in Jaeger, 1988) points to the fact that

showing the unique, implicitly says that things need not be as they typically are. Settings, though different from the general mass, can be sensible and rule-governed. Rather than supporting a status quo, they show alternative approaches.

By analogy, quantitative approaches tend to use a macro lens, focusing on a single aspect of society. Many such views contribute to a fairly complete overall picture. Qualitative approaches like ethnography, on the other hand, use a wide-angle lens to record a culture or phenomenon less well understood, and they report in a more holistic manner. Further, the ethnographic "photo" records the subject in its natural environs. It is an action shot as opposed to the more posed view of experimental or survey research. While I have characterized these two streams of research as fundamentally different, it is necessary to add that there is an area of overlap. Qualitative researchers may and often do use numbers to express their findings. And quantitative researchers at times will use observation and description in their studies.

Ethnography

Ethnography is an inquiry process which is well-suited to questions like: "What is going on here?" It is not merely a set of techniques and a reporting process, but an inquiry process guided by a point of view. Ethnography describes a culture. It does so by examining repetitive patterns of behavior and recording cultural knowledge which

is elicited from informants. Thick description is needed to do justice to the complexity of the phenomena being studied. Geertz (1973) illustrated this point by saying an ethnographer would distinguish between a wink and a twitch, and not merely describe it as a rapid contraction of the eyelid. Social meaning must be noted, and this can only take place in its natural setting.

Ethnography began when anthropologists travelled from Western countries to colonialized parts of the world. They were sensitive to cultural differences and encouraged respect for other cultures. There is then a tradition of seeing things from the bottom up, and of collecting knowledge from people who tend to be outside the structures of power. In interacting with a population, anthropologists may well become advocates for the group. In addition there are high standards of ethical behavior which include considering the informants first, and safeguarding their interest. Research objectives should be communicated to them and information uncovered should be made available to them so that they may benefit from the investigation.

What I have been describing is the emic perspective. In this view the individual is seen to understand and make choices; the interviewer seeks to uncover the meaning which culture holds for the native. The opposing view--one which comes from the dominant paradigm--regards the individual as acting in accordance with social values. Etic supports the

notion of determinism rather than seeing the informant as free to make choices. With emic then, the researcher interprets the native point of view. With etic the researcher's own viewpoint is considered to be more important. At one time these two views were kept distinct, but more recently a freewheeling pragmatism has been adopted (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). The ethnographer is normally an outsider who tries to understand the insider's point of view. Outsiders are capable of a more analytical perspective. Though the insider will have more knowledge of the culture, much of it is tacit and taken for granted. It is the ethnographer who can draw generalizations for the insider.

A fundamental belief in ethnography is the importance of context. The figure cannot be understood apart from its ground. On-site research is conducted in the natural environs of the people. Ettinger (1987) has prepared a taxonomy of fourteen approaches. Ethnography is one kind of on-site or in-context descriptive research. Case study is another. While my study is principally a case study, it has elements of both case study and ethnography. These two methods have much in common.

The ethnographer normally studies a culture. Children's spontaneous drawing about war is not a culture, though it is practiced by children of a particular age and gender, and it is supported in part by popular culture. War drawing is more

properly described as a bounded system. The ethnographer also commonly lives among the natives. Here again my approach differs from traditional ethnographic practice. For this reason my study is not ethnography as it is normally understood.

It does however, warrant the term quasi-ethnography. There are several aspects of the study which come close to ethnography. One of these is the perspective I have taken which regards war drawing as an activity stimulated by popular culture. Another is that I have taken the point of view of an ethnographer and made use of ethnographic methods in the more in-depth study of my son's war drawing. Effectively he has served as a key informant, and I have made field notes about those involvements and influences which effect Stephen's interest in and engagement with war drawing. Participant observation is more characteristic of ethnography than of case study and it warrants some brief mention here. I did not simply observe Stephen's activities; as a parent I am also responsible for influencing his conduct. Knowing that I was conducting a study of his war drawings, unavoidably influenced his production. I am an artist and Stephen has at times asked me to help him with a drawing. On several occasions he has given me stick figures specifying certain poses. These he has asked me to draw as more naturalistic figures. Taking the product, Stephen then has added uniforms and armaments turning the generic men

into soldiers. While I have tried to minimize my participant role in the drawings, it is nevertheless a fact of our relationship and one which is more like that of the ethnographer than the case researcher. Still this is not true ethnography.

My involvement with other children who do war drawing was more as observer than participant. I have interviewed these children in their homes where they no doubt felt more comfortable, and where I was able to glean more information about the setting in which the activity likely takes place. I also observed them at work on a drawing and analyzed a portfolio of their drawings.

Inquiry Process

A number of important approaches to inquiry are common to both case study and ethnography. It is important, for example, to set aside preconceptions and make the familiar strange. Wiseman (1974) describes qualitative research as detective work. There are clues and hunches, but initially little organization. Data gathering and analysis directed the study as it proceeded.

Models which might account for the data were tried on for size. Chronology was considered as one way of describing war drawing. Perhaps war drawing begins with a preschooler's drawings of guns, and develops into full scale wars of increasing complexity as the child gets older. I was attentive to the possibility of finding distinct stages in

the development of the genre. Another possible model for organizing the data involved identifying particular social types. There are some children for example, who derive satisfaction from planning the war. Are there others who are excited by fantasizing about active involvement as an individual warrior? The "general" or the "hero" were classes I considered as ways of effectively describing the genre. I was also open to the possibility that children would have their own typology, though I recognized that this would be more likely if war drawing were a more social activity.

Validation of information is accomplished by gathering data through a variety of methods--participant observation, interviewing, written reports, non-written sources--and using each to verify or refute the other. A variety of instruments were used to collect this information such as: audiotape recordings, field notes, key informant and so forth.

Unique to qualitative research is the idea of the researcher as an instrument. Here it is necessary for me to lay out my own biases, some of which were stated earlier in this paper as social and political perspectives. One of my biases is revealed in my preference for the Feinburg hypothesis over the Naumburg hypothesis, namely that war drawing is about gender identity, and not about repressed hostility and social maladjustment. Had the data suggested otherwise, I would have reported that honestly.

Another aspect of reporting my biases would be to tell how I came to choose a rather controversial topic like this. In my childhood I played cowboys and Indians, waged battles with toy soldiers, and drew scenes of war. In contrast to play about war, I consider actual warfare to be one of the great human tragedies. One can hardly look at the drawings of children who have had direct experience with war and not be gripped by a deep sadness. I also think that children who fantasize about war are normally quite able to clearly distinguish between the game and the grim reality.

Children who do war drawings have a rich fantasy life and their ability to explore alternative realities may be one of the best guarantees that they will grow up to be productive adults. Singer (1975) is right in pointing out that children who run afoul of the law tend to be children with limited imaginations, children who seem little able to predict the consequences of certain actions and who live only in the present. I will pursue this thought further however in the final question where I deal with the issues of imitation and imagination. For the present, these are my biases.

It is the reader and the writer who together interpret the findings. The writer lays out the theoretical framework, defines terms to be used in the study, weaves interview excerpts together with descriptive segments to portray a vivid reality with plausible relationships, and clearly

presents the methodology which outlines the various sources of information accessed and how it was interpreted. The inquiry method, whether it is ethnography or case study, is demanding, rigorous, and disciplined. And while complete objectivity may not be possible, that in no way suggests that efforts to achieve it can be abandoned, nor does it invalidate the findings. With respect to conducting qualitative research, it has been rightly said: the fact that we cannot guarantee a completely antiseptic environment does not invite us to conduct surgery in a sewer.

Case Study

Much of what I have said so far can also be applied to case studies. It is necessary however, to spend some time addressing more directly the character and nature of case study as a mode of inquiry.

There are times when a researcher wants to find out how just one thing operates. What are its rule-governed patterns? The case study method examines a social phenomenon through analysis of an individual case. The case may be a person, group, or community. It may also be an episode or a process. We refer to this unit of social life as a bounded system. All data relevant to the case are gathered and organized in terms of the case, so as to preserve the unitary character and wholeness of the case.

I begin by setting the boundaries. What do I mean by war? What do I mean by drawing? Who am I looking at as users

of this genre? Initially I established loose boundaries; but as the study progressed, those who care about the bounded system helped me to redraw those boundaries in a way which is meaningful to them. Shall we include drawings about superheroes? Are drawings of war implements such as tanks part of the genre, or must there be fighting in the picture?

Case study may also be used to test a hypothesis by examining an exception which shows the hypothesis to be false. When case study is used in this way, etic is the emphasis. This however is not the direction my study has taken. In my study, multiple theories are called upon to contribute, and their usefulness is in illuminating the genre which is my bounded system. This is an emic perspective. Theory is nevertheless essential insofar as it sheds more light on the case, enabling thick description to take place. Hypotheses are important as well but must remain subordinate to the understanding of the case in all its richness and complexity.

As data are gathered, a picture begins to emerge. Some adjustment of the initial direction of the study is usually necessary. A conceptual structure develops which increases our understanding of the case.

As with ethnographic inquiry, validity can be increased through a process of triangulation. If the same observations are made, or meanings are extracted from information

gathered in at least three independent ways or from three different sources, then we can have greater confidence in our findings. Established upon a foundation of social theory, and constructed with sound logic, the case study cannot be dismissed as being undisciplined and subjective. The case is only one perspective but it can be a clear and accurate perspective.

Much of what we understand of human affairs is acquired through personal experience, so the most effective means of adding to the experience of our readers is to present findings in ways which extend that personal experience. Like ethnography, the writing style of a case study tends to be informal with verbatim quotes and illustrations. Through vivid description and narrative, the readers can connect with their own experiences. Because of this, case studies "ring true." A case study is valid to the reader to whom it gives an accurate and useful representation of the bounded system.

Summary

I began this section with a review of my research question and the methods I will use to investigate the question. By its nature this question lends itself to qualitative research methods. In seeking to understand a somewhat unique and complex human phenomenon which occurs in informal settings, the research problem is one which calls

for on-site description. With its emphasis on context, with its egalitarian position on gaining the insider's perspective, and with its traditions of advocacy, ethnographic research methods fit well with my social and political views.

The inquiry process I have followed is one which approached the topic with an attitude of openness. Organization grew from the data rather than preceded it. Multiple methods of gathering data were employed, and these contribute to the process of validating my findings. As researcher, I am one of those research instruments, and I have laid out my biases in advance so that the reader might judge the objectivity of my reporting. Theories were used to illuminate the bounded system of children's spontaneous drawings about war, and cross-cultural perspectives were also brought to bear on the case.

It is hoped that readers will be coparticipants in interpreting the findings, and that those findings will ring true.

Value of the Study

Generalizability

The reader may agree that the study is valid, but have concerns about its value. One of the criticisms levelled against case studies concerns generalizability. If the case

is too unique or episodic, then it remains simply a curiosity. Critics of the case call it too relativistic. Those who hold to the dominant paradigm will look to propositional statements of lawful relationship as being the closest approximations of truth. But there is another kind of knowledge which is championed by those who hold to the emerging paradigm. This knowledge is tacit, gained by experience. One proponent of this kind of knowledge, Stake (1988) has argued that truth in human affairs is better approximated by statements that are rich with the sense of human encounter.

The case study is done primarily to help us understand the case itself. Generalizability is not the main objective. Humans are not as predictable as those of the dominant paradigm would like to suppose, and generalizations don't describe human action very adequately. Teachers and parents are interested in individual children more than mass behavior. Donmoyer (1988) has rightly pointed out that the researcher's ideal types can easily become stereotypes. Rather than attempting to see the individual case as completely representative of a larger population, it is more helpful to see the complex case as likely to have certain similarities with others of its kind. Here description is important so that readers will be able to see those essential similarities. This is naturalistic generalization.

Recognizing both the similarities and the differences between two parallel cases is more like the way we commonly experience the world. It requires intuition as well as logic; it requires us to draw upon past experience. This method of generalizing leads to expectations rather than predictions. In fields like education and art, there are few laws. It is pedantic to engage in a persistent search for absolutes.

Case studies then are not about prediction and control, but about illustration and understanding. It is the nature of case studies to present the generic through the specific. The case may well illustrate something more general about human behavior. Donmoyer (1988) employs Piaget's theory of cognitive functioning to develop this idea further. Everything we know about the empirical world is filtered through cognitive structures. When we receive new information, we must somehow accommodate it. We do so by reshaping it to fit existing structures. Finally we integrate our knowledge. Here the structure becomes able to accommodate more things, and it also becomes further differentiated by means of substructures. New experiences challenge our thinking. In Piagetian language, our cognitive structures become more integrated and differentiated so they can perceive more richly. The bottom line here is that new experience develops the mind.

Case studies present opportunities which extend real life experience. We are able to see the world through the eyes of another. The well written case study introduces us to people, places, and experiences we might otherwise never have. Uniqueness is an asset and not a liability. We see through the eyes of the researcher, and in so doing add nuance to what would otherwise be a stereotype.

Groups Benefitted by the Study

It has been well said that research must be carried out to benefit certain audiences and not just swell archives. The first and most important group who must derive benefit from the research are the participants themselves. Having an adult who shows an interest in them and their drawings, and is willing to listen attentively as they talk about themselves and their work, is one kind of benefit. The prevailing view still seems to be that children should be seen and not heard. Certainly that seems to be the implication of research such as that of Kellogg and others, which examines hundreds of thousands of drawings, and arrives at conclusions independently of what the children themselves may wish to say about them. Another and perhaps better advantage of this kind of research is an educational one. Wolf (1989) argues that reflective self-evaluation is inseparable from pursuing any kind of worthwhile work. I earlier criticized a definition of education which equates

learning with the accumulation of factual knowledge. Education involves thinking, evaluating, and discriminating; it is therefore important for learners to take responsibility for assessing and directing their own progress. Asking children to look through their portfolio and to talk about their own history and development, promotes education as I have defined it.

Another important group are the parents and guardians of these children. Some have expressed curiosity about their child's development in drawing and interest in the war genre. Others even had concerns which can be traced to explanations of war drawing which are promoted by certain psychoanalytic theorists. When I reported to these adults at the conclusion of the study, I was able to tell them what I had found. By inviting me into their homes to interview their children in the first place, they gave evidence of wanting to understand what it is their children are doing--and why.

Then there is a wider audience of parents, teachers and others who work with children. I would also include action groups such as those who work aggressively to ban the sale of certain toys or urge tougher censorship laws on children's television programming. My findings may be of interest to a variety of people in diverse settings.

Lastly my research may be used as a stepping stone by other investigators who wish to learn more about genres of children's spontaneous drawing and the role of self-motivation in learning about art.

Summary

In outlining the value of my study, I dealt at some length with the issue of generalizability. How widely applicable are the findings and how might they be applied? I argued that generalizability and prediction are terms which are more properly the province of the dominant paradigm. For research conducted by the emerging paradigm, naturalistic generalization and expectation would be more appropriate terms to use. The case is like others of its kind. Noting similarities and differences with other cases enables each of us to make use of the findings. Tacit knowledge is gained and this is the best kind of knowledge for understanding a phenomenon like children's spontaneous drawing.

The value of the study is chiefly in understanding this and other similar phenomena. In chapter VI, I deal at greater length with how my findings might influence curriculum and instruction in the classroom. In addressing this topic, I assume that the reader holds social and political views similar to my own. But what if the reader--particularly the art educator--holds views quite different from mine? The value for that reader would necessarily be different and almost certainly diminished.

Opposing Views

In the following discussion I will attempt to anticipate the kind of criticism my study might receive, and speculate on the use or misuse of my study by these groups.

Elitism/ Formalism

Earlier I made reference to the dominant paradigm and to realism as a philosophy. The top-down view of education promoted by these positions would see little value in taking note of what children draw spontaneously. To these people, war drawing is of no more relevance to art education than is chewing bubblegum. What children like to do and what experts decree children must do, are two entirely different things. For these educators, children may not all be alike but the purpose of education is to promote uniformity. There is a body of knowledge which must be imparted to all children which will insure their successful assimilation into mainstream American culture. Cultural literacy is the information that everybody should know, and this includes learning to identify the exemplars of Western high art. Further, formalism is seen to be the common denominator of art worldwide.

While I disagree with this thinking, I would argue that the approach to art education implicit in my study does not favor a "hands off" approach to teaching. Rather it favors an interaction between teacher and student such that

knowledge is constructed and students come to take responsibility for their progress as learners. Through their interests children can be introduced to a wider world, both historically and cross-culturally. They learn about their own cultural heritage as well as others'. They come to discover in high art, themes and imagery which relate to a culture with which they are probably more familiar--popular culture. Motivation to learn is of concern to many teachers of varying political and philosophical persuasions, and I would hope these ideas would consequently influence teaching practice.

Marxism

For the Marxist, war drawing may be seen as an inevitable consequence of a society whose ideology embraces capitalism and conquest. Children exploited by popular culture, and socialized to compete rather than cooperate--these would be likely explanations for drawings in this genre. The Marxist educator might then attempt to "reeducate," or reform the values of students who show an interest in war drawing. I would consider this to be a misuse of the study. I would further argue that popular culture has more to do with taste (Gans, 1974) than it has to do with capitalism. In varying degrees, cooperation and competition are present in all cultures. One might question the relative proportions and the ways they are expressed,

but this is a matter of degree. Neither the political left nor the right has a monopoly on virtue; wars have been waged by adherents to both sides of the political continuum.

Finally I would remind the reader that the war drawings are about identification with adults. If the Marxist wishes to change society, then the place to begin would be with the adults with whom these children seek to identify.

Feminism

Perhaps the most insistent challenge to my study might be expected from radical feminists who would think my study to reflect an opposition to feminist aims. There are within the ranks of the feminist movement widely varying views. The more moderate appeal for equality between the sexes and for less rigidity and polarity between males and females in our culture. Others take a more radical view promoting lesbian relationships as the ideal, or advocating the elimination of gender as socially constructed roles for the sexes. I am in sympathy with the moderates but not with the radicals. Since my study views war drawing as primarily being about gender role identification, the feminist art educator may take the view that by forbidding this activity the child will somehow get the message that the male role should not be seen as desirable. A more moderate view would be to encourage children to explore other themes as well. Boys might be encouraged to see the male role as including nurturance, and

do a drawing entitled "I care for my rabbit." Girls might similarly be invited to explore possibilities for adventure such as "I am winning the Indy 500." My view of teaching is that it broadens experience, empowering children to determine their own destiny and to make informed choices. I would not want to discourage children from doing self-directed spontaneous drawings; neither would I suggest noninvolvement on the part of the parent or teacher.

Summary

There may be other political stances taken in opposition to mine, but I believe these to be the main ones. For those who hold to ideas of elitism/formalism, the findings might seem curious and inconsequential. For those who link education to social reform, my study would be taken to task for its failure to redress the evils of capitalism and the injustices of sexism. I have tried to anticipate these concerns and to formulate some kind of response. Those responses range from counter argument to moderate agreement. The topic is unquestionably controversial, but controversy is not necessarily negative, it can at times be productive.

My greatest hope is that the children who do spontaneous drawings will gain a greater measure of acceptance from the adults whose opinions mean so much.

CHAPTER III
THEORIES OF GENDER IDENTITY FORMATION
AND THEIR POSSIBLE RELEVANCE TO CHILDREN'S WAR DRAWING

Introduction

Gender is perhaps the most obvious way in which we differ. Sex differences are biological, but gender is a social construct. Devor (1989) defines gender role as the actions, thoughts, behaviors, and beliefs which distinguish one as a member of a gender category. Gender roles prescribe the range of activities considered appropriate for males and females in particular societies.

While those prescribed roles will vary from one society to another, Chodorow (1974) identifies certain widely found commonalities in those roles. She applies Bakan's (1966) terms agency and communion to the description of gender role. These terms characterize two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms. Agency is the existence of an organism as an individual, and is characterized by self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion. It separates, isolates, and seeks to master. The term communion describes the participation of the individual in some larger organism. It is characterized by union, contact,

openness, and cooperation. These contrasting modalities are useful in characterizing male and female roles as they are defined in many societies. Gender roles are pervasive and strongly held norms. Gender is an identity which is always with us. Unlike occupational roles, we cannot easily set our gender roles aside.

There has been much discussion as to how we come to acquire a gender identity. Are we genetically programmed to think and act in masculine or feminine ways, or are we shaped by the society in which we are raised to conform to certain socially constructed roles? The "nurture versus nature" debate has been with us from time immemorial. These positions are more properly referred to as essentialism and social constructionism. Essentialism views gender as biological and universal. Rubin (1984) adopts this perspective when she refers to "innate male aggression and dominance" (p.155).

Social constructionism on the other hand notes the variety of gender roles cross-culturally. D'Andrade (1966) does not discount Rubin's generalization but he cites Margaret Mead's study of three quite different societies in New Guinea. The Mundugumor have minimal gender role differences, and both males and females act in a manner we in the West would describe as masculine. The Arapesh similarly have minimal gender role differences, but here males and females act in a more feminine manner. The

Tchambuli have major gender role differences and those roles are the reverse of ours in the West: males are passive and nurturing, whereas females are dominant, impersonal, and independent. D'Andrade concludes that human behavior is indeed plastic.

Having defined the essentialist/social constructionist continuum, it is now time to introduce the three leading theories of gender identity acquisition: (a) Towards the essentialist end of the continuum is psychoanalytic theory. This theory argues that children internalize gender roles through identifying with and imitating the same-sex parent. (b) Towards the social constructionist end of the continuum are social learning models. These view children as completely malleable, and behaviors as being entirely shaped by society. Societies pressure their members to conform to established social patterns. Children come to see themselves as male or female by receiving positive and negative reinforcement for behaviors which their culture considers appropriate and inappropriate for their particular gender. (c) Occupying a more central position on the continuum is cognitive development theory. This view draws upon both nature and nurture to account for gender identity acquisition. Humans have an innate need to make sense of the world. We are information-processing beings who organize and simplify experiences. Young children discover that gender is a basic distinction among people. When children learn which

group they have been assigned to, they observe and imitate others of their gender. The process involves self-socialization in which children attempt to fit their own behavior to their concept of what is gender-appropriate.

In the following sections I will expand on each of these theories. My primary purpose is not to pit one theory against another but to use these theories to illuminate the product and activity of war drawing. It is my hypothesis that war drawing done spontaneously by North American children who have not experienced war, is done for reasons of gender identity acquisition and expression. Each theory will have something to contribute to our understanding of this phenomenon. This is not to suggest that I consider all three theories equally illuminating. Cognitive development theory seems to me, to more adequately account for gender identity formation. Nevertheless I will appeal to each theory for insights.

Psychoanalytic Theory

This theory is founded upon ideas of Darwinian evolution. As a species, humans have survived and thrived because of certain biogenetic attributes which are universal (Singer, 1975). We are motivated by the need to survive and reproduce. Freud held that human behavior in all its complexity, could be understood in terms of two basic drives: aggression and sex. Later psychoanalysis has added to the list of perceived human needs: trust, autonomy,

identity, and affection. In addition to having these innate tendencies or predispositions, psychoanalytic theory also maintains that the experiences of the first three years of life have a powerful and lasting effect on us.

Both of these factors contribute to the formation of gender identity. Children have an innate predisposition to identify with and to emulate the behaviors of their same-sex parents. Little boys and girls also experience their parents differently.

According to Freudians and neo-Freudians, children pass through developmental stages. Each stage contributes something further to gender identity. With each development the child moves closer to fulfilling societal expectations. The development of gender identity is a naturally occurring process and is not one which requires societal pressure to accomplish. The forces which shape gender identity are universal.

Early Experiences

Chodorow (1974) submits that male/female differences in personality and roles are nearly universal. For Chodorow, the explanation is to be found in child-rearing practices. Women almost universally are the primary caregivers for infants and young children. Gilligan (1987) adds that mothers experience their daughters as more alike and continuous with themselves. Sons however, are experienced as a male opposite. Boys must eventually curtail the primary

love of their mother. The mother emphasizes the masculinity of her son and pushes him to assume a gender role which is in opposition to hers.

The personality differences that arise from this experience in infancy are dramatic. Boys become more individualistic. They also come to think in terms of dualities whereas girls do not. Thinking in dualities is applied to all manner of experience, but in the realm of social relations boys conceive of the world as inhabited by hostile others with whom they must construct a social relation in order to survive.

This can be seen in the way children play. Boys tend to play in larger groups (Lever, 1976) and in competitive situations. Elaborate rules are established in order to insure cooperation of team members in a competitive situation. This observation can be extended to the imaginative play of war drawing. It would be difficult to imagine an aspect of society which places greater importance on formalized and rule-governed cooperation in the interest of competition. War (and war drawing) is very much about dualities--us and them. Individualism, also a result of the mother/son relationship, is only held in check by the formalized rules of the game.

Chodorow contributes another idea to the explanation of the war drawing activity. After age 3, the oedipal period begins. This is the time when the child achieves a

stable gender identity. It is also the time when gender differences become noticeably different, as indicated in various empirical tests such as toy preference (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). It is at this time that the father becomes particularly important to the child.

The girl's identification with her mother remains. All that transfers to her father is sexual attraction. For the boy it becomes necessary to establish both a personal and positional identification with the father. In Western society, fathers are frequently absent from the home. There is insufficient opportunity for the boy to establish a personal identification with his father, observing how he relates to others, what activities he engages in, and so forth. What remains is a positional identification. The boy therefore identifies with an abstraction, with a fantasized masculine role.

Though women have entered nearly every profession including the military, combat duty remains a somewhat restricted area. Combat, for many children is the epitome of masculinity. Boys wishing to fantasize about the adult male role may do so by drawing adult male military personnel engaged in combat.

Instinctive Drives

Psychoanalytic theory regards humans as possessing instinctive drives which motivate us. Gratifying these drives affords pleasure. Freud referred to these basic

drives as the id. Our higher mental functions are called the ego. We call upon the ego to control those basic drives which seek immediate gratification. The ego seeks to channel those energies into achievements which it values (Kramer, 1979). Thus the potentially destructive powers of our drives become constructive. This process called sublimation, can be found in drawing where we create visual images which substitute for direct action. The child who does a war drawing expresses aggression in a manner which is more socially acceptable than direct and immediate action against others.

Therapists working with children who are maladjusted, make reference to the curative powers of this externalizing of inner hostility. Naumburg (1947) describes the work of one such young male patient.

For a number of art periods bombing planes dominated his designs. There were air battles between the "enemy" which was Japanese or German and the Americans, sometimes joined by the Australians. There were many scenes in which bombers dropped their loads from the air, to sink ships or wipe out enemies or explode ammunition dumps. Outbursts of flame, terrific explosions of TNT, black swirling hurricanes increased the holocaust. The sounds of bursting bombs, whizzing airplanes, martial music and the "drip, drip" of blood accompanied the making of these war pictures....When

he had begun to project his inner conflicts into the expressions of these art forms, he achieved both satisfaction and relief. (p. 58)

But this is not to suggest that war drawing is viewed by all psychoanalytic theorists as symptomatic of maladjustment. Some view aggression as the normal human experience. Expressing aggression and exploring conflict through drawing is healthy, even pleasurable. Feinburg (1975) describes her own well-adjusted son at work on a war drawing. She uses terms such as "lightness" and "joy" in describing his manner. Her position is consistent with the psychoanalytic view when she concludes "it is far healthier for a youngster to examine notions of conflict, to bring them into play in this manageable context, than it is for him to repress these deep-seated and insistent feelings" (p. 16).

Feinburg and Kramer (1979) also see the purpose of war drawing as gender identification. Identification with adult males includes feelings of mastery and accomplishment. Kramer sees such drawing activities beginning to lose their importance for the 12-year-old boy. At this age boys begin to measure their achievements more realistically. They set out in search of ego ideals which are more attainable.

Males do appear to be more aggressive than females. When Rubin (1984) refers to "innate male aggression," her claim has support from a wide variety of studies ranging

from cross-cultural patterns of adult behavior to clinical studies of fetal hormones. Maccoby and Jacklin (1980) conducted an extensive review of gender studies. The authors conclude that males are generally more aggressive than females, and aggressive behavior is clearly differentiated by the age of 6.

Psychoanalytic theory regards our drives for sexuality and aggression as significant determinants of human behavior. Thus far I have talked about aggression, but what of sexuality? Is war drawing related in any way to sex drive? Kramer (1979) offers a psychoanalytic explanation for one aspect of war drawing--the interest in machinery. Boys are inclined to invest mechanical objects with sexual significance. This is so, Kramer claims, because their bodies provide a model of dramatic erection and detumescence. Boys are therefore readily fascinated by objects that can be made to start and stop at their owner's will.

Whether the connection with the male sex organ is the explanation we choose to accept, there is undeniably a sense of potency which comes from using machinery. Many drawings of warfare are more about the machinery of war--tanks, guns, airplanes--than about the warriors themselves. Extending Kramer's analogy further, we might wonder if sexual potency is unconsciously expressed by the streams of bullets issuing from guns, so common in drawings of combat.

Summary

Summing up the psychoanalytic theory of gender and its application to war drawing, there are two main influences on our behavior. The first is genetically encoded drives. Sexual strivings may be evident in the boy's fascination for machinery and powerful weaponry. Aggressive urges may be satisfied by the destruction which occurs on the page. Psychoanalytic theory sees significance in such devastation (or even the potential for it), thinking it to be a projection and sublimation of aggressive feelings. Included in this is the notion of drawing as a means of gaining or maintaining psychological health through expression (as opposed to repression) of feelings of hostility and fear. Boys tending to be more aggressive than girls, would lead us to predict that boys will likely produce more drawings on the theme of aggression.

The second important force which shapes behavior is the experiences of the first three years of life. The boy's identity is one which forms in opposition to the mother. As a result it is theorized that boys come to view the world in terms of dualities. War drawing expresses this thinking in formal alliances among large groups of individuals (who otherwise might represent a threat), in order to compete with other large groups. Important in psychoanalytic theory is the notion of the child emulating the same-sex parent. With the father spending so many hours away from the home,

boys tend to identify with a positional or fantasized concept of masculinity. These unrealistic exaggerations find expression in war drawing as an ultra-masculine role. Around age 12, boys gain a more realistic view of the adult male role in society, and abandon these fantasies. War drawing then ceases.

Social Learning Theory

Earlier I made reference to a study of three New Guinea cultures which illustrated the variability of gender roles. While it is true that such differences can be found, it would be necessary to point out that these seem to be exceptions to the rule. In a survey of 110 societies, Barry, Bacon, and Child (cited in D'Andrade, 1966) found that males are generally socialized to be self-reliant and achievement-oriented. Females tend to be socialized towards nurturant, responsible, and obedient behaviors. This is consonant with Bakan's terms of agency and communion.

Considering the rather minor physical differences between males and females, and especially between boys and girls, it is difficult to understand why gender roles are so markedly different and so tenaciously guarded. Perhaps children exaggerate gender behaviors expressly because those physical differences are minimal. It is possible that war drawing is meant to make it abundantly clear which group they have identified with. As puberty begins to create more obvious differences between boys and girls, the need for

exaggerated gender behavior diminishes.

Calling upon anthropology at the macro level, we can see some of the factors which influence gender roles. D'Andrade (1966) points to subsistence economies as producing sharp divisions of labor based upon physical attributes. Hunting is considered a male activity. Nursing infants, is female work. From such divisions of labor flow other activities which are not based on physical differences. Females are just as capable of making weapons, yet this is almost exclusively a male responsibility. Similarly males are quite capable of grinding wheat, yet in almost every society this is work done by females. A slash and burn economy tends to be matrilineal because it places importance on an activity commonly done by females, the tending of root crops. Economies based on animal husbandry are commonly patrilineal, as tending flocks or herding cattle is generally considered work for men. From this we may conclude that relative distribution of power between the sexes, has much to do with who holds the wealth. In North American culture, the participation of women at all levels in the workplace would suggest that our patriarchal society has a less exaggerated disparity in gender prestige than it once had. If women continue to make progress toward equality in the workplace, we might expect that traditional gender roles among children will become less polarized. The

differences in subject matter preferences should then diminish accordingly.

Christine Robinson Finnan (1982) finds evidence of changing values in children's spontaneous play. Girls tend to be dissatisfied with their traditional games. They seek to join the more disordered and competitive games of boys, or entice boys to join their games. She attributes this to girls preparing for changing roles, and to expanding opportunities for women in society. Both D'Andrade and Finnan contribute important ideas to this study. From D'Andrade we learn that economic structures have much to do with how gender roles are defined. Finnan shows that change at this level will almost certainly affect the gender roles of children, manifested in spontaneous play and drawing.

Roles and Behaviors

Early models of gender placed masculine and feminine at opposite ends of a continuum (Devor, 1989). This simplistic way of conceiving gender has recently been developed further. Gender is now being conceptualized as a cluster of behaviors. An individual may for example, be both aggressive and sensitive, or neither. It is possible for people to be strongly masculine, strongly feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated. Gender is complex. Nevertheless a society will define its gender ideals and mold its members to conform to those gender roles.

Social-learning theorists view children as being

completely open to the demands and expectations of their culture. Social behaviors can take any form. Societies mold young members by exerting pressure on them to adhere to established patterns of social behavior. Mischel (1966) outlines the process by which the young child comes to acquire a gender identity: (a) The process begins with discriminating. The child observes and notes differences in gender roles. The fact that the child is able to imitate both parents proves this has occurred. (b) The next stage in gender identity development is generalizing to new situations. (c) Finally the child learns to perform sex-typed behavior. The child is rewarded for imitating the appropriate gender role. Once this behavior has been adopted, knowledge and values are learned which justify the actions. An important perspective of social-learning theory is that behaviors are observed and imitated before they are adopted as values.

Definitions of masculine and feminine behavior vary from one culture to another. In our patriarchal and capitalist society, masculine qualities are those which promote success in the system. To be masculine is to be aggressive, logical, self-confident, ambitious, and so forth. But this needs some qualification. Generally males are expected to be competitive and females nurturing, but these can vary with situations. The girl who competes vigorously and wins a spelling bee, does not have her femininity called

into question. The boy who cares for an injured sparrow is not thought less masculine.

Socialization is both external and internal. Daily we encounter situations which call for gender-appropriate behavior. The pressures to conform may be as blatant as police-enforced laws limiting the use of washrooms by sex, or as subtle as a fleeting expression of disapproval on the face of a passerby. Society's norms about gender are internalized early, and to a large extent we conform to societal standards of behavior because we have come to share the belief that they are correct. Early in life the pressures are largely external, and come from our parents. Later they come from wider social contacts, and are internalized by us as part of the socialization process.

Socializing the Individual

Yet another way of describing the process of gender identity acquisition is to follow the socialization of an individual from birth. Even the newborn infant is related to, in a gender-appropriate manner. Traditionally we color-code infants with pink or blue clothing. But if such clues are not provided, we will ask the sex of the infant before interacting with it. Devor (1989) reports that when adults were shown a videotape of a crying infant, and were told the infant was a girl, they thought the infant to be crying because it was fearful. When adults viewing the same tape were told the infant was a boy, those adults believed

the infant was crying in anger. Each presumed reason leads to a different adult response. Devor further reports that baby girls are thought to be more fragile whereas boys are considered more durable, though there is no physical basis for such a conclusion. This too leads to subtle but important differences in interaction.

By 9 months, infants can distinguish between father's and mother's voice. As mothers are usually the primary caregivers, their voice elicits a controlled response from the infant. Fathers, who tend to be less frequent visitors and whose visits are more often associated with play, elicit a more excited, jerky response. Girls are socialized to be adult-oriented, and are rewarded for help-seeking and dependent behaviors. Boys are socialized to become more independent and exploring. These early experiences form the basis for later behaviors which we associate with a particular gender.

By the age of 4, children prefer same-sex friends, probably because they share common interests and are more alike. Boys are described by their parents as having tremendous gross motor energy (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Perhaps the aggressiveness of boys is the result of gender socialization which encourages boys to be exploratory, competent, and independent; and sees them as energetic and durable. In any case boys tend to play rough and tumble games involving mock fighting. Boys come to compete in

physical contests. The kinds of activities they enjoy require them to affiliate with larger groups. Girls, on the other hand, choose one or two best friends and develop an intensive relationship. Studies of elementary school age children reveal that this phenomenon is cross-cultural.

We might expect then to find these values in the drawings of children. War drawings of North American children are generally about larger groups of males involved in intense physical activity. In a study by Brown, cited in Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987), 100% of boys at this age drew males only. This is surely strong evidence of gender identification. Al-Allaq (1989) notes this same phenomenon in drawings done by Iraqi children. When asked to draw their classroom, one boy drew only males in the room, including the teacher. One girl drew all the members of the class and also the teacher as female. This, despite the fact that both classrooms were coeducational.

Socializing boys for self-reliance and competition does not preclude the possibility of their learning to cooperate. Where it is necessary to cooperate for individual gain, boys do well. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) suggest that boys are likely to both compete more vigorously and cooperate more fully than girls. Team sports involve disciplined submission to the higher objectives of the team.

Perhaps boy's participation in larger groups makes dominance patterns more necessary. In any case, the pecking

order is evident among boys. The leader in a pre-adolescent group of boys is likely to be physically strong and athletic. Dominance involves more than just physical toughness; the leader must also be able to bargain, manipulate, and enlist the support of others.

All of these characteristics--large groups of age-mates involved in intense physical activity, cooperating in a disciplined manner in a competitive situation, and having clear dominance hierarchies--describes war drawings of North American children. In fact it would be difficult to imagine a genre which satisfies all these requirements more fully. In war drawing, all of these points have been exaggerated. The age-mates become young adults. The competition is more intense and exciting than team sport contests. And dominance hierarchies are more formalized with rank, uniform, and so forth.

As boys and girls move into adolescence, they begin to take a greater interest in one another. For boys the value of physical prowess diminishes in importance. Society has changing expectations for gender-appropriate behavior. Early in life boys tend to be given more independence and freedom. Not surprisingly some girls find boy's activities more interesting, and engage in them themselves. Society is tolerant, referring to "tomboys" with mild approval. As girls reach adolescence however, this approval is withdrawn. Boys who show an interest in girl's activities are called

"sissies." This is a negative judgment. Perhaps because of these kinds of social attitudes, it should not surprise us when boys reflect this socialization in more rigid gender stereotyping and in ultra-masculine drawings.

Summary

Social-learning theorists see gender as a social construct and children as open to taking any form. Children use drawings as one form of play in exploring gender roles. Du Bois (cited in Lark-Horovitz, Lewis, and Luca, 1976) reports that boys in the East Indian Island of Alor prefer to draw human and spirit figures, and flowers. In that culture it is the girls who draw tools. By contrast, our society has defined men as the tool users and the warriors; women in our society have traditionally been assigned the role of developing informal, interpersonal, and intergenerational relations. Women are traditionally more interested in spiritual and aesthetic matters.

Children are socialized to fit the gender ideal of a culture. Those ideals will vary with different economic structures. Where there are sharp divisions in male and female roles, we might expect children's drawings to reflect those contrasts.

From infancy to old age, males and females are treated differently according to gender. It would be fair to say that males and females inhabit different cultural worlds. As young children we observe behavior, generalize to new

situations, imitate, and finally justify our behaviors by declaring ourselves male or female. We internalize social values and monitor our own behavior, even in the absence of external sanctions. Initially the family plays a large role, but as we grow older our social contacts extend to school, community and beyond. A powerful socializing mechanism is mass media. So too is peer contact, especially for boys who tend to affiliate more with large groups of age-mates, compete in physical play, and form more structured dominance hierarchies. These values extend into adulthood. War drawing is an exploration of those values.

Cognitive Development

Returning to the continuum of essentialism to social constructionism, cognitive development theory takes a more central position. As such, it is able to combine aspects of both the essentialist and social constructionist view. As a theory it has its own integrity, and should not be regarded as a shotgun marriage of psychoanalytic and social learning theories. Cognitive development theory shares with the former, a recognition of biological givens. The genetic predisposition however, is not sex drive or aggression; it is a need to make sense of the world, a rage for order. Cognitive development shares with the latter, a recognition of the important role played by society in shaping the behavior of its members. Cognitive development theory differs with social learning in seeing the individual

as taking an active role in learning. The individual is not a passive recipient of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values.

Cognitive theory is founded upon the research and writing of Piaget. Kohlberg took Piaget's ideas about the child's basic cognitive organization of the physical world, and applied them to the social world.

Kohlberg (1966) described gender as the most significant area of interaction between biological givens and cultural values in human emotional life. With respect to essentialism, it is a basic human need to preserve a stable and positive self-image. This is the gender aspect of the larger, all-encompassing human need to make sense of the world and to order experience. Social constructionism contributes the notion that identity is motivated and maintained by adaptation to physical and social realities. Nature requires us to see ourselves as secure in our self-image (which includes gender), and nurture defines the specific details of the role we adopt.

As with all learning, when children learn gender roles they take an active role in organizing perceptions. Experiences are simplified and generalized as schemata. These become increasingly differentiated as the child develops.

Stages of Development

Cognitive development theory recognizes stages of

development. A child's thinking is qualitatively different from that of an adult. Children do not simply have less knowledge than adults, they organize knowledge differently. Cognitive development cannot be pinned down to specific ages because it does not happen automatically. As children gain more experience with the world, they restructure the concepts and values they have formed to more adequately deal with their understanding and experiences.

The four basic steps to gender identity are: (a) gender distinctions are made, (b) gender group affiliation is determined, (c) observation and imitation of ones' own gender group occurs, and (d) gender roles are conceptualized with increasing sophistication, and practiced with increasing subtlety.

Two-year-olds can normally correctly label themselves as a girl or a boy. Once this event has arrived, children become motivated to seek out information pertaining to their gender in order to master the role. Because they have a need to value anything associated with themselves, young children have schemata for both males and females, but they learn their own better. In labelling persons as members of one gender group or another, young children may use one single classification criterion such as: women wear skirts and men wear trousers. By age 4, children are using multiple physical clues to identify males and females.

Children will imitate people whom they perceive to be like themselves. Boys will identify with boys, and girls with girls, because they are alike. Identifying with same-sex adults comes later because adults and children are less alike. It takes a greater cognitive leap for the child to grasp the similarities that exist between themselves and their same-sex parents. When the boy imitates his father, he imitates general attitudes and not specific acts. He recognizes that he doesn't have the power or position of an adult.

An important cognitive development occurs when the child achieves gender constancy. Kohlberg (1966) notes that somewhere between age 3 and 7 (though likely closer to age 3), children come to the realization that their gender will not change. This intellectual breakthrough in social life parallels Piaget's invariability of physical objects. When the child is able to accept that water is neither lost nor gained when it is poured into a wider or taller jar, the child is also able to grasp the permanence of gender.

There is a significant difference between social learning and cognitive development on this point. Social learning concludes that the boy who has been consistently rewarded for acting like a boy, will finally claim the identity of a male. Cognitive development however, sees the claiming of an identity as the major step. Thereafter he

will act like a boy. This may appear to be a "chicken and egg" issue, but the implications underscore an important difference in perspective. Is the child passively molded by society through a system of rewards and punishments, finally internalizing societal expectations as learning theory suggests? Or is the child an active participant, trying to make sense of the world and finding satisfaction in discoveries? For cognitive developmentalists, acting in a gender-appropriate manner is seen as intrinsically rewarding.

Cognitive development theory distinguishes between the knowledge children have about gender and the knowledge they actually use to guide their behavior. Children know gender stereotypes at an early age but they do not apply this information to themselves until they achieve gender constancy. At that point they attend selectively to same-sex actors on television, develop an affiliation with father and other adult males, and play almost exclusively with toys they consider appropriate to their gender. The rather sudden appearance of war drawing would support the notion of gender constancy. If we were to follow a social learning model, we might expect a gradual evolution of scribbling into war drawing. And we might expect younger girls to engage in war drawing but to gradually abandon this activity over time in response to social disapproval.

Once children have achieved gender constancy, they are careful not to display behavior which would provide any reason to question their claim to a particular gender. Adults distinguish between those masculine and feminine behaviors which are more or less superficial. Children however see all gender behaviors as equal and significant. Further, children attach moral significance to gender-appropriate behavior. Kohlberg asserts that conformity to one's own gender is seen as a moral duty by children ages 5-8. Stagnor and Ruble (1978) suggest that an even stronger motivation is the child's aversion to behaviors which are perceived by the child as inappropriate to their gender.

With this in mind we can see from cognitive development theory that war drawing, as an expression of gender identity, is an activity of great importance to a boy. It is not an idle diversion but has much to do with his feelings of who he is. It is possible to see how confused and unsettled he might be if an adult were to question the morality of his drawings.

This also helps us consider shifting motivations for drawings about war. War drawing may be one indication of a secure male identity. Later the activity of war drawing may be continued for other reasons having less to do with identity. Or the activity may decline in favor of other

genres (or non-art activities) which express a more subtle and complex, and also more flexible concept of male identity.

The Stereotypic Male

Each of the three theories discussed, attempts to account for the ways in which children acquire gender roles. Although those accounts differ, there would be general agreement in the description of the roles. The common denominator of masculinity in many cultures is aggression or assertiveness. In examining the North American macro-cultural stereotype, we find this expressed in speech, behavior, posture, mannerism, and dress. Since cognitive development theory is particularly concerned with schema and with stereotype, it seems appropriate to describe this caricature of masculinity which boys in varying degrees regard as the model.

Assertiveness in speech is expressed by volume. Males will speak loudly, controlling conversations and interrupting others if necessary to assert their dominance. Body postures are typically expansive and threatening. The stereotypic male holds his arms and hands away from his body and stands with legs apart. His movements are stiff, abrupt, and powerful. Facial expressions are stern, revealing no sensitivity to the feelings of others. The male will dress

in a manner which emphasizes upper body musculature and does not restrict movement.

In studying war drawings we might look to see how closely individual figures are drawn to conform to this stereotype. Are figures made powerful solely by the menacing weapons they carry, or does the child draw the figures in poses and with facial expressions which are assertive and powerful?

Are these qualities present in more abstract ways in the drawing: is the drawing itself characterized by expansiveness and aggression? Conrad (1964) claims to find in children's drawings, stylistic tendencies specific to each gender. He describes a soldier drawn by a boy, as having been done with a hard, sharp line and dynamic rhythms. He describes a self-portrait drawn by a girl as having a delicate line which is distinctly feminine. He concludes: "The contrast between the portrait of a girl and the portrait of a soldier is startling. We must not take this kind of difference too lightly" (p. 74). Others (Feinburg, 1977; Golomb and Farmer, 1983; Majewski, 1978) have challenged such assertions. While cognitive development theorists accept that boys and girls are most rigid in gender stereotyping between the ages of 5 and 8, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that such stereotyping extends in drawing beyond the selection of particular

subject matter. Conrad has only demonstrated that one can prove anything by means of an example. An assertion as significant as his requires more substantial evidence be gathered in support of the claim.

Social Influences and Gender Schemata

Family Influences

In an effort to learn what conditions in the home contribute to gender schemata and gender stereotyping, Katz (1978) identifies proximal and distal factors. Proximal factors deal with non-structural matters, matters near at hand such as attitudes and values of individual family members. These find expression in parenting techniques and modelled behavior. We saw earlier that what a child knows, and what knowledge the child actually puts to use, may be quite different. Children who have conservative fathers may be better able to label gender, but this does not mean they will prefer gender-specific toys. In contrast with psychoanalytic theory's expectation of same-sex parent modelling, studies show (Katz, 1978) that it is the other-sex parent who tends to set limits on the flexibility of their child's gender schemata. Fathers affect daughters, and mothers affect sons. Liberal socialization practices from both parents tend to result in more flexible children. Proximal factors then which result in gender stereotyping for boys, include: mothers who set limits on their son's

gender roles, and parents with conservative socializing practices.

Distal factors are demographic and structural. They include: socio/economic level, family size, and employment of mothers outside the home. Conflicting conclusions are reached as to whether middle class children or working class children are more likely to stereotype gender. Katz (1978) contends that middle class families are the more traditional. The counter argument says it is the working class which holds the more conservative values and emphasizes gender roles more strongly. So many factors are involved that it would perhaps be better to suspend judgment on the issue of class and gender stereotype. Family structure is easier to talk about. The traditional family with two parents, and mother not employed outside the home, is more likely to result in gender stereotyping. Where both parents are employed outside the home and especially where there is only one parent who must assume responsibilities of father and mother, the child develops more flexible notions of gender-appropriate behavior. When a child has only same-sex siblings, specific gender behaviors are reinforced. I would add to these findings of Katz, one further hypothesis. Younger children generally follow the leadership of older children. It is the younger who seek to join the games of the older. Where a boy has only brothers and they

are older, then it would seem likely that his male identification would be strongest.

From Katz then, we gain a rough profile of the social environment of those children who stereotype gender roles most strongly. They tend to be grade school boys from traditional homes with two parents, mother not employed outside the home. They tend to have brothers rather than sisters or only child, and possibly those brothers will be older. The family tends to have conservative socializing practices and a mother who sets limits on her son's gender role. If we accept a correlation between gender stereotyping and war drawing--as one evidence of that stereotyping-- then we have a partial profile of the war artist. If this profile can be matched with a profile of children who are imaginative and like to draw, then the profile becomes more complete. This will be done later in this dissertation (chapter VI).

School Influences

Teaching grade school children, is a traditionally female occupation. Administering schools is a traditionally male occupation. As such, schools tend to attract people with traditional values to its ranks, and tend to perpetuate traditional gender roles. Boys tend to be reprimanded more harshly than girls, and yet are expected to exhibit more independence. Girls are more likely to be rewarded for

system-dependent behaviors such as seeking assistance from adults. Instructional materials have also been criticized for being slow to keep pace with changes occurring in the wider society. Gender polarities are sharpened by practices such as having boys compete against girls.

Television and Gender Schemata

Television is a major socializing agency. With children in North America watching an average of 2-4 hours per day, it is not surprising that television should have an effect. Particularly in programming for children, the gender message is stereotypical. In programs as well as commercials, males heavily outnumber females. Males are presented as more interesting in that they engage in more active pursuits. They are portrayed as the doers. They are also represented as the experts. Because of this, girls will watch males on television more than boys will watch females. The role of women as portrayed on television programming for children, seems to be a passive one. They are attractive and in need of help. Their work is more about social/emotional concerns than about action. Advertisements for boys' toys tend to be loud, bright, fast paced. Commercials meant to appeal to girls are more likely to involve dreamy dissolves, soft music, and so forth.

Cognitive development theorists see the impact of television as somewhat less than social learning theorists

perceive it to be. This is because children in cognitive development theory are active participants in learning. And while it can be shown that a correlation exists between television viewing and gender stereotyping, it is also the case that children bring with them certain attitudes and ideas which cause them to selectively filter what they watch.

Gender role stereotyping involves making generalizations. It shows less interest in exceptions. Stereotypical information may reinforce existing stereotypes held by children, but several responses may be invoked by the presentation of counterstereotypical information. A boy who watches a woman soldier on television may: (a) pay limited attention or quickly forget what he has seen, thereby leaving his gender schema or stereotype intact, (b) he may distort what he has seen, erroneously remembering the soldier as a male, in order to bring it into conformity with his gender stereotype, (c) he may create a subset which keeps the gender stereotype intact but adds a clause or condition such as: women can be soldiers as long as they don't do any actual fighting, (d) and finally he may broaden his gender stereotype to include the new behavior, recognizing that women can be combat soldiers too. Calvert and Huston (1978) acknowledge that television mirrors social values as much as it contributes to the formation of values.

Summary

Cognitive development theory asserts that we have a need to make sense of the world, and this includes knowing who we are. We need to build a stable and positive self-image in which gender identity plays a significant part. Our society provides the needed blueprint, the prescribed plan for our roles. Once the child has made gender distinctions, the child will begin to affiliate with only one gender. At a later point gender constancy is achieved. It becomes a matter of moral duty to maintain gender-appropriate behavior; this is important in our understanding of war drawing and in our dealings with the children who do them. War drawing would be viewed by cognitive development theorists as indicative of a strong identity. Despite the fact that it is an exaggeration of the male role, it indicates that the boy is not experiencing doubts about his identity. Whether or not we will find masculine qualities beyond choice of subject matter, remains a matter for speculation. Finally we saw the factors of family, education, and television which contribute to gender stereotyping. It seems likely that these factors also contribute to the activity of war drawing.

Synthesis and Application

The three theories each contribute to our understanding of war drawing. Each section concluded with a summary of the

key points and I will not repeat those here. Looking at the issues more globally however, it is clear that the theories direct our attention to a number of important questions, and suggest plausible explanations for phenomena observed. The theories bring us to reflect on basic human needs: the need to make sense of the world around us, the need to know who we are and to feel good about ourselves, the need to assert ourselves and to accomplish. The theories also invite us to look at the external world and its influences: at the roles society prescribes for males and females, and at the relative influence persons have in shaping our behavior. Terms such as positional identification, sublimation, proximal and distal factors in socialization, gender schema and gender constancy, can help to guide the investigation.

The issue of gender identity formation is complex, but from the outset it is clear that there is much more to war drawing than marks on a page. And the children who do these drawings are certainly not engaged in behavior which is antisocial. On the contrary, gender identity formation is a requirement of all cultures. War drawings are pro-social in that they contribute to that process for some North American children.

CHAPTER IV
THE EFFECTS OF WAR ON CHILDREN
AND THEIR DRAWINGS

Introduction

This section will focus attention on the experience of war, and the effects war has on children and their drawings. Those effects will vary with the kind of exposure children have to warfare. Children can be victims, experiencing intense physical and emotional suffering. But when the war is distant and public morale is high, children might experience excitement. Individual children may react quite differently to the same experiences. Some children for example, are more fearful than others. Other factors such as age and gender will also play a role.

In gathering literature for this topic it was necessary to decide which conflicts qualified for consideration. We speak of The Cold War for example, and certainly there was a climate of fear and hostility. Nevertheless it would be stretching the point to refer to American or Russian children as having experienced war. Limited engagements such as a war taking place in another country which poses no direct threat to the child's safety, would also be excluded

from consideration in this chapter. The Vietnam War or the war in Afghanistan would be excluded from consideration here because the children in America and Russia were at no time directly endangered, nor were they witness to the destruction of war, except in a secondary way through reports in the media, or knowledge gained through an acquaintance or relative who was involved in the fighting. I do not suggest that this is insignificant, but I will deal with this kind of experience when I report on those children who fantasize about war. In dealing with the issue of children's experience of war, I will include only wars in which there was battle occurring in, or the possibility of the fighting extending to their own country.

The distinction is of course an artificial one. There will be children within the boundaries of a country at war who are fortunate in being away from the combat zone. Nevertheless these children are in more direct danger since the war could conceivably spread to their area, and their involvement is normally greater than those whose fathers (and mothers) are fighting in some other country.

The wars I consider here range from a few days duration to many years. The Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War, though brief, have generated some strong research in the effects of war on children. The Second World War bombing of Britain lasted much longer. And though children grew up with the constant threat of destruction through bombing,

they never witnessed other aspects of war such as hand-to-hand combat. The more recent Iran/Iraq war lasted nine years, and saw an estimated 1 million dead and 1.7 million wounded. The final theatre of war, and one about which there is little research to draw upon, is Central America, and in particular El Salvador. Here the civil war has seen many acts of genocide perpetrated by government troops and guerrillas against their own people. This surely must be the most terrifying kind of war and unquestionably the most common kind of war today.

Effects of War on Children

There are many ways in which the child might be affected by the events of war: The child may suffer direct injury as a result of the war. The child may escape direct physical injury but suffer the loss of parents and other close family members. Property loss and dislocation are common in wartime. The child may suffer confusion and anxiety from the loss of the family home or just the loss of a favorite toy. In addition to grieving a loss, is the fear of losses which may yet come. The child may react by mild confusion, not understanding what is happening or why.

Normally children are removed from combat zones, but bombs and missiles of modern warfare are often directed towards civilian targets. During the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Syrian rockets struck an Israeli Kibbutz. Schwarcz (1982) reports on the effect this had on the children of that

Kibbutz. Freud and Burlingham (1943) report similar effects on the children of London during the Battle of Britain. Al Allaq (1989) shows us the spontaneous drawings of Iraqi children who had similarly suffered from Iranian missile attacks on residential Baghdad.

Surviving and Thriving

It is not uncommon for adults to assume that children suffer more than grown-ups in times of war. Yet Bender and Frosch, in an article in the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry (cited in Feinburg, 1977) found that children have difficulty comprehending the reality of death. Except for emotionally disturbed children, combat is seen as having relatively little danger. Freud and Burlingham (1943) note that young children are egocentric and have difficulty understanding how others may feel. Children have been observed playing contentedly on the bombed remains of neighbors' homes.

War may also be experienced by the child as positives: National pride may be stirred by parades and other exciting events. Children often become involved in civil defense projects. De Shalit (1970) described Israeli children as excited, rather than frightened or confused at the outbreak of the Six-Day War. School children taped windows, filled sandbags and dug trenches. They seemed to possess a sense of purpose and unity which had not been present before. Those who are normally outside the community in peacetime, those

with low self-esteem and neurotic, benefit most from this new community cohesiveness. Spielmann (1984) describes these people as gaining a new sense of belonging, and becoming "healthier" and more active.

There is in any community a higher level of anxiety during the war, but Milgram and Milgram (cited in Spielmann, 1984) found that the anxiety levels among children had little to do with the objective situation of the war. Children who tend to be anxious are those whose anxiety levels rose the most during war. Also cited in Spielmann, Ziv found that children in the higher danger zones had higher morale than those living farther away. There were few examples of psychopathy among children as a result of the war.

There are several reasons for the relatively low level of anxiety experienced by Israeli children: children were under stress but the stress was short-lived, the reason for their deprivation was clear, and the community was united in its resolve to prevail. Perhaps most importantly, the children were kept with their families rather than evacuated to safer areas as had been done in London during World War II. It was found to be less stressful for children if emotional ties with the family remained intact. Finally, children take their cues on how to react from the adults around them. Israeli adults tried to impress upon children

the importance of taking precautions, without conveying their fears to children.

Anxiety

Freud and Burlingham (1943) discuss five types of air-raid anxiety:

1. Anxiety which results from a threat to one's safety, is one obvious kind of fear. But children are less aware of danger and soon lose interest in it. Children in London often slept through bombardment. After three years of bombing, children accepted it as part of their picture of the world. These children knew the sound of airplanes and falling bombs. They knew that when houses were hit, they would fall down and people would die. Despite this knowledge, they tended to be less anxious than adults.

2. Children's security is threatened by the seeming rejection of moral values among those who taught those values. Adults who taught the child not to hit others, are now killing others. Freud and Burlingham don't see the main danger being that children will be shocked by atrocities, but rather that they will themselves become insensitive and brutalized by the events they witness.

3. Children at age 4 and 5 experience fears as the embodiment of conscience. Children may fear that tigers, robbers, monsters or policemen will get them if they've been bad. The dangers of war may simply become extensions of those fears. Hitler may be thought of as the embodiment of

evil, someone who "gets" children who have been bad.

4. When adults react with great panic, children also become frightened and confused, though children are less frightened and recover from their fear more quickly than do the adults around them.

5. Where a parent is killed by a bomb, the bomb takes on a whole new significance. Every reference to bombs thereafter may cause the child to remember and relive the anxiety of that event.

Family Separation

When a family member goes away to war, or the child is orphaned or evacuated to a safer area, then the war suddenly becomes terribly significant to the child. Other forms of privation are generally taken in stride but a severing of the emotional ties of the family may be felt deeply. When separated from their family, children often become confused. Failing to understand why they cannot remain with their parents, they will often look for other explanations. They may think it is somehow their fault and experience guilt as a result. Such children may refuse to eat, sleep, and be comforted by strangers. Even young children grieve intensely, though usually not for long. When the separation is not permanent, the reunion does not necessarily bring an end to problems. The child may harbor resentment and suspicion.

Children tend to live in the present. They form new

friendships, creating new emotional bonds. But it must be emphasized that every child will respond in a somewhat different way. Some will seem only mildly affected, while others may be quite devastated.

Ideology and Propaganda

Children tend to accept the ideology of the adults around them, especially the adults with whom they have the strongest emotional ties (Brosse, 1950). The state can and often does play a role. Children in Nazi Germany were indoctrinated into the Nazi youth movement by the effective marketing done by the state. Brosse describes that image as one of adventure, sport, comradeship, and the inviting opportunity to belong to a select group. Sometimes the efforts of the state to promote an ideology or to cultivate certain attitudes, produce something other than the intended result. During the Yom Kippur War, Jewish children were told about Jewish war heroes from antiquity to the present. Schools and mass media extolled virtues of heroism and courage in the belief that children would embrace those values (Spielmann, 1984). The outcome however, was a raising of the anxiety level of children.

Values and Conduct

Where children spend their lives running to air raid shelters, as did the children of Malta during World War II, attention to schooling seems irrelevant. For these children, vagrancy comes to seem a more natural existence. Coles

(1967) describes orphaned children in Nazi-occupied Europe as forming gangs which roved about seeking food and shelter. Some participated in the resistance, engaging in acts of sabotage and murder. Underground movements encouraged and even glorified deeds which under peacetime conditions would be criminal. These children sometimes have a difficult adjustment when the war comes to a close.

Still, not all difficult experiences harm children. Many come to a greater appreciation of freedom, safety, and the basic necessities of life. Many learn concern for the well-being of others.

Summary

War can be experienced by children in many different ways. The nature of their contact is certainly important. They may sustain painful injuries or be traumatized by witnessing the violent death of a loved one. On the other hand the child may be excited by the high morale of a community united and confident.

There are differences between children and adults in the kind, amount and duration of their anxieties. Children worry about different things, or about the same things but in greater or lesser measure. And children generally recover from such experiences more quickly. For children however, separation from family can be particularly difficult. With older children especially, war may accentuate anti-social behavior. Children may participate in gangs of age-mates

committing crimes in order to meet their needs for survival, to contribute to an underground resistance, or simply to take advantage of an opportunity.

Talk, Play and Drawing About War

Talk and Play About War

Freud and Burlingham conducted their research in a care facility for children evacuated from London during World War II. A particularly significant observation of theirs is that children didn't normally talk about their frightening wartime experiences right away. Sometimes as much as six months will pass before they are willing to talk about those experiences. The children will then talk as though the events were only yesterday. They seem to possess a remarkable ability to recall specific details. The authors conclude that speech is not the means by which children normally deal with traumatic events in their lives. It is rather a way of signalling that they have come to terms with the trauma in some other way. Where adults tend to use thought and speech, children come to terms with these events through play. Following bombing attacks, children frequently played airplanes, imitating the familiar sounds. Some children would build houses and then drop bricks on them, imitating the bombing. These games were played with excitement rather than fear. A more distressing response is when the child uses play as a means of denying some event, or is compulsive. One child played games of bombing in which

no one was ever injured. He continued this for eighteen months after the death of his father.

Drawing About War

There is little literature on the effects of war on children's drawing. What literature there is, must be approached with some caution; we must be particularly alert to bias in reporting. Collections of war drawings must also be scrutinized for bias. Those who collect drawings, often have a political agenda. The drawings may be used as "the voice of the innocents" to show the alleged purity of some cause. Knowing this, we must inquire as to the conditions under which the drawings were done and the motives of those who collected them.

Children deal with three aspects of war in their drawings: (a) the war situation itself, (b) their life during these times, and (c) their fears and wishes (De Shalit, 1970). I will deal with each of these.

The War

This aspect of war drawing is concerned with children's efforts to report the objective facts of war. In Schwarcz' account of children in a kibbutz, drawings of battles between tanks, helicopters, and parachutists were rather uncommon. Perhaps this is because the children's experience with war involved missile attacks and not combat involving such things as tanks and helicopters. Of the small number of children who did these drawings, some asked the teacher to

write comments on their drawings such as: "I like war only in play, not in war." In this telling comment, the child recognizes a distinction between fantasy and reality. The child uses an imagined scene of conventional warfare, to represent the experience of real war. Not surprisingly, De Shalit observes that children closer to the battle zones tend to do drawings which are more accurate in their portrayal of the objective facts of war. Drawings done by children farther from the conflict are more fanciful. These drawings tend to be more decorative and quiet.

Boys are more likely than girls to draw about war. What would seem a significant factor in spontaneous war drawing is the tendency of children to draw persons of their own gender. Earlier I made reference to a study by Brown (cited in Lowenfeld and Brittain, 1979) in which 366 children ages 5 to 11, were asked to draw a person. The tendency to draw one's own gender increased with age. By 9 years, 72 % of the girls were drawing females, and 100 % of the boys were drawing males. The study found that from 8 years on, boys drew only males. Surely this must have some effect on the inclination to draw an activity so male dominated as war.

Consistent with this is the observation of Al Allaq (1989) that Iraqi girls tend to depict more environmental themes and boys draw more images of war and political events. He found that 39 % of boys and 17 % of girls spontaneously drew political and military themes. This was

during a time when Baghdad was being shelled by Iranian long-range missiles. In studying statistics about the incidence of war drawing, it is important to know how war drawing has been defined. Al Allaq has included political events with war drawing. With a wider or narrower definition, those percentages would change. What is significant to my study however, is that Iraqi girls did spontaneous war drawings when war was part of their experience. And there were twice as many boys as girls who spontaneously drew about war. The presence of war may stimulate the aggressive impulses of some children, increasing the overall production of drawings about war.

Life During the War

Other war drawings deal with the conflict, not as some objective fact, but as a personal and often frightening experience, and with the effect it has on their daily lives. Spielmann (1984) observed that family portraits drawn by girls and boys whose fathers had been called for service in the Yom Kippur War, represented the father differently. Girls in grades 1 to 3 drew their families with the father absent. Boys usually included the father in the family portrait and represented him holding a weapon. Beyond their immediate family, children are also aware of the effect of war on others of their community. When a number of men from the Gvat Kibbutz were killed in heavy fighting during the

Yom Kippur War, children responded with portraits of the fallen or injured, and drew pictures of women weeping.

Sometimes they do not understand what is happening around them. Schwarcz (1982) reports that one 5½-year-old girl expressed her confusion by drawing a confused child. Schwarcz distinguishes between fear and anxiety by defining fear as conscious disquiet, associated with identifiable objects. Fear leads to action. Anxiety on the other hand arouses unconscious associations which are repressed, and they elicit maladaptive defensive maneuvers. Schwarcz found that drawings were much more commonly about fear than anxiety. Children are more likely to take some constructive action. Drawing pictures of planes dropping bombs for example, seemed to help children deal with the frightening missile attacks. The drawings were not entirely factual: The missiles were not dropped from airplanes, nor were they round black balls as children represented them. The children had been in shelters at the time of the missile attack. Their drawings were nevertheless an effective way of putting ideas on paper where children could come to terms with them.

The importance of an experience to the child might be gauged, in one way at least, by the frequency with which the child returns to the subject. Schwarcz notes that drawings evolved over the three week period of the Yom Kippur War. Initially the subject of the drawings seemed to be the danger itself, the missiles and the destruction they

wrought. Later the children seemed to turn their attention to more positive aspects, the shelters which protected them from injury.

Symbolization is yet another approach to expressing their situation. A peaceful landscape for example, may be menaced by a black sun. Nature echoes the child's feelings. One child was reported by De Shalit (1970) to draw a crying sun. The child remarked that the sun doesn't want the war.

Wishes and Fears

If nature can be called upon to express sympathy for the child's situation, it can also be used to express a desire for change. This aspect of war deals with wishes and fears. It does not report the objective facts of war. Neither does it express a current situation. This kind of drawing reflects upon the future, and even provides a means for affecting change.

Some children's response to war is expressed in a longing for peace. Children may employ cultural symbols for peace. Usually these have to do with nature in its gentler forms: rainbows, doves, flowers, and so forth.

Children may also attempt to invoke a kind of magic, drawing various sorts of protection. De Shalit observed a number of these. One child drew a nursery school with walls so thick that falling shells could never penetrate. Soldiers similarly were protected by helmets which could not be broken, even under a direct hit from a shell. Yet another

protection was evident in identification with large and brave soldiers such as "Eli the Hero." A more aggressive type of magic is one which disables the enemy. One child drew an Egyptian soldier without hands. Such a soldier would clearly be unable to hold and fire a weapon. Schwarcz found a similar example in a drawing entitled "An Arab shoots, but his gun falls down on his foot and it hurts; that is fine because he is a bad guy." These drawings appear to come from younger children, ages 4 and 5.

Style

I have already touched on matters of style in the preceding discussion. Children may be preoccupied with the objective facts of war and represent them in ways which seem factual to them. Culture plays an increasingly important role in how the child views representation; I will deal with this topic at greater length in the chapter VI of this dissertation. I have also talked about expressive aspects of the drawings. Children more distant from the conflict will tend to embellish their drawings and make them more aesthetic. Also, children who wish to express strongly felt emotions, may make use of symbolization to convey a message. Younger children may represent grief very directly by drawing others grieving. Older children may use more symbolic means such as a black sun.

An aspect not yet considered is the possibility of regression. Freud and Burlingham (1943) noted that the most

stressful situation for children involved separation from parents. When children feel they have been rejected by their parents, they tend to reject the moral and social standards their parents taught them. They may decline in their standards of cleanliness for example. Related to this is the notion of regression. Children may revert to thumb-sucking; they may return to a stage of selfishness, emotional outburst, and so forth. Are there parallels in drawing? Reporting on the children of Gvat, Schwarcz (1982) noted that children in general kept to their own individual level and style of drawing. He found no evidence of disorganization or regression. It does not follow however, that such is the case with all children in all wars. There might be major differences between the experience of a three-week war and one lasting nine or more years. The possibility of different findings is further increased when we compare this war fought largely away from the community, with a civil war in which children are eye-witness to terrifying scenes of genocide.

One difficulty in making judgments concerning regression is that it would be necessary to know the pre-war drawing of each child whose war drawing is examined. In the absence of such data, we can only make educated guesses based on what is known generally about children's artistic development.

Examples of Children's Drawing About War

Having considered children's experience of war and the effect it might have on their drawings, it would be helpful to look at some drawings to test and apply what has been learned. I will present drawings from several countries.

Israel

The Six-Day War in 1967 pitted Israel against an alliance of Arab nations. The drawings reproduced here were published as part of an article by N. De Shalit. Reference has already been made to a number of these drawings. These were made by kibbutz children during that conflict. It is difficult to say whether these were entirely spontaneous, however the explanation which accompanies them suggests minimal adult direction. The explanation states that drawing is an important form of self-expression and that children made great use of this during the Six-Day War. Drawings, the explanation continues, provide adults with clear information about what is going on in the minds of children. Since the De Shalit article was published in a book on mental health perspectives, the drawings were probably selected for their significance to the topic of children's mental coping with the war. These drawings are less involved with reporting the external, objective facts about war. They are more involved with expressing wishes and fears about the war. Nevertheless the images offer an important perspective.

Figure 1.

De Shalit reports that a number of young children drew magic circles, often adding magic signs to them. This drawing was done by a 4½-year-old girl. She sent it to her father at the front with the explanation that it is a magic drawing, if you touch it the Arabs will run away. It is not uncommon for people of all ages to seek supernatural assistance in difficult and dangerous circumstances. In the absence of further information we are left to speculate on whether these children arrived at these magic circles independently, as Jungian theory with its universal archetypes might suggest, or whether children learned from other children about the magical powers of this symbol.

As this drawing grew out of a perceived danger, I would not expect to find anything equivalent to it in the drawings of children in North America who fantasize about war. North American children are able to control the outcome of their battles and do not need to invoke supernatural powers through the use of symbols.

Figure 2.

Drawing can not only afford protection, it may also be used to inflict damage on the enemy. This drawing pictures a Syrian tank burning, with Syrian soldiers trapped inside. De Shalit observes that war raises the aggressiveness of some children. In this drawing there is no sense of contest between opposing armies. The child presumably sees the

FIGURE 1. Magic circle, by a 4½-year-old in Israel.

FIGURE 2. Burning Syrian tank, by a child in Israel.

Syrian soldiers as a direct threat to his/her personal safety. In this respect then, the drawing is unlike any I have thus far seen among the drawings of North American children who fantasize about war. The drawing further seems to take no delight in the details of armament. Though this may be explained by the age or personal characteristics of the child, the tank is little more than a box with wheels. The fire completely engulfs the tank. The thoroughness of the destruction would suggest that this is of utmost importance to the child.

Figure 3.

Some children are more likely to project upon nature the feelings they have about war. In this drawing a 7-year-old girl depicts a tank moving across a landscape while a sun watches and sheds tears. The prominence, by size and location, given to the flowers in this drawing further supports the interpretation that the child longs for tranquility. Once again this drawing is about wishes and fears. There is though, no indication of agency; the drawing does not seem to help in any way to bring about the desired peace. It is unlikely that an equivalent to this might be done by children in a country at peace. With some prompting, children might be encouraged by adults to do something like this as an art project at a peace museum, or in memory of past wars, but as a spontaneous drawing by a child who has

FIGURE 3. Crying sun, by a 7-year-old girl in Israel.

FIGURE 4. Arriving missile, by a child in Iraq.

not experienced war, it seems unlikely that such a drawing would be done.

Iraq

The Iran/Iraq War lasted from 1980 to 1989. During that protracted conflict, both countries used long-range missiles to strike at civilian targets. Most of the children in Al Allaq's (1989) study had direct experience with war in one form or another. Those in Baghdad in particular, had witnessed air raids and had seen homes destroyed. In collecting drawings, Al Allaq visited schools in and near Baghdad. He asked children to do two drawings. The first was a topic of their own choosing. The second was chosen from a range of topics which included: family, work, celebration, religious occasion, and war. The purpose in gathering these drawings was to conduct scholarly research in cultural and environmental influences on the drawings of Iraqi children. The subjects were 180 elementary school children. As he did not interview the children who produced the drawings, there are a number of questions about specific details of the drawings which must remain unexplained. Nevertheless the drawings are quite revealing.

Figure 4.

This drawing shows what appears to be an incoming missile in the upper right corner. Remarkable about this drawing is the correctness of the shape. Unlike the drawings of kibbutz children who represented the missile as a black

ball dropped by an airplane, this child has apparently seen pictures and represented more accurately the visual form of the object. The missile is aimed at two damaged buildings. Possibly the child is representing an extended period of time, showing both the arriving missile and the ensuing damage. There also appear to be civilian casualties in the center and rescue vehicles arriving on the lower right. A palm tree and sun occupy the far left edge of this urban scene.

This drawing does not appear to be about wishes and fears, but about the war as this child has experienced it. In this respect the drawing is not at all like those commonly done by children who fantasize about art. A military attack on a civilian population is not how war is conceived by most North American children. War is normally conceived as soldiers fighting other soldiers.

Figure 5.

This drawing was done by a girl. Iraq holds political events such as marches and ceremonies which are intended to raise the level of patriotism of its people. Heroes encourage young people to accept their role in the war effort. While the figures in this drawing appear to be predominately male, there are at least two females participating. The presence of females, their role in the ceremony, and their traditional clothing, would appear to be significant. Rather than presenting a fantasy, the event is

FIGURE 5. Political event, by a girl in Iraq.

FIGURE 6. Iraqi ground forces and Iranian air strike, by a boy in Iraq.

likely to have been witnessed first-hand by the child. And the presence of females with whom a girl can identify, is noteworthy.

Here politics and military adventures come together. The courage of heroes and the sacrifice of martyrs is used to stir patriotic fervor in others. Such events as these are only needed in times of war where there is a need to summon others to sacrifice. What parallels might we find in drawings of North American children? Are children fascinated by military parades, medals, monuments to heroes? Do children spontaneously draw the pageantry of military life? North American children have their fictional folk heroes such as G.I. Joe, but do they know about some of the famous soldiers from North American history?

Figure 6.

De Shalit (1970) noted that children further from the front tend to do drawings concerned with details about warfare, investigating and expressing what they know as a means of overcoming the strangeness of war and their ignorance about it. Children whose experience with war is more direct, produce drawings which are more accurate. They also tend to express their personal involvement through drawings which record their wishes and fears. What we find in this drawing by a rural boy, most closely resembles the spontaneous drawings of North American children I have observed in my study. Away from the falling missiles, this

child imagines war as it occurs at the front. Iraqi ground troops fire missiles and shells at Iranian jets and helicopters, all of which have been "neutralized." The Iraqi flags leave no doubt as to the identity of the troops below. It is apparent that the child has seen this equipment or pictures of it. There are not the common mistakes of adding biplanes or other pieces of equipment from earlier wars. Though perhaps this scene was not witnessed first-hand, the child is nevertheless sufficiently familiar with the details of weapons to create a fairly believable picture of what might occur.

An especially difficult challenge of representation is to show weapons being fired. For this especially, the child must employ conventions rather than record perceptions. The child has used a common device for representing bullets. The stream of dots is a cognitive structure. No one has seen such a thing, given the speed at which bullets travel. In this drawing, aircraft are destroyed using two different conventions. One jet has spiral lines scribbled over it, possibly representing smoke or flame. The other two have been cancelled by a more symbolic means. They bear a heavily scratched "x" identifying them as having been eliminated. Characteristic of younger children, the planes were first drawn as whole and then overlaid with marks to "destroy" them (Pariser 1979).

A common device from comic book imagery has been employed in the speech balloon. The center of the drawing has a cloud-like shape which Al Allaq translates as: "We have to win because we are on the right side. We must fight our enemy under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, God bless him." Another written communication over the palm in the left reads: "The Iraqi palm date tree fights to protect our country." Al Allaq identifies this symbol as representing the city of Basra, where fighting was heavy at certain points of the war.

Here then we have an example of war drawing which in appearance and perhaps in motivation, comes closer to the war drawings of North American children.

El Salvador and Other Central American Countries

In 1986 and 1987, an exhibition of children's drawings from Central America was shown in a number of Canadian cities. The exhibition Disrupted Lives was curated by Linda Dale (1986), and was sponsored by INTER PARES in coordination with CUSO. Visitors to a refugee camp in Honduras, gave drawing materials to children (ages 8 to 14), and invited them to draw their home villages. The children responded with drawings of their experiences of war, and many added written descriptions. The drawings were collected by a Canadian relief worker. These came to the attention of Linda Dale who then visited refugee camps in other Central

American countries. With the help of a number of relief agencies, she collected 900 drawings from which this exhibition was composed. Dale states that a central concern was minimizing adult intervention, interpretation, and explanation. Where a drawing indicated adult influence in content or style, it was not included.

This of course does not rule out the possibility of bias. When a collection of 900 drawings becomes an exhibition of 63, some criteria were applied to make the selection. Nevertheless the exhibition has a diversity of work. Some children portrayed happier times before the war. Others recounted horrifying events of torture and genocide. Dale (1986) writes, "The lives of these children have been crowded with scenes of extreme brutality; yet at times, their drawings contain personal details or unexpected humour. There is a strength of human spirit and dignity which survives the violence the children have experienced" (p. 2).

From 1975 to 1985 there were an estimated 1,600,000 persons in Central America made refugees by civil war. Most of these are Salvadorans and Guatemalans. Many of the refugees settled in camps just across the borders in neighboring countries. The presence of these refugees causes tension in the host countries which regard the refugees as a threat to their sovereignty. The refugees in some camps are

virtual prisoners, held under military guard. Considered subversives by the countries they fled, they may also be subjected to raids by government troops from their home countries. The majority however, choose to remain in their own countries as displaced persons, leading a fearful existence. An estimated 72,000 people have been killed in El Salvador alone in the 11-year-old civil war (The Columbus Dispatch, Nov 15, 1990).

Figure 7.

In this drawing of a refugee camp, the child offers an x-ray view of shelters to more fully report the daily activities of the camp. Though it is not known whether the child who drew this picture is a boy or a girl, it seems likely that the child is a girl. Every person in the drawing is female. Despite the dangers and hardships, life must go on. And through drawings such as this, the children show that they and their families are creating new lives for themselves. The drawing is about a present situation, there are no tanks or guns. Its only connection with war is the fact that it presents a situation which came about as a direct result of war. Otherwise it is much like drawings of domestic life one might find in countries not at war.

Figure 8.

This drawing too is by an unknown child. A group of unarmed people, presumably civilians, are being fired upon

FIGURE 7. Refugee camp, by a child in Central America.

FIGURE 8. Attack on a village, by a child in Central America.

by ground troops and aircraft. It seems likely that those being fired upon are victims of one of the many such massacres perpetrated by government and guerilla forces in Central American countries. In recounting this story, the child is reporting the events as they are vividly recalled. It is one way in which the child comes to terms with those events; it is a means of coping. The drawing is certainly not a denial of those tragic events. Neither is it likely to be a fantasy or even an embellished version of the event. While it was a written accompaniment to another drawing, the following statement by Maria Aide Moreno, a Salvadorean refugee living in the Honduras, relates what must have been a similar event.

"We ran to hide. We left. We were walking holding hands, we were all afraid because the soldiers were chasing us. There were a lot of them. Later they came up to two children and asked them some questions. And then they killed them and left them. The soldiers were also in the street and they shot at us. And we ran, frightened, with my mother along a street into some bushes that I didn't know. My mother and I were crying. We were hungry and cold. And from there we saw them dropping bombs from the airplanes" (Dale, 1986, p. 13).

The thought of soldiers attacking unarmed civilians is something which I do not expect to find in the drawings of

North American children who fantasize about war. These, I hypothesize, are about cooperation in a competitive environment. The drawings I have observed involve relatively equally matched "teams." If anything, the soldiers are much like superheroes in defending the weak, rather than opportunists who prey upon those unable to defend themselves. The presence of a farm animal is another aspect of the drawing which sets it apart from fantasy drawings. Cattle are not normally conceived as victims in the battles drawn by North American children.

Figure 9.

Twelve-year-old Renee, a Salvadorean refugee living in Costa Rica, added this to her drawing:

"A fig tree and a cashew tree, a coconut tree, a dead cow and the people go running. The houses are burning and the trees are catching fire. The soldiers are killing people and the people are running. The airplanes behind, killing people with bombs. The helicopter machine gunning and the soldiers coming behind shooting. The planes in front and the soldiers behind" (Dale, 1986, p. 11).

Renee is commonly a girl's name and so I will assume that the child who drew this picture is a girl. Renee has shown the extent of the destruction. She makes reference to the damage done to the landscape as well as to the people and animals. People run along a path that extends up the

FIGURE 9. Attack on a village, by a 12-year-old girl in Central America.

FIGURES 1 through 3 are reproduced from Children and Families in Israel: Some Mental Health Perspectives by permission of the publisher, Gordon And Breach Science Publishers Inc. (1970)

FIGURES 4 through 6 are reproduced from Cultural and Environmental Influences in Children's Drawings from Urban and Rural Elementary Schools in and around Baghdad, Iraq (1989) by Talib Al-allaq.

FIGURES 7 through 9 are reproduced from Disrupted Lives by permission of the publisher, CUSO.

right side of the page, as they attempt to escape the aircraft and soldiers. The landscape is particularized. This is not a scene which happens "anywhere" but a scene which happens in a very specific place. The landscape includes the child's home and village. Trees are not generalized as a single schema but are differentiated: There are fig trees, cashew trees, and coconut trees. The attack is described as only someone with knowledge of military campaigns could tell it. The attack begins with a bombing mission followed by helicopter gunships, and finally advancing ground troops.

There are a number of significant contrasts between this drawing and those done as fantasy. When drawings are done to recount experiences such as this, it is reasonable to expect that boys and girls will be relatively equally motivated to portray those events, and they will do so in a similar manner. When drawings are done for purposes of fantasy, then we might expect to find socialization contributing different influences according to gender and other cultural factors. How events are perceived and reported is of course subject to socialization, but in fantasy we can move beyond our views of external events. In fantasy the ideal becomes real. When the fantasy is heavily bound up with gender identification, then we might expect to find the greatest differences between the drawings of boys and girls.

If this is so, then we might expect to find that the more directly involved children are with war, the more likely boys and girls are to draw the conflict. The more removed children are from this kind of contact with war, the more likely it is that the importance they give it and how they imagine it will vary by gender.

Motivation for Drawing About War

Each collection of children's war drawings has a political agenda of some kind, whether the collection has been gathered by relief workers hoping to end the cruelty of war, or by ministers of propaganda hoping to advance the cause of war. This study is about spontaneous war drawing. Where and when adults direct children to produce drawings which meet adult requirements, the drawings cease to be of interest. "Command performances" are no longer about children's motivations, they are about adult's motivations. I have access to a collection of drawings gathered by the Ministry of Education in Iraq. The drawings are clearly in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization and in opposition to the policies of the State of Israel. It is highly unlikely that children did these drawings spontaneously. They were in all likelihood orchestrated by adults for adult purposes. For this reason they should be treated differently from the other drawings presented here. They can and should be given serious attention because they

deal with an aspect of children's war drawing, but they are not properly considered under the topic of children's motivation for doing war drawings.

Having excluded adult motives, I can begin to list some possible children's motives. There are a number of reasons children might do war drawings. These reasons will vary with individual children and with the nature of their experience with war.

1. Fear. Whether children have only heard about the dangers of war, or they have witnessed them first-hand, children are likely to experience some fears. When this is the motivation for drawing, we saw that children will sometimes draw as a means of warding off the evil. The magic circle reproduced in Figure 1. illustrates this particular motivation.

2. Coping. Where there is fear, the problem normally vanishes when the cause of the fear is removed. For the child who has suffered some loss as a result of war however, recovery is needed. Here it becomes necessary for the child to review events. Freud and Burlingham (1947) suggest that play is the primary means by which children accomplish this. Closely allied to play is drawing. Through objectifying and externalizing experience, the child becomes better able to deal with the events. The child is aided in recovery by means of making drawings.

3. Excitement. In a survey by Tolley (1973), most children reported that they found war exciting. Recalling the comment reported in the Schwarcz (1982) study, a child said "I like war in play but not in war." When children are distant from the conflict they tend to represent it in their drawings in a more elaborate manner, recording what they know about the details of uniforms, weapons, and so on. De Shalit (1970) describes these drawings as "aesthetic."

4. Aggression. Some children also find their own aggressions aroused by the conflict. Drawings such as Figure 2. with the burning Syrian tank, exhibit anger and a wish to inflict hurt upon an enemy.

5. Legacy. Children are able to contemplate their own death. De Shalit (1970) quotes one child as asking, "Is it true that when you die you close your eyes and then you can't see anything anymore?" (p. 165). One child wrote, "If we had died, they would have found our drawings and known we had been here." (p. 165). While children tend to live in the present, older children at least are still capable of imagining themselves not surviving the war. And wishing to be remembered is a natural response. While this is probably not a major factor in their doing drawings, it is nevertheless one possible motivation.

6. Gender Identification. In countries at war there is commonly an appeal for youth to identify with adults,

preparing them to take on an adult role in the war effort. Figure 5. shows a political event intended to inspire patriotism and heroism. Assigning motives to particular drawings is risky business, but it would not be surprising to find drawings in which children project themselves imaginatively into an adult world where they can take the role of soldier. This is even more likely when we remember that there are in fact many children who are soldiers. Especially, it seems, in guerrilla armies children are often conscripted. Battle hardened 12-year-olds toting high powered weapons, are sometimes photographed by photojournalists.

This list of possible motivations for war drawing is by no means complete. Further investigation in cross-cultural children's war drawing could suggest additional categories. But these six--fear, coping, excitement, aggression, legacy, and gender identification--provide a useful beginning. These categories serve as a spotlight which can be trained on children's fantasy drawings. They enable us to better see points of similarity and difference--to learn what these fantasy drawings are, and what they are not.

CHAPTER V

FOUR WORKS ABOUT WAR BY ADULT ARTISTS-
AND POSSIBLE APPLICATIONS TO THE STUDY OF
NORTH AMERICAN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Introduction

The investigative process I use to examine specific works of art is one which begins with a description of the object itself. Next I examine the process in order to learn how it was made. Stepping back from the object and how it was produced, I inquire about its intended use. What purpose(s) was it meant to serve? The artist becomes the next focus of consideration. The artist has a role within society which, when investigated, may reveal something of significance about the work itself. The artist also has personal experiences and inclinations which can contribute in a direct way to the direction and outcome of the work. The next perspective is that of the culture of which the artist is a member. Artworks reveal much about the societies which shape us. Within this final sphere of investigation is the notion of history. Cultures are not static but ever-changing.

The process of investigation begins with the object, a

thing locatable in time and space. It moves progressively away from the concrete to the abstract, from material and form to values and history.

By examining works about war from adult artists in other cultures as well as our own, and by examining works from other historical periods, it seems likely that we will gain greater insights into the experience of war as it is recorded and expressed through graphic means. When such a spotlight is then trained upon the topic of North American children's war drawings, we may well see more clearly what these drawings are, and what they are not. The way to test the usefulness of the process is to try it out. What follows is a presentation of four works of art about war, by four individual artists of different cultural backgrounds. The formal investigative process will be used, though I will report my findings in a more informal way.

Figure 10.

The Siege of Louisbourg

Thomas Davies provides us with a record of the historic battle between the English and the French on the site of what is today Cape Breton Island, Canada. This was one of several battles which led to the English victory during the Seven-Years' War.

Reporting is an important motive in his doing the work, as is indicated by the lengthy inscription and labelling of parts. The inscription reads: "A view of the Siege of

FIGURE 10. Siege of Louisbourg by Thomas Davies.
Courtesy The Royal Artillery Historical Trust.

Louisbourg Commanded by His Excellency Major General Amherst in the year 1758 taken from the Center Redout Hill/ Drawn on the spot by Thomas Davies. Capt Lieut: R: Artillery."

Letters on the drawing are explained in an accompanying key. Such things are identified as the town and fortifications of Louisbourg (the point of land extending to the center of the drawing), the French fleet (trapped in the harbor), the English fleet (along the horizon), and various batteries (usually identified by plumes of smoke). On the upper corners of the drawing, a later contributor pasted a photograph of both sides of the Louisbourg Medal.

The drawing is presented from the vantage point of an English redoubt or defensive fortification. From this point we can easily survey the entire proceedings. The drawing is a very ordered one, panoramic and laid out in horizontal strata. Even the cannons discharge in unison. The labelling and identification of the drawing further supports the idea that the battle is an event which is carefully planned and carried out with precision. A handful of soldiers occupy the foreground, leisurely watching the proceedings as one would a fireworks display. There are no casualties. There is no suffering. The war, it seems, consists only of doing damage to one another's ships and fortifications. The battle is effectively contained by the middle ground, further contributing to the sense of calm and order. The distant horizon organizes an orderly row of ships and imparts a

quieting effect to the drawing. The scale suggests that the English will most certainly win. The French are confined to a tiny area and are clearly surrounded. Only the French appear to have sustained damage to their fleet; and when their cannons fire, the smoke blows back towards them.

Davies has told us that the drawing was done on location. It seems likely that he has compressed into a single moment, a number of events which would have unfolded over time. The drawing is highly detailed, even plants in the foreground are rendered with the care of a botanical illustration. The drawing is toned with washes of black watercolor. This enables the artist to further organize the complex subject matter. A distant road can then be lit to show ant-like soldiers in file. The foreground can be set in shadow so the viewer's eye does not dwell there.

In a time before photography, it was important to have some means of planning military assaults on enemy strongholds, anticipating and successfully defending one's own positions, and recording the events of battle for later review. Artists specially trained in making factual records of the land, the defenses, and the battle itself, played an important role (Hubbard, 1972). These were the topographical artists. No artistic license could be taken with the information, it must be presented with all the objectivity the officer-painter could command. An artist would be ill-advised to exaggerate the height of a cliff to be

scaled, or to diminish the size of the enemy fortress. The primary departure from the kind of image one might find with a camera obscura is the ordering for purposes of clarity. In the interests of complete reporting, the artist must also translate an event which unfolds over a period of many hours into a single frame. Time must be compressed. The purpose of the drawing then is a practical one. It could be compared with a surveyor's chart or a road map.

Officers like Thomas Davies were trained in topographical drawing and painting, at the Royal Military Academy in Woolitch, England. Paul Sandby, sometimes referred to as the father of English watercolor, may have been Davies' teacher. The artist was an officer and a gentleman in the eighteenth century tradition. Davies was a second lieutenant at the time he executed this work, and he was in command of the artillery. He was later to fight at Bunker Hill during the American Revolution.

During the "Age of Discovery" many in Britain were keenly interested in information about other lands and people. Explorers commonly took artists with them to record natural history and exotic cultures. Some of this interest is evident in the foreground flora of The Siege of Louisbourg. Often these tinted drawings would be reproduced as etchings for popular consumption.

A number of cultural values are in evidence in this drawing. War is seen as a spectacle, an orderly and

bloodless contest of strategies. The drawing serves to record as fully as possible, the events as they unfold. The use of a key aids that process of dispensing information.

Huizinga (1949) notes that there is a good deal of heroic and romantic fiction about war. War is presented in Davies' drawing as a noble game of virtue and honor. Nevertheless the fiction serves an important purpose in placing limitations on the blood-letting of war. Rules such as making a formal declaration of war, and raising the white flag to signal surrender, serve to maintain a semblance of civilization in what is otherwise an utterly barbaric practice.

Similar notions about order, and similar romantic fiction about honor and fair play, may be involved in drawings done by North American children. The drawing page may be treated like a playing field within whose boundaries strategies are played out, and armies win and lose. Davies presents war from the perspective of strategy. For some children the motivation for doing war drawing may be similar to that of playing chess--to deploy troops, to plan the attack and the defense, and to determine the outcome. Like play, drawing involves no real risks. No one is harmed, and the activity can be terminated at will.

Figure 11.

Parents

At first glance it may not be apparent that this

FIGURE 11. Die Eltern (The Parents) Plate 3 of Sieben Holzschnitzun Krieg by Kathe Kollwitz. Courtesy The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies.

woodcut by Kathe Kollwitz is about war. Two stark figures, a man and a woman, kneel and support each other. Faces are concealed. We have only pose to give us clues as to the meaning. There is no elegance in that pose. The figures are reduced to a heap, unable to exist as individuals. Only intense suffering could have such an effect. Ellen Scarry (1985) says that pain cannot be expressed in words. Pain leads to reversion in which we make the kind of sounds which precede language. The stark black and white of the print reduces any temptation to approach the image as "aesthetic." The crude chisel marks as well do not afford any enjoyment. There is no sensuous, flowing line. Scarry distinguishes between a tool and a weapon by noting that a weapon is applied to sensate flesh, while the tool is applied to insensate material. A knife may serve as a weapon or a tool, depending on the surface to which it is applied. In this woodcut Kollwitz has taken an instrument which could easily serve both purposes, and inflicted wounds upon the wood. It requires little imagination to see the similarity with wounds in human flesh.

Kollwitz forces the viewer to stare at the harsh reality of grief. There is no background where our eye might seek refuge. Neither are the figures modelled in volumes, but remain virtually flat and confrontational. Reality is thrust upon us.

The woodcut is part of a series of seven. Kollwitz

presents the victims of war in each: widows, mothers, deluded volunteers, children, war-maimed men. Unique in Kollwitz' perspective is that she reveals the oppressed, but an oppressor is nowhere present. Her work is about the consequences of war. Forster-Hahn (1978) describes printmaking as a public art form, well suited to social criticism. Painting, by contrast, is more often associated with expensive commissions by elite patrons. And it is more commonly associated with idealized or private visions. In her interest in communicating opposition to war, and in seeking to call attention to other social problems, Kollwitz sometimes produced broadsheets which were posted in public places.

Thus far I have made reference to the social purposes of Kollwitz' art. There was also a personal function served. Her son Peter was killed in action, in 1914. She never fully recovered from her grief. The prints and related drawings were a means of coping with her personal loss. The graphic works ultimately led to the creation of a monument for the military cemetery of Essen in Flanders where Peter was buried. The monument consists of two kneeling figures, Mourning Parents. She began the project shortly after Peter's death, and continued work on it until its completion in 1932, a period of some 18 years.

Kollwitz was a socialist. She referred to herself as an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary because she opposed

the violent means of bringing about reforms advocated by many revolutionaries. At times her views were popular in Germany, and with changing governments her views were at other times extremely unpopular. During the Third Reich her work was banned from public exhibition. Through it all she continued to put forward a view about armed conflict which condemned its savagery by presenting the victims of war.

Scarry defines war as a contest, the purpose of which is to out-injure the opposition. An ideology has no power in itself. But when we can point to the vast numbers whose blood has been spilled in its cause, then the potency of an ideology becomes apparent. In contrast to the Davies drawing, Kollwitz would appear to agree with Scarry. The real purpose of war is not to sink ships or blow up fortifications, or even to force surrender--the real purpose of war is to injure. War ends when one side or the other reaches the limits of its capacity to endure pain.

The art of Kathe Kollwitz communicates to the public at large, a stark reminder of the suffering brought about by war. Hers is an art of social conscience. Here perhaps we have more to learn by way of contrast than comparison with the drawings of North American children. In fantasy, war is not likely to be thought about in terms of suffering, particularly the suffering of women and children. Sylvia Feinburg asked her son Douglas if he was at all concerned about the killing going on in his war drawings. His reply

was "Heck mom. They're nobody's father or husband" (Feinburg, 1975, p. 15). We might, in a more general way, seek comparisons by looking for expressiveness in the poses of figures.

Figure 12.

Battle of Aztecs and Spaniards

This work is one of a series of murals by Diego Rivera. The murals are to be found in the State Palace at Cuernavaca, Mexico. There are eight pairs of murals which record the history of Mexico, from the Spanish conquest in 1521 to the Agrarian Revolt led by Zapata in 1911. The pair under consideration here is the first in the historical series.

The two panels pictured in Figure 12. are in fact on walls at right angles to each other. The photograph however, displays the two panels as though they were aligned at 180 degrees. The scene is densely packed with warriors and soldiers in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Spaniards and their leader Cortes, wear armour and fire their guns. One Spaniard is mounted on a white horse and wields a sword. They and their Tlascalan allies attack from the right of each panel. The Aztecs defend the temple (upper right) which is engulfed in flames. They occupy the left of each panel. There are various orders of Indian knights represented: An Eagle Knight hurls a stone from his sling (upper center). An Ocelot Knight plunges a stone dagger into a fallen Spaniard

FIGURE 12. Battle of Aztecs and Spaniards by Diego Rivera. Reproduced from Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics H. Millon and L. Nochlin (Eds.) by permission of the publisher, MIT Press (1978).

(lower center). Tlascalan Wolf Knights are present as well. Though they are fierce-looking in their costumes, and though they fight valiantly to defend their city, the Aztecs with their slings and obsidian swords are no match for the heavily armored Spaniards with their rifles, cannon, and horses.

Rivera has chosen to present the figures in sharp clarity, rather than obscure the action in smoke and dust. Volumes are also rendered in light and shadow, such that the picture conveys a feeling of strength and power. An event which happened four hundred years earlier, is presented as brilliantly as though it were today. History is brought into the present.

The battle is among other things, a struggle between two very different cultures, the old world and the new. Catlin (1978) finds in the work a subtle yet important shift in styles. Rivera chose to employ a more European tradition in the rendering of Spanish aspects of the mural. One can find a greater level of naturalism, as well as reminders of European artworks such as Uccello's Battle of San Romano in Rivera's treatment of the Spanish forces. With the handling of the Indian aspects Rivera has used a more stylized approach with which his Indian and mestizo audience would be more familiar.

Extensive research was done in preparation for the paintings. The artist writes, "I took care to authenticate

every detail by exact research because I wanted to leave no opening for anyone to try to discredit the murals as a whole by the charge that any detail was a fabrication" (Rivera, 1960, p. 168).

It is no small undertaking to attempt to record events as complex as a full scale battle, and it is no modest endeavor to try to present four hundred years of history. The fresco technique was a challenge of a different sort. A section of lime plaster must be prepared on the wall each day, and painted with watercolor the same day. The whole project averages 14 feet high and is 120 feet long. Working on such a grand scale, with a medium as demanding as fresco, is itself a heroic act.

Rivera has made a conscious effort to communicate with a particular audience. Not only by inviting viewers to identify with their proud and valiant ancestors, but also by using pictorial methods which are part of their cultural heritage, and with which they will consequently be able to identify. Rivera employs the aesthetic, sensory, and religious orientations of the local people. More than identification and more than fostering pride in a heritage, Rivera sought to indoctrinate his audience with Marxist ideology. This is history taught from a particular socio/political perspective, a perspective which condemns colonialism and promotes a classless society.

Perhaps it is appropriate that such a message should be

proclaimed on the walls of a palace built by Cortes. A monument once raised to foreign interests, now holds the pictorial history of oppression and struggle against those interests. The story begins with subjugation of the people, and ends with a victorious revolt of the peasants and working class. Rivera takes upon himself the role of historian and spiritual leader. He does not join Kollwitz in condemning all war. He presents some wars as noble--wars in which a people defend themselves against aggressors, and wars in which a people try to cast off cruel overlords.

Rivera's mural is about a cause. There are "good guys" and "bad guys." This is one important question to ask of North American children who do war drawings. Are their drawings about a struggle between good and evil? What are the causes of war? Do they think about such things, or do they value action for its own sake? Do children's drawings attempt to reconstruct the events of history, or do the great majority take place in the present? When a child draws a battle from a previous historical era, where does the child learn about these events? How important is it to children that their histories be more or less factual? These are some of the issues relevant to my research which are suggested by Rivera's mural.

Figure 13.

Mandan Hide Narrative

Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of this graphic work

FIGURE 13. Mandan Hide Narrative by an anonymous Mandan. Reproduced from The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution by permission of the publisher, Hudson Hills Press. Copyright 1986 by Philbrook Art Center.

is its shape. The drawing has been done on a buffalo hide. The hide narrative was collected by Lewis and Clark in 1805, and was sent to President Thomas Jefferson. Little more is known about this particular work except that it was purchased from the Mandan Indians of North Dakota; and that it depicts a battle between the Mandans with their allies, and the Sioux with their allies the Arikara. The battle is one which likely occurred around 1795.

The human figures are very similar in construction having a trapezoidal torso with stick arms and thickened stick legs. Facial features are generally not included. Some figures are distinguished by painted markings on the bodies, and by headdress and hair. The range of body poses is minimal. Almost all figures are upright and shown frontally. An occasional figure is tipping or the body curves, and one figure in the top row attempts a three-quarter pose. Young (1986) describes the poses as "playing-card" figures.

The horses are more developed. Rather than being constructed of simple geometric shapes, they are more organic and differentiated. Like the human figures, the horses also have thickened stick legs, legs which widen in the upper region. All the horses are drawn in profile. Warner (1986) and others have commented on the fact that the horses are drawn more accurately than are the humans. The horses are made more individualized than humans by the inclusion of natural markings such as the spots of a pinto,

and painted markings applied by the riders. Perhaps this attention to individual characteristics is an indication of the importance of the horse to Plains Indian culture. Almost one-third of the 60 or more warriors have mounts. The weapons consist of rifles, bows, lances, and tomahawks. Many Indians carry circular shields and some have what appear to be powder horns slung about their necks.

The battle does not take place in a landscape. No physical features of the land are recorded. Each object has its own space. The warriors are relatively evenly positioned about the hide, and figures do not overlap. Where a rider is drawn, either both legs are shown in front of the horse, or both legs are hidden from view. Rather than presenting the battle as two opposing armies, the combatants are not easily identified as belonging to one side or the other. Many hide narratives of Plains Indians consisted of separate vignettes, events which occurred throughout the lifetime of an individual brave. This one however, is a record of a single event, one which involves many individuals.

The hide of a bison calf or cow is prepared and staked on the ground or on a frame. The colors are made from clays and vegetable dyes. For a brush the artist uses a porous leg bone of a bison, a flayed willow twig, or a bundle of antelope hair attached to a stick. The shapes are first embossed with a blunt tool and then filled in with paint. The finished narrative could be displayed publicly outside

the tipi, or it could be worn as a robe. It was transportable, something important to a nomadic people.

Apart from the practical purpose of being used as a robe, its primary function was for display. A narrative such as this served as a record for the whole community. It was readable to visitors from abroad. With hundreds of languages spoken by tribes across North America, Indians developed non-verbal means of communicating. Hand sign language is one familiar means, but so was the visual language of pictographs. Objects such as the horse could be represented by a schema we would fairly easily recognize. More abstract concepts were conveyed by symbols we would have to learn from those who know the language. A concept such as the passage of time for example, was conveyed by a single line of horse hoof-prints. The narrative was not intended to be shown without comment, Young speaks of it as a mnemonic device. The hide would serve as an aid to memory, assisting the story teller in recalling the events. As public documents they record defeats as well as triumphs. Where the hide narrative told the story of one man's exploits, it would be especially tempting to embellish the stories. But no fiction or even exaggeration would be allowed by the community.

The warrior is normally the one who documents his own experience. Warner says of Plains Indian culture, "The entire culture of the classic Plains Indians was devoted to

individual celebrity, notoriety, and glory of the male hunter and warrior" (1986, p. 174). Such individualism is unusual in small scale societies. Pueblo Indian culture stands in contrast to the Plains culture in its greater emphasis upon collective behavior.

Gender differences in both content and style were apparent in Plains Indian art. Males recorded their war exploits, and did so using a style which was more naturalistic than the exquisite abstraction employed by females.

The issue of gender differences in the content of North American children's drawing is central to this study. The value placed upon heroic acts of daring, is something I will look for in children's drawing. To what extent are these drawings about collective action, and what role is played by individual achievement? The fascination many boys have for superheroes may have parallels in Plains Indian culture. Do the drawings sometimes consist of separate vignettes occurring in different times and places? Are the drawings intended as mnemonic devices? These are some of the possible connections and questions which arise from this brief investigation of a Plains Indian hide narrative.

Perspectives and Questions

The four artworks considered, take different points of view on warfare. For the Mandan warrior, the graphic representation is used to remember and tell stories of

daring exploits. For Diego Rivera, the fresco presents a history which spans four hundred years. The battle depicted, is intended to teach and to instill pride in heritage. Kathe Kollwitz concentrates on the cost of war, measured in human suffering. Soldiers are not the only victims of war--fear for the safety of loved ones conscripted, and grief over their loss, exact a terrible toll. Thomas Davies gives us the perspective of the strategist. War is viewed as a contest to be won by superior military planning and strength. Further investigation would likely contribute more perspectives, and suggest further questions.

The extent to which we will find strains of these perspectives in the drawings of North American children, remains to be seen in later chapters of the study. But having these perspectives as examples provides guideposts to aid in the investigation.

CHAPTER VI

IMITATION, IMAGINATION AND CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS: THEORY AND APPLICATION TO CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

Introduction

The "why" of children's drawing about war, has been the theme of earlier sections of this examination. Theories of gender identity formation were reviewed. Evidence was presented to show why gender identification is a plausible explanation for war drawing in North American children. The drawings were then contrasted with those done by children who have actually experienced war. Here we saw a range of motivations beyond gender identification and excitement. These include: fear, coping, aggression and legacy.

Related to the issue of motivation is perspective. Reviewing examples of adult war art, I looked at different ways of conceptualizing war: strategy, tragedy, ideology and history. Here too, we see more clearly the influence of culture in world view and style.

Having gained insight into why pictures about war are made, an investigation into the process of drawing should now be undertaken. This is the "how" question. In this section, I will explore issues dealing with imitation. This

will lead to an account of children's drawing which recognizes intrinsic biases, cognitive organization, the role of perception, the influence of culture, and the task demands of producing a drawing. I will also review theories of imagination; and consider the relationship of imitation to imagination, as it relates to children's war drawing.

I will conclude with a return to the "so what" question. Here I will consider the possible influence my study might have upon curriculum and instruction.

Imitation

Definitions and Theories

Imitation is an action. Webster's II New Riverside Dictionary (1984) defines imitation: to copy the actions or appearance of another, and to duplicate or reproduce. Commonly we refer to appearances when we speak of imitation, though sound can also be copied. Imitation is also a thing. An imitation is an object or event which resembles a prior existing model.

Guillaume (1926) restricts his definition to behaviors which are not instinctive. Imitation, he maintains, is only complete when one is consciously performing it. The gosling which follows its mother, copying her every move, is acting in accordance with genetic programming. It is not imitating. Yando, Seitz and Zigler (1978) take a wider view. They see imitation as being innate in humans as in other species. Children everywhere learn to speak. No one has to teach

children how to imitate, only what to imitate.

These two views on imitation can be traced to different theories of learning. The definition used by Yando et al. is consistent with psychoanalytic theory which considers imitation as a process by which children come to identify with adults with whom they have close emotional ties. Imitation is evidence of valuing, and promotes bonding. In psychoanalytic theory, imitation is for purposes of identification. The more limited definition of Guillaume is consistent with the cognitive development theory. Here the purpose of imitation is to accommodate our cognitive structures to the environment, or the environment to our cognitive structures so there is a "fit" between them. The boy who observes his father cooking, may play "cook" as a way of broadening his schema about adult male roles, in order to bring it into conformity with this observation. The boy who discovers that someone has put a dress on his G.I. Joe action figure, may remove the dress because "men don't wear dresses." Here he has changed the environment to bring it into conformity with his cognitive structure, his notion of how the world is. With cognitive development theory, the key word is accommodation. There is a third theory, social learning. In their review of these theories as they pertain to imitation, Yando et al. represent the social learning theory with the key word acquisition. This theory regards the observer as forming a mental representation of the

observed act and then summoning that representation at a later date in order to reproduce the act.

While I have used their definitions to talk about different theories of imitation, I would hasten to add that Guillaume and Yando et al. combine elements of all three theories in setting forth their views on imitation. Both for example, see our ability to imitate and our motivation for doing so, as changing developmentally. Imitation begins with immediate copying of simple behaviors, and develops to much more complex behaviors which are retained in memory and exhibited at a later time. Much imitation in fact is done during play when there is no immediate need for a particular skill. Our ability to imitate will change then as our attention span, memory capacity, coding capabilities and cognitive structures develop. Our willingness to imitate and the kinds of behaviors we choose to imitate will also change in accordance with changes in our intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

Imitation serves individual purposes when it enables us to develop certain competencies. Along with this goes the feelings of well-being which result from our increasing ability to master the environment. It has been said that imitation is the sincerest form of compliment. We copy those we admire. Serving our affective and collective life, we use imitation to lessen the differences among ourselves. Initially we form affective ties with those of our immediate

families, but as we grow older the range of behaviors available to us for imitation is extended as we come into contact with the wider community.

Mental Images

Our ability to perform delayed imitative acts requires some mechanism for storing the learned behavior in memory. It is generally accepted that we are able to accomplish this by means of mental imagery. Much discussion surrounds the nature of these mental pictures and the ways in which we use them, but at this point in the discussion I will simply introduce the topic. A fuller account will be provided when I address the topics of children's drawing and imagination.

There are various ways we have of coding information in memory. Our ability to use these, and our preference for each will change as we develop. The most basic is motoric (Yando et al., 1978). This kind of memory deals with our tactile and kinaesthetic senses. When we play the piano or typewrite, our fingers "remember" the correct location of each key. Another form of memory is visual. We are able to give directions to others on driving to our home. We do this by constructing a mental picture of the route and "reading" it. We see the landmarks, and report these to our listener. A third form of coding in memory is linguistic.

These forms of coding have been presented in the order in which they normally unfold in the development of children. Infants are able to remember that a favorite toy

is under a blanket, by forming a mental picture of it. They are able to do this before they are able to express that idea in language. Yando et al. state that between age 5 and 7, linguistic becomes the preferred way of storing information for most children. In memory storage, visual precedes linguistic.

It is remarkable then that the activity of drawing, which relies upon visual memory, should be so delayed. Children have mental pictures before they understand words, yet children imitate language much earlier than they imitate the appearances of things by making marks on paper. This simple fact must give us some indication of the complexity of drawing. Many have underestimated the enormity of the challenge. Schubert (1930) thought her subjects simply projected a mental image onto the page and traced around it. It seems doubtful that what is stored in memory is like a photograph, and that accessing it requires nothing more than "turning on the projector."

Accounting for Children's Drawing

Intrinsic Biases and Cognitive Organization

If we were to examine children's drawings and match these with the objects they represent, we must conclude that children's drawings don't resemble what they probably see. In saying this, we assume that children want to represent their optical experience when they draw. But if children do indeed wish to represent the world as they see it, then we

are left to ask why their drawings are so different from those of adults. Feldman (1970) provides an overview of the leading theories. These are summarized below.

Psychoanalytic theory

In young children, the unconscious dominates thoughts and behaviors. Genetically encoded experiences which are ancient to humankind, are stored in the cerebellum. This "memory" combines with repressed experiences from early childhood to influence our every mental act. The unconscious expresses itself in symbolic organization. The child draws a circle because it is connected with the womb, the mouth, and the breast. As the child grows older, the conscious mind takes more control and representational drawing emerges. For those who cannot or will not suppress the unconscious, drawing representationally is unsatisfying. These people either turn to abstraction or give up drawing altogether.

Gestalt Theory

Like the psychoanalytic, gestalt theory regards the person as operating by universal and genetically encoded "laws." Those laws include our need for: completeness, closure, unity, regularity, balance, and so on. These laws come about because of the way our brains take in information. There are no pictures in the brain. Instead there are generalized images which bear a structural resemblance to the object. We see these structural equivalents as perceptual wholes rather than as parts.

Children's drawings then are not ancient symbols, nor are they photographic representations of objects in all their complexity, children's drawings are structural equivalents.

One of the leading writers applying gestalt theory to explanations of children's drawing, is Rudolph Arnheim (1974). He explains that children's drawn shapes are only as differentiated as they need to be in order that they may be distinguished. Children know much more than they include in their drawings. Each object is drawn from a view which renders it most understandable. Multiple views accomplish this. A drawing containing multiple views may look odd to an adult but these drawings should not be considered flawed. The multiple view may offer a solution to a difficult problem of representation. Children draw in such a way as to express what they know, and they draw in the simplest way possible. Consequently children's drawings can be clever solutions on how best to describe an object or scene.

Cognitive Developmental Theory

Feldman deals with cognitive theory and developmental theory separately, but I will combine the two as they are so commonly found together. Piaget (1969) is one of the major proponents of this theory which regards drawing as representing concepts. Children draw what they know about things, and not what they see. An important person may be drawn taller than others in the picture, whether or not that person was physically taller. As children grow and develop,

their knowledge becomes more complete. As they grow, they also progress through stages or ways of organizing information. The young child is egocentric and therefore unable to take the viewpoint of another. Each object drawn, is presented as though it were on parade, lined up for the child to see.

Whether we regard children's use of multiple views as immature thinking (egocentrism), or a clever solution to the problems of representation, the gestaltist and the cognitive developmentalist are rather similar in their explanation of how and why children's drawings look the way they do.

Culture and Perception

The various theories put forward thus far give little recognition to the role of culture and the role of perception in the development of children's drawings. The preceding theories view drawing as something which comes from within the child: unconscious symbols, structural equivalents, visual schemata. If these theories are fully adequate explanations for children's drawings, then how are we to account for cultural differences which exist? And where does perception fit in all of this?

Gombrich (1960) accounts for those differences by asserting that art comes from art. Wilson (1988) compares graphic symbols with language. Children do not invent from scratch a full blown art language any more than they invent spoken language. Children observe and imitate the visual

sign making of others. Unquestionably there are differences between drawing and speaking. The visual sign for a tree is much more like a tree than is the word like its referent. A drawing of a tree would undoubtedly be recognizable in many cultures where the word "tree" would not. However to refer to graphic symbols as being like a language, is a useful analogy. All children do not draw alike. The Islamic torso (Wilson & Wilson, 1988) or the two-eyed profile (Wilson & Wilson, 1982b) are striking examples of differences in children's drawing across geography and history. Wilson found that children as young as 3 years old, model their drawings after stylistic features of dominant culture.

The process of originating or inventing, is extremely difficult. When a child does invent a new graphic symbol, other children may copy it. Most often however, symbols used by children are copied from the art of adults.

But children's drawings don't look like those of the adults either. The Wilson's concede that there do seem to be intrinsic biases. There seem to be constancies in children's drawings. They agree with Arnheim that children tend to prefer perpendicular lines and shapes, avoidance of overlap, balance, and so forth. They agree with Piaget that a developmental progression can be shown. But beyond these basic tendencies we must look to culture and perception itself to explain children's drawings. Nature and nurture interpenetrate.

Gombrich (1960) describes the process of drawing as one of making and matching. The viewer, whether child or adult, will look at an object or scene, and will attempt to find a schema or convention stored in memory which closely approximates the external view. This will be summoned for the task of drawing. Perception notices that the scene before us is not quite identical to the schema we have summoned for the job, and certain adjustments are made to the drawing in order to create a better fit. It follows that the wider the vocabulary of stored conventions, the more likely it will be that a match can be made. And with fewer adjustments needed, it is more likely that those adjustments will be able to bring the drawing into a close likeness to the external view.

What separates Gombrich's view of the drawing process from that of Piaget, is that Piaget has the child inventing images to stand for cognitive schema. Gombrich has the child adopting images from the wider culture. This seems to me the more adequate explanation. I agree with the more balanced view which acknowledges the role of both nature and nurture.

Task Demands of Drawing

Thus far I have looked at children's drawings. Based upon those drawings, I have made certain assumptions about the ideas and abilities of the child. But Freeman (1980) is correct in criticizing those who conflate performance with ability. Surely the performance is affected by the task

demands of organizing a representation. What are those demands? Do children possess the necessary capabilities to accomplish the task?

1. The first step in drawing, is to view or visualize what must be drawn. When drawing from life, the perceptual qualities of the object must be assimilated. We normally look at an object with nothing more than recognition as our objective. At such times we look superficially. Drawing requires a more thorough kind of looking, one which takes account of all that is there. This calls for greater concentration and patience. These qualities we possess in varying degrees.

2. Whether from life or from memory, drawing requires the use of graphic conventions. The child's ability to summon these when needed, must be an important step in accomplishing the task. How wide is their repertoire of conventions? And what strategies do children use to summon them? The blank, white page offers no cues to aid in the recall of information, so other means must be found.

3. The drawing is done in a specific medium. The medium itself imposes certain limitations on the task of drawing. A linear tool like a pencil invites us to acknowledge contours and discourages us from attending to colors. A correspondence then must be found between the salient properties of the object and the forms available in the chosen medium.

4. An image must be brought into existence on the page over a period of time. We must decide where to begin and what should follow. We must devise a sequence of execution, one which is most likely to produce the desired result. Children often begin a drawing of a person by drawing the head. Would the task be made easier or more difficult by beginning with an arm? The emerging drawing provides clues to further developments.

5. Judgments must be made. Are all the parts present? Are parts in the right location? What about the relative proportions? Corrective action is called for if the drawing does not fulfill all the requirements of the child. If the error is too great, the child may quit the drawing. But if the drawing closely corresponds to the remembered graphic convention, then the drawing is done.

The demands of the task clearly involve more than projecting an image on the page and tracing around it. Adding to the difficulty of completing a drawing is the fact that there is little transference among drawing programs. The Wilsons (1977) note that the ability to draw one thing well, doesn't necessarily affect the ability to draw another. Keeping this in mind then, it should not surprise us that drawing as a form of imitation, seems to emerge relatively later than other forms of imitation.

Imagination

Most forms of imitation, including drawing, require the

exercise of one's imagination. The relationship between imitation and imagination will be discussed later in this paper, but for the present I will consider the characteristics of imagination, the theories which attempt to explain it, and the application of imagination in children's play and drawing.

Definitions and Theories

Central to the definition of imagination is the use of mental imagery. It is impossible to imagine without imagining something. Objects are pictured in the mind.

Most of our daily activities do not require us to use imagination. We respond in a more direct and immediate way to cues and signals. It would in fact slow us down if we had to recall from memory, and review mental pictures before taking action. There are times however when we will wish to summon images to mind. Imagination serves an eminently practical purpose when I try to remember where I left my car keys. Through imagination I retrace my steps, viewing the various places I might have left them.

Imagining is not always initiated by the need to solve practical problems. The imagination is on standby when needed for other purposes. In times of low sensory input, the mind is freed to explore and fantasize. While driving along the highway for example, we are able to assign the immediate and fleeting decisions which must be made, to our short term memory. Through imagination we can be transported

beyond the present.

The imagination may present to us a single mental image, or it may present a stream of images in cinematic fashion. We may also add voices and sounds to the narrative. When the imagination becomes extended beyond a single image, we may use other words to refer to it. We speak of fantasy and daydreams as experiences in imagination.

Merleau-Ponty (1964) asserts that the imagination is not just a weak copy of perceptions. We have a world view which acts as a lens, selecting and filtering material to be played in the mind. Dewey (1934) adds that imagination unites perception and meaning. The past becomes united with the present when we summon imagination. In calling upon the imagination, we recognize similarities between past experiences and present circumstances. And more than just the visual aspects are recalled, we remember how we felt about certain things and what we thought about them.

Psychoanalytic Theory

Earlier I made reference to psychoanalytic theory in reference to gender identity. This theory regards drives such as sex and aggression as powerful motivating forces in human behavior. The imagination has a role to play in this. By imagining what we want or need, psychoanalysts maintain, we are able to achieve a partial discharge of the drive we are experiencing. This enables us to delay gratification. Children who experience feelings of

aggression can produce a war drawing, and so vent some of those insistent and antisocial feelings in a manner which does no harm to themselves or to others around them. Children develop self-control, and at the same time experience a pleasurable release or catharsis.

It is not uncommon for people to imagine something they greatly desire. As Scarry (1985) rightly observes, it is a marvelous ability to make an absent friend present through imagination. Singer (1975) says that up to one-third of children report having an imaginary friend. Blind children are particularly likely to have an imaginary friend, one who is sighted.

Thus far I have talked about the benefits of imagination. Can imagination at times be a detriment? When the imagination deals with our fears, it serves an important function. It can motivate us to action so that we might avoid danger. Anxieties also form a part of our imagining. Children may embody those anxieties in the form of monsters. This is less constructive. But it must be remembered that anxieties are not generated by imagination, rather imagination gives "visible form" to anxieties. Imagining only becomes pathological when the person becomes incapacitated by overly vivid portrayals, or when the person uses fantasy as a substitute for action. Singer reminds us however that even with persons undergoing psychotherapy, fantasy can effectively be used as a means for restoring

health.

Desires and fears then are the focus of psychoanalytic theory in considering the imagination.

Cognitive Theory

Rather than seeing humans as driven by instincts for survival and reproduction as does psychoanalytic theory, cognitive theory sees humans as information-processing beings. Our capacity for imagining allows us to learn and to adapt to new situations. Imagination is not regressive but progressive. Imagining is not used as a substitute for action but rather as a means of redirecting action.

We use imagining to evaluate an object or event. We call up a mental picture in order to inspect it from other perspectives. Imagining allows us to explore possibilities without committing ourselves to irrevocable consequences. Without imagination, we would be left to clumsy trial-and-error searches. There is an affective aspect to this as well. The pleasure of anticipation is an important part of experience. When we plan a vacation we imagine ourselves already there. Present experience can also be enriched by the exercise of imagination. The girl practicing her cello may imagine herself before a large audience at Carnegie Hall. And after a pleasurable experience, we can recall the event to memory, enjoying it many times over.

Merleau-Ponty (1964) refers to imagination as a third eye. Through the imagination we are able to see the world as

it could be. Through the imagination we can create fantastic creatures of the sort which populate Grunewald's painting The Temptation of St. Anthony. Scientists too, find imagination important in developing new ideas. Singer (1975) reports that Michael Faraday gained insight into the nature of the electrolyte by picturing himself an atom under great pressure. Einstein similarly used his capacities for visual imagery to consider some of the basic notions of relativity. If it were possible to travel faster than the speed of light, wouldn't you then be able to see yourself coming? Kekule, Watson, and others have similarly credited their discoveries to the use of imagination (Lovanno-Kerr, 1983). This is an important kind of intelligence.

Imagination is clearly a complex phenomenon and one which we use for a variety of purposes.

Imaginative Children

Reporting on his own research and that of others, Singer (1975) concludes that children who use their imagination a great deal, are just as active as children who seldom use imagination. This finding challenges the psychoanalytic notion that imagination is used as a substitute for action. Those children are more likely to divert their aggressions, expressing them in more socially acceptable ways. The child who draws about war is less likely to hit another child. It is the child who can only act directly, that is most likely to strike another child.

Singer recommends that efforts be made to cultivate imagination in children.

There is another reason why children who make little use of imagination are more likely to find themselves in difficulty. Those who use imagination are better able to consider the consequences of an action, and better able to consider steps needed to achieve a goal in a socially acceptable manner. Those who do not use imagination are locked in an eternal present, and take direct action to achieve immediate gratification.

Earlier in chapter III, I referred to Katz' profile of the child most likely to stereotype gender roles. This profile is one important part of the total picture because it describes children who strongly identify with a stereotypic male role. It identifies children who would choose the subject of war if they were to do drawings. It does not however, describe the kind of children who are likely to do drawings. If drawings make use of imagination--and I have argued that they do--then a profile of imaginative children is needed to complement Katz' profile.

Singer found that imaginative children tend to have a clear-cut identification with at least one of their parents. They also tend to be either the oldest child, an only child, or to have few older siblings. These characteristics are not surprising when we remember that a close relationship with a

parent who tells stories and interacts with the child in other ways, can stimulate the child's imagination. Added to this is a need for time alone to engage in fantasy. Singer sees television as an important influence on imagination. He suggests that television exposes children to a rich visual environment. Moderation is needed however, because there must be times when the child has time away from direct visual stimulation in order to engage in imagining.

Of the various factors identified by Katz and Singer, only one is not consonant. Katz finds that the boy who has brothers is more likely to hold a more rigid gender stereotype. Singer finds that an only child is more likely to engage in imagining. It is significant that both researchers find a strong identification with at least one parent to be a factor. Katz sees the parent as important in socializing the child for gender role. Singer sees the parent as helping to stimulate the child's imagination.

Make-believe games give us insights to children's imagining. Children use different voices and make vocal sound effects as they create narratives in their mind. Imagining a story requires a certain discipline of mind. The child must develop an idea through a sequence of events. The story requires a beginning, a middle, and an end.

Drawing those stories is an even more ambitious undertaking as we saw when we considered what was required in developing a drawing.

Drawing, in some respects falls short of recording the experience in imagination. Scarry (1985) says that we imagine grandly but we construct modestly. By this she means that our power to imagine, exceeds our ability to build or even to draw. Drawing however, has the advantage of clarifying our mental imagery. It makes a private vision into an objective reality, one which can be shared with others.

Imagination and Imitation

Imitation seeks to copy the appearance and/or the sound of an external model. A young child visiting the zoo, may hear a lion roar and respond with a vocal copy of the sound. In this case no mental picture is needed to accomplish the imitation. The response deals solely with sound, and the feedback is immediate. But if the child later goes home and crawls about the floor mimicking the movements and the sounds of the lion, then the child accomplishes a more difficult task, one which calls for the exercise of imagination. The child is aware of the ways in which her body is like that of a lion. She also remembers the appearance and movements of the lion, and is able to recall from memory an image sufficiently clear to imitate. How well the copy conforms to the original is not the issue, the fact that a mental image is stored and used, is what qualifies it as imagination.

Imitative Imagination

The preceding illustration might be considered an

example of imitative imagination. The child makes use of her powers of imagination for the purpose of replicating something observed in the external world. If that child however, creates a mental picture of a new animal never before seen--an animal which consists of physical characteristics of several animals--then the imagination is used for invention as well as for recall. The issue is certainly a value-laden one. To imitate is less valued in our society than to originate. In an extreme example, an original Vermeer is widely acclaimed while a forgery is condemned.

In war drawings done by North American children, individual objects drawn on the page are commonly dealing with the factual appearances of things. Many children take pride in their knowledge of fighter aircraft, and replicate the images with as much fidelity as they can. Recalling pictures seen in books, or toy models, or images derived from some other source, children will normally attempt to represent these as they are remembered. Where a battle takes place in some far away or future land, the child may use imagination which is less imitative, imagination which moves beyond recall and replication to invent.

Imaginative Imitation

If we define imagination as "the mental power of forming images of unreal or absent objects" (Webster's II New Riverside Dictionary 1984, p. 347), then almost all

imitation involves the use of imagination. Referring to an earlier example, the child who roars like the lion she has just heard, is not making use of mental imagery, and the model is present. But delayed copying of the appearance of an object or event will require the use of imagination.

This definition of imaginative, contributes little to the topic. But "imaginative" has a second definition. Webster adds "such power used in a creative way" (p. 347). This opens up a much wider topic. The term becomes more value-laden. "Imaginative" has positive connotations. The person who performs an imaginative imitation, departs from simple imitation of the model. The departure is not due to an inability to achieve a more faithful copy, but rather it "improves" upon the model. An imaginative imitation makes changes to the model with intent or purpose. A political cartoonist may draw a prominent government leader with simplified and exaggerated facial features. The cartoonist has opinions about the leader, and cleverly distorts the image in order to communicate those opinions.

Another way in which an imitation may be imaginative, is if the original model being imitated is relatively incomplete. Here the person may choose to invent material in order to fill gaps in information. Once again there is a purposeful extension of the original material.

In war drawing among North American children, imitative

imagination is applied to individual objects drawn on the page. There are readily available models for these and they are frequently used. The narrative or action though, is not as neatly prescribed. The child may draw a fighter aircraft which closely resembles the actual object, but decisions on where the jet will fly and what will happen to it in the course of battle, are the more inventive aspects of the drawing. Here the child is supplying material which has not been predetermined. Here the child is making use of imaginative imitation. The action is imitative in the sense that it makes use of poses and positions which are possible, but it is imaginative in that poses and positions are relatively open. There are many places in the sky that a jet can be placed, all of them "right." Imagination then is exercised, not so much in the drawing of the objects but in the narrative, in the action that takes place.

Style in Children's Drawing

Three Styles

Thus far the discussion has centered on the content of children's drawings. At this point I will address more fully the issue of style.

Finch (cited in Parsons, 1987; p. 1) defines style as "those distinctive characteristics that enable the observer to link an artwork with other works." Parsons correctly adds that examples of styles are easier to agree on than general

statements about them. Style is a relational concept.

I will deal with three aspects of style which pertain to children's drawing: individual style, children's style, and cultural/period style. Individual style refers to particular individual characteristics which manifest themselves in identifiable qualities in the drawing. Wolfflin (1932) makes reference to this when he speaks of the unique way each person treats small fragments of a work. Like handwriting which is distinctive, the child has certain motor tendencies and other preferences which can be detected in the work.

Children's style refers to those characteristics which enable us to recognize a drawing as having been done by a child. Earlier I referred to certain predispositions commonly found in children's drawing. These principles are discussed more fully by Arnheim (1974). An example is that children tend to draw objects which have their own space. Overlap is uncommon in the drawings of young children. Another example is that objects are commonly drawn either parallel or perpendicular to one another. These and other such predispositions make it possible for us to identify drawings as having been done by children.

Cultural/Period style influences children's drawings as well. But before proceeding further, it is necessary to explain what I mean by the terms "culture" and "period."

Groups of people bound together by shared institutions, customs and beliefs, will produce objects which are in varying degrees distinctive. The Kwakiutl of the Pacific Northwest for example, made objects for daily and ceremonial use. There are certain identifying characteristics which enable us to recognize them as having come from that culture. I would describe those characteristics as a cultural style. Kwakiutl design is distinctive and easily distinguished from objects made by a quite different culture such as Moslem.

Within the same geographic region, the institutions, customs and beliefs will change over time. In some places the change is very slow indeed. In other places the pace of change is much faster. When these changes are substantial, we refer to the earlier and later as "periods." For all intents and purposes these periods can be thought of as discrete cultures. The institutions, customs, and beliefs of 13th century France are sufficiently distinctive and different from those of 16th century France that we can speak of the Gothic and Renaissance periods, without confusion.

The style of art from a culture or a period is equally distinctive. Binding it together are: shared values or world view, similar formal qualities, and the common use of certain materials and construction processes.

Gombrich has declared that art comes from art. The Wilson's (1977) explain why. Life is generally too complex to serve as a model for drawing. Humans are constantly moving. We see them from many vantage points and in many poses. To attempt to capture this vast body of visual information in the form of visual schema is challenging for young children. Graphic representations of the figure however, are already abstracted to a two-dimensional form. They hold still, remain a constant size, and can more easily be remembered.

Earlier I made brief reference to Brent Wilson's research on cultural/period changes in children's drawing. The Islamic torso is commonly found in children's drawings in Islamic countries but not elsewhere. The two-eyed profile was commonly found in children's drawings in nineteenth century Europe, but has all but disappeared in the 20th century. The origin of these graphic forms cannot be innate predispositions or they would be pervasive and persistent. The origin of these graphic forms is to be found in the graphic imagery of the particular culture or period.

Negotiating Style

It is evident from these examples that children are affected by the style of their culture. The question now becomes: How do children negotiate style? How do they resolve the sometimes competing influences of intrinsic

biases and culturally preferred forms? Marjorie and Brent Wilson (1984) speak of a tension between these two. It is uncertain when young children first show evidence of the particular stylistic features of their culture in the drawings they produce. The answer seems to vary depending upon the nature of the style being adopted and the criteria employed to judge the use of style. But where the art of adults may be similar to the children's style as described above, then it seems likely that evidence of the stylistic features of adult art can be found sooner in the art of children. It seems probable for example that Eskimo children might be thought to draw more like adults in their community since the adults tend to use profile and front views of natural subjects, and they tend to draw with flowing and simplified contour lines. If children were exposed only to Impressionism on the other hand, it seems that resemblances to adult art would be later in emerging.

This only considers the width of the gulf which separates children's style from cultural/period style. Presumably a narrower gulf would be more easily and quickly bridged. But is this a conscious process? My use of the term "negotiate," may be misleading in this respect. It seems likely that children imitate stylistic features of adult art, unaware that they are doing so. Parsons (1987) notes that young children normally do not seem to notice style or

find it meaningful. In experiments by Gardner (1972), children show they can detect style. They are able to sort reproductions of works by Picasso, Durer, and others correctly. But Parsons states that it is not until adolescence that children generally come to understand that style is part of the meaning of an artwork. Young children do not seem to recognize that they could choose from a number of possible styles in doing a drawing. Children imitate style but they do so unconsciously.

Curriculum and Instructional Implications

In reviewing the possible challenges to my study (chapter II) and responding to these, I have already given a partial answer to the important question of how my study might be used. There I dealt with the reception it might receive from others whose social/political views are different from mine. I also looked at the use of the study beyond the classroom. Here I will deal more directly with the implications my study has for curriculum and instruction.

My study is descriptive, it sets out to describe children's spontaneous drawing about war. But its value to educational practice is by no means obvious or direct.

Feldman puts the challenge particularly well:

It is easy to confuse the "is" of theoretical investigation with the "ought" of educational practice

and morality. The fact that children normally create artistic imagery of a certain type, at a certain stage of their development, does not mean that the art education curriculum should be mainly devoted to encouraging the production of such imagery. It only means that children need the opportunity to paint and draw and model and build (1970; p. 158).

Feldman is correct in pointing out the distinction between "is" and "ought." Compelling reasons must be given for introducing my findings into schools.

Curriculum

While it is true that "is" and "ought" are not, nor should they be equated, it is my contention that these two have more often been kept too far apart. A persistent criticism by children and parents is that education seems uninteresting and unrelated to their lives. Some art educators as well have been critical of the way art education has been practiced in North America. Marantz (1988) recognizes in art education "a trend to isolate our business from its foundation in society, from the lives of the citizens we serve as educators.... Art education is a matter of connectedness, not separations, of outward looking rather than introspection" (pp. 259-260).

This study is about genres, particular themes or subjects which children of a certain age commonly find

interesting and meaningful. By involving more content which is of interest to individual students, those students will be more likely to take an interest in the curriculum.

This study is also about gender roles. Different genres are explored by boys and girls as a means of identifying with stereotypic adult roles. I do not propose that classrooms be segregated by gender and that different curricula be devised for boys and girls based on their expressed interests in certain subject matter. It is important for children to develop secure gender identities, and at the same time to extend those gender role schemata and gain more flexible boundaries. For this to occur, it is necessary for children to explore wider territory. The teacher can introduce boys to content areas normally explored by girls, and girls can experiment with those interests normally pursued by boys.

The subject of war is indeed sensitive. There are some teachers who would prefer to shield children from some of the unpleasant realities of life. War is nevertheless a significant issue in human history and in the history of particular countries. The United States views its War of Independence with considerable pride. It has become part of the collective mythology. Part of who we are as a people, has been determined through conflict; it is not something which education can dismiss. Dealing with the

issue of war does not mean that one must glamorize war. I have proposed that war be considered from multiple perspectives: strategy, tragedy, ideology, history, and others.

Instruction

Multiple perspectives serve an important educational objective which extends well beyond the art curriculum. When children are invited to see issues from more than one vantage point, they come to see that there is not a single, right answer to many of the pressing problems which confront humankind. Education involves the empowering of students to become responsible and contributing members of society. When students come to recognize not only the existence of multiple perspectives but their own responsibility to choose and to take a stand on their convictions, then they have truly received an education.

This study is also about the role of self-motivation in art education. Students who take initiative in gaining knowledge are students who may participate in life-long learning. Education should foster curiosity, and support the efforts of students to gain understanding and develop skills beyond those decreed and directed by adults.

Spontaneous drawing invites students to look at the art of their own culture and the cultures of others. Children gain knowledge and build competence in drawing which can

serve as stepping stones to more advanced concepts and skills. I am not suggesting that the instructional methods be abandoned in favor of a laissez-faire approach (which is in fact non-instruction). I am however, suggesting that teachers can come to a greater awareness of spontaneous drawing and a greater recognition of the benefits it contributes to the education of the child.

CHAPTER VII
PREPARING, CONDUCTING, CONCLUDING THE STUDY

Preparing

In this section I outline the steps that had to be taken in order to begin the interviews. Approvals were needed to conduct the study, subjects had to be found, and visits arranged.

Approvals

Before the study could begin, approval had to be gained from a number of individuals and agencies. The study and the questions were scrutinized by my advisor and by members of my committee. The next body to examine it was the Human Subjects Review Committee. Their mandate is to review all research involving human subjects. Children are considered to be subjects more "at risk" than are adults. They examined the study to insure that it met their criteria for value and safety.

The majority of my subjects came as referrals from public school teachers. I will discuss this in more detail shortly. But for the present, teachers were not able to give out the names and phone numbers of students or parents until their own administrative officers had examined and approved

the proposal. Even though there would be no intrusion into the school or disruption of the regular classroom activities, school boards understandably are cautious about divulging information about students.

In order to gain approval for referrals from local school boards, I applied to one large urban and three suburban districts. Each had its own procedure and time frame. I received approvals from three of the four. One suburban district was not able to approve my study. This was not due to any perceived problem of the study itself. Failed levies had placed such demands on the time of committee members that a meeting to consider my study could not be arranged. A teacher who had prepared a list of referrals, was consequently unable to give me that list of names.

When a board approves a study, that in no way obligates building principals or classroom teachers to support the study. It only meant that I could then ask (or they might ask on my behalf). I found no principals or teachers unwilling to participate by giving me referrals. A number of teachers told me they were unable to think of names of current students who do war drawings.

Once a referral had been gained it was necessary, of course, to gain the approval of both the parent(s) and the child.

Finding Subjects

Spontaneous drawing is difficult to find, not because it is necessarily rare but because it is non-institutionalized. It is not part of the formal curriculum in schools. It is there in the cracks and gaps between assignments and classes. It is not highly visible in other formal settings like church or recreation centers either. Spontaneous drawings are done on the back of school worksheets, on the back of children's menus from restaurants, on church bulletins and on available paper in other places where children endure enforced periods of silence. But this is not to suggest that spontaneous drawing is done only when more active and noisy play is not allowed. Much drawing takes place at home on weekends, and at other places and times when active play is very much a possibility. With this in mind it is not surprising that some teachers were not able to recall the names of particular students who do spontaneous war drawing.

The literature on spontaneous drawing (Feinburg, 1975; Wilson and Wilson, 1982; Lark-Horovitz, Lewis and Luca, 1973) indicates that war drawing is done primarily by middle childhood boys. I did not actively seek children older or younger than that. I confined my search to children of elementary school age. And while the literature prepared me to expect that my subjects would be boys, I did not want to foreclose on the possibility that some girls would also

choose war as a subject for their spontaneous drawings. Indeed I would have welcomed such a discovery. Accordingly I produced a handbill which asked teachers of elementary school students to refer any "child" who does war drawings. See Appendix A. for a copy of the handbill.

Through the contacts I had with others in the community, acquaintances asked about the nature of my study. One in particular showed a special interest. Her son is involved in drawing and writing stories about war. He not only agreed to be interviewed, but also gave me the name of a friend who does war drawings. This was an avenue for gaining referrals which I could have pursued further. Several of my subjects knew one another. But I also wanted to find aspects of war drawing common to children who did not have contact with each other.

My contacts at the university also provided some leads. Three students who knew about my study, recommended possible subjects. In one case it was the student's own son who drew pictures about war. With the other two, it was the children of friends. And as has been previously mentioned, one of the subjects is my own son. Six of my subjects then, came from sources other than classroom teachers. The remaining 11 came from 5 public school teachers.

When I first set out to find participants for my study, I was involved in a summer workshop for teachers. There were over one hundred teachers present; they represented a

wide range of schools--rural, suburban, urban, and inner city. I distributed my handbill and made a brief appeal for subjects. A number showed interest, telling me about past students or even their now-adult sons. None however, were able to give me names of present students, perhaps because it was summer or perhaps because I was only one of many speakers they heard over the course of three weeks. Whatever the reason, I received no firm referrals from this group, then or when school resumed after summer vacation.

Another involvement proved a little more fruitful. I spoke on the topic of children's war drawings at a state-wide conference of art educators. A number of those approximately thirty teachers who attended my presentation, also shared stories and experiences with me. And one later phoned to give me names and telephone numbers of two current students who draw war pictures.

The remaining 9 referrals came about through a more lasting relationship. As a supervisor of student teachers, I was a regular visitor in a number of elementary schools. Four teachers kept my handbill by their desk where they would be reminded to look for students who do, or who might do drawings about war. Two teachers observed students with spontaneous drawings about war. Two others gave me names of students they thought might do war drawings. Their reasons for making such a guess will be outlined shortly.

Contacting Referrals

I chose to initiate contact with the parent/guardian of each referred child, by means of a letter. The presence of envelopes and letterhead from the Department of Art Education at the Ohio State University, served three important purposes: The first is that it introduced the project for what it was--a university research project. Secondly it gave some assurance to any parents who might be inclined to caution about persons claiming to be conducting research and who in fact are not. They were able to contact the department if they had any doubts or concerns about the legitimacy of the research or my claims to affiliation with the university. Thirdly it gave families advance notice so they might discuss whether or not they might wish to participate, and it gave them opportunity to prepare questions for me to answer when I made the follow-up phone call a day or so later. There was standard information common to all letters, but each letter was individualized in some ways: each named the child and the teacher who made the referral. Some made reference to contact already made between teacher and parent where such contact had occurred.

One teacher who does not encourage war drawing, and consequently could only guess which students might do war drawings, nevertheless agreed to participate by giving me referrals. He asked me to phrase the letter in such a way as to make it clear that he was not identifying certain

students as "war mongers." In appendix B. is a sample letter. Here I outlined to parents/guardians how it was that the recommendation was made. The letter refers to such indications as: imaginative, adventurous, and showing a keen interest in drawing.

One teacher chose to call parents in advance of my contact. That also helped to reduce some of the doubts and reservations that certain parents had.

With my list of referrals in hand I set about calling the parents of these children. Where teachers had guessed about a child's involvement in war drawings, an important question to ask at the beginning of the conversation was whether or not the child actually does do war drawings. A guide I used in the telephone conversation is shown in appendix C. This provided me with a check list to discuss particular aspects of the study. Of course if the parent stated their child does not do spontaneous war drawings, or they and/or their child was not interested in participating, there was no need to continue and I thanked them for their time. This was the case with 6 of the 11 parents I phoned. For those wishing to hear more, I proceeded with the items more or less as they are outlined in the "script."

One particular item of discussion for some was the honorarium. Most had no objection to my wishing to give their child 5 dollars at the conclusion of each visit as a

way of saying thank you for the time the youngster had taken in participating in the study. Some parents told me this would not be necessary, their child was eager to participate. If it was not necessary but okay to give it, I asked permission to give the honorarium. With two however, the parents did not want me to give the honorarium. In both cases, one or both parents were university professors. One asked that her son be given a copy of one or more chapters of the dissertation. Another child asked that he be given a copy of the summaries I would write based on the interviews I would have with him.

The proposal for this study was written at a time when the world was a relatively peaceful place. As it came time to gain and contact referrals however, Iraq invaded Kuwait. A U.S.-led coalition of forces was engaged in a substantial military build-up in the Persian Gulf in preparation for the liberation of Kuwait. Operation Desert Shield--as that phase of the campaign was called--had begun in earnest. It is against this backdrop that I began contacting teachers and parents to solicit subjects for my study. With pro and anti-war sentiment running high, I was unsure of the reception I would receive. Two parents I contacted gave me a chilly response. One simply said they weren't interested. It would not be useful for me to speculate on possible reasons for the terse response I received. One other parent misunderstood my study and felt that I was promoting fear

among children by asking them to do something they would not want to do--draw about war. I attempted to explain that my study was not intended to initiate war drawing by children. Quite the contrary, the study is an investigation of spontaneous drawing. It seeks to understand those children who engage in this activity without adult direction. I explained that I would not knowingly do anything that would contribute to the stress or anxiety of a child, and that the study has built into it a series of checkpoints or approvals including the parent and child. Where a child is easily frightened, the parent and the child will simply not give their consent. Or having given their consent, the parent or child may withdraw it at any time. I judge this particular parent's criticism to be the result of a misunderstanding of the intentions of the study. I thought my letter was clear, but at least one parent did not understand it or did not read it carefully. I am encouraged however, that there was only one such misunderstanding.

Location of the Study

The children in the study have not had direct experience with war. The objective is to investigate war drawing as it is perceived and practiced by North American children who derive their values, ideas, and imagery from socialization and enculturation. Socialization deals with roles which are learned, such as son or daughter, brother or sister, student, and so forth. Enculturation deals with

learning the language and societal values such as concepts of time, the importance of sharing, and others.

The study was conducted in central Ohio. Two subjects were drawn from a rural area northeast of Columbus. The remaining subjects were from the Columbus area. Franklin County has a population of roughly 1.2 million. Columbus is mainly a service-industry community, although there is some light manufacturing. Many see Columbus as "middle America," representing the norm of American macroculture. Only three of the youngsters participating in the study were born outside of Ohio. They were born in New York, Detroit, and Calgary, Canada.

The Subjects

My initial goal was to find between 8 and 12 children to participate in the study. My expectation was that this would give me a sufficient number to identify those particular patterns which characterize the case. The interview questions and activities are sufficiently complex that I felt there would be little gained by expanding the number of participants.

When my initial attempts to gain referrals were unsuccessful, I began to think I would be doing well if I were to find even 8 children who would participate in the study. So once referrals began to come from classroom teachers through my involvement with student teaching, I determined to take as many subjects as I could possibly

manage. In all there were 18. As the study progressed I began to see this as a better number of participants. It gave me a better feel for the range, and I began hearing many of the same ideas repeated. This gave the study that breadth and depth which gives me greater confidence that I have gained a reliable perspective on the case.

Beyond the sheer numbers of participants, I hoped to find girls as well as boys, and to have representatives from various ethnic and socioeconomic groups. My various contacts however, produced a list of referrals which was not representative of the diversity of cultures in America. To be sure there were some children of working class families, but the majority I would describe as middle class. There were some rural, but the majority were suburban. And there were no children I would describe as inner city. That in itself may be significant. It could be a genre more prevalent among middle class Euroamericans than among other cultural groups. It is beyond the scope of the study to determine the distribution of this phenomenon among the population. An underlying assumption of the study is that war drawing is an activity promoted by popular youth culture. If this is so, we could expect to find war drawings done by children in various ethnic and socioeconomic groups.

I was not expecting to find a balance of boys and girls. One girl was referred to me, but her participation in spontaneous war drawing warranted special attention. This is

because her drawing was more in keeping with drawings done by children who have actually experienced war. Amy's drawings about war began with the commencement of Operation Desert Storm. She did a series of 6 drawings, beginning with the drawing of the family television set and the announcement of war. It ended a short time later with her last drawing resembling those of her older brother. I have included Amy's drawings in chapter XIV where I discuss the impact of the Gulf War and compare these drawings with those from countries where children have had a more direct experience with war. Because of the motivation and the brevity of her spontaneous drawing about war, I did not include Amy in the full interview. I asked her to tell me about her drawings, and I have reproduced more of these than I have for any others of my subjects. Her work is significant and it grows out of a unique situation.

There were 17 children then who participated in the regular study. Those 17 did spontaneous drawings about war before the Gulf War began and continued after it was over. All of these were boys.

Conducting the Study

The First Interview

My visits were scheduled around some very busy home schedules. My second visit with Chad, for example, was sandwiched between his violin lesson and his piano lesson. My visits were set for after school, before dinner, after

dinner, or on weekends. My arrival at the appointed time was met with a range of responses, from excitement to shyness. When I drove up to Brad's, house he had been watching the street from his bedroom window. I was greeted at the door and invited in. As Brad, his mother and I sat at the kitchen table, Brad's mom made a comment to him about the aftershave lotion he had apparently splashed on his face. She waved her arm in the air to disperse the overpowering scent. Brad replied defensively that he only wears aftershave on special occasions. Presumably my visit with the nine-year-old was one of those special occasions. Chad was playing the piano when I arrived to interview him. Chad played his recital piece for me. Jimmy's home has a commanding view of the countryside. He was standing lookout on the deck when I pulled into the driveway of his rural home. Others however, were not so visible. Some were more shy about meeting an adult who had come to see them.

Most had their drawings out for me to see. And we began by looking over the drawings. In each case I asked the young person to choose one drawing he would particularly like to talk about. I chose one as well. While we did this, parents read and signed permission papers from the university.

At times the portfolio included a wide range of material. A.J.'s portfolio included a lot of additional materials such as school assignments in all subject areas. Raymond's portfolio on the other hand consisted only of

spontaneous drawings, and these were dated and grouped by year. Not only were there differences in organization but there were differences in the numbers of drawings as well. Stephen has perhaps 70 drawings reaching back to age 1½. Teddy had only one drawing to show me. He destroys his drawings in the process of making them. When the battle has ended, there are little more than erasures and scribbles visible. He sees no value in keeping the drawing. Teddy's mother had rescued one of these for my visit, and of course there was no choosing to be done with a "portfolio" of one.

The child was the first to choose a favorite drawing for discussion. After he had made his choice, I picked one. My choice was based on several criteria. The first of these was that in my effort to determine the breadth of drawings included in war drawing, I chose a work which was somewhat different from that chosen by the youngster. Where it was evident that the child had developed a series of similar drawings, I judged this to be important to him and accordingly chose one that represented this group. In short, the criteria had to do with exploring the breadth as well as the depth of the genre.

When choosing drawings, I also enquired as to whether or not the drawing had been done for school. When a child chose to talk about one such drawing, I did not disqualify it. There is certainly something to be gained by paying attention to it. However none of the works reproduced in

this text were of that sort. Four boys showed me drawings which were assigned: Josh was invited by his teacher to do a spontaneous drawing. His was one picked by the teacher to be "institutionalized." At the direction of his teacher, Josh used an opaque projector to enlarge his drawing on a poster board. The enlarged drawing was exhibited in the school. A.J. made a book consisting of several drawings. The assignment was to draw outer space, and A.J.'s teacher drew one of the spaceships for him. Scooter was assigned to do a report on President Bush. Scooter learned that Mr. Bush had been a navy pilot in WW II. He also learned that Mr. Bush's plane had been shot down. Scooter drew this event.

In these drawings and others not described here, there is a range of spontaneous or self-directed, to teacher-directed. A more self-directed school project is Scooter's. He selected an episode that was interesting to him and quite like his other drawings of aircraft. A more teacher-directed drawing is that of A.J. whose teacher assigned and even drew part of the picture for him. For purposes of research however it was simply "cleaner" to deal more directly with those works which were free from adult direction.

Looking at the portfolio, discussing particular drawings, and choosing ones for special attention, was a process that helped to form bonds of trust. The child and I became engaged in an activity with an external object, one

with which the child was familiar. The child was soon established as the expert. At this point I could then explain my project. I told them I was from the university. I said I was keenly interested in learning about the war drawings that children make. I was interested in learning things like: where they get their ideas for drawings. I asked if they would be willing to tell me about their drawings.

One further request was that I might audiotape the conversation. I told them the tape recorder helps improve my memory. All children agreed. Once the interview began, children normally seemed undisturbed by the presence of the recorder. For A.J. it proved a minor distraction. He was curious about its various buttons. Teddy became momentarily confused when trying to remember a particular idea, and asked if I would turn off the recorder until he got his information sorted out. One other youngster made reference to the recorder. While doing a war drawing for me in the second interview, Joe included in his drawing, a tape recorder which looks very much like mine.

Any researcher who has used a recorder can probably talk about technical difficulties which had to be overcome. Room noises at times made transcribing difficult. A dishwasher was running while I interviewed Brad. Elliot's dog barking at his pet mouse, briefly obscured voices on the tape. But these and other "challenges" are a small price to

pay for the benefit of gaining such a wealth of data that recorders provide.

Setting

In each interview I asked the parent to choose the location in the home for the interview to take place. Sometimes the drawings were already spread out on the dining room table. Sometimes the parent conferred with the child and a decision was reached. Five interviews took place in the child's room. In each interview I asked children whether or not they had posters, toys, books about war. When the interview was conducted in a child's room, it was easier for him to show me something. And it was possible for me to see these and other things for myself. For example Elliot's room had pictures of fighter jets all over the walls. T.J. had posters of sports figures like Bo Jackson and Joe Montana. Three interviews occurred in the kitchen, 6 in the dining room, and 3 in the living room.

In 3 of those first interviews, parents sat at the table with us. I attribute this primarily to interest but also to their being somewhat protective. These parents tried to be helpful. If their child was having difficulty remembering a specific event, the parent might jog his memory. Sometimes the child would ask the parent to go to another room in order to get a particular toy, poster, or whatever it was he wanted to show me. Parents did well to resist the urge to coach children in their answers. And some

children likely felt more at ease with their parent present. Other parents busied themselves nearby. It was obvious they wanted to hear the questions, and more importantly, the answers. From the occasional chuckle they were unable to suppress, it was evident that they overheard and enjoyed their children's responses. One or both parents of 5 children chose to remain nearby. With 9 children, the parent(s) were busy elsewhere in the house. For some, it was a decision to grant their child a certain measure of independence. For others, there were other children or other matters that needed attention.

This brings me to one other aspect of the setting, the presence of siblings. With 5 children, there were younger or older sisters who either listened to the interview or were at least present in the room. All 5 showed me drawings, gave me drawings, or worked on drawings where I might notice them. I naturally showed an interest in what they were doing, and regretted aloud that time did not permit me to formally interview them about their very fine drawings. From this experience a number of things became clear: One is that singling out a child for attention may affect sibling relationships. Another quite different conclusion is that spontaneous drawing by one child stimulates spontaneous drawing among siblings. In one case, my interview with John, I was able to spend time with his younger sister Amy, whose war drawings I referred to earlier.

Whether the interview took place in the child's room or at the kitchen table, whether the parent was present or absent, whether or not there were siblings present, I trust the parents made the best decisions on behalf of their children. Parents know what circumstances will make their child most comfortable in an interview setting. Though settings varied then, I am convinced that the interview subjects felt secure.

Interview Questions

A complete set of questions is to be found in Appendix D. After giving instructions to the subjects, questions began with simple introductory information. Though they seem clear and straight forward, it was necessary for me to make them clearer at times. When I asked, "Who are the other members of your family?"--some mentioned grandparents and other relatives who don't live at their home. One child began naming the family pets as well. When asked "Where were you born?"--some children gave me the name of a particular hospital. This underscores the advantage of a semi-structured interview. It gave me the opportunity to clarify any questions which may not have been clear to all the children in my study.

Still another advantage is that I was able to ask more open-ended questions and follow promising leads with further questions. Questions about the product began with my simply asking children to tell me about the one drawing they

had picked from the portfolio. At a pause in the description, I would repeat back to children, in my own words, what I understood them to say. This would accomplish several things. First, it would enable me to check my own understanding. Second, I could clarify for later reference by saying such things as "in the lower left corner there is a tank..." Some of the youngsters did not always speak loudly enough or clearly enough to be picked up by the recorder. At such times my repeating the sentence made it possible for me to later know what had been said. Third, it assured the children that I was listening intently to what they were saying.

Categories of Questions

The introductory questions gathered basic information about the child's name, age, grade at school, and so forth. Once this information was gained, I proceeded with the main interview questions. The first category of questions is about the product--the drawings themselves. After learning about the content of the two drawings chosen for discussion, I next asked questions about the process--how the drawings were made. Then I asked questions about their use. Moving still farther from the object, my next questions were intended to gain some understanding of the maker of the drawings. And having asked those questions I took yet another step back from the object to look at cultural influences which relate to the object. Where did the young

person learn about war? Where do the stimuli to make such drawings come from?

Conducting the First Interview

Looking at the sheer number of questions to be covered in the interview, I wondered how long it would take to cover them and whether children would have the patience to do justice to all of them. I am fortunate in many ways to have my son as one of the subjects. I conducted the interview with him first. Knowing him as I do, he would be more direct in telling me if he were tired of answering questions. The whole interview took about 1½ hours. This included the portfolio review but did not include the observational drawing (which I had done on an earlier occasion).

It was clear to me that two sessions would be about right for most children. I restricted my interviews to one hour in almost every case. This enabled me to get through the questions up to the end of "Culture." When I returned for my second visit we finished the interview and did the observational drawing. A number of variables affected the time and how much we accomplished. Some children were very talkative. Chad was especially thorough in answering my questions. On occasion he would stray from the topic, but he was so interesting that I was in no hurry to lead him back to the question. With Chad, we didn't complete the first series of questions until the second interview. Eric, on the other hand, is a shy young man; it was difficult to coax him

to offer more than one-word answers. Jimmy and Todd got through the questions fairly quickly. And as it was a Saturday afternoon, we completed the material normally reserved for the second interview, in the one visit. Had either child showed signs of restlessness I would have made a return visit. The other 14 children I visited twice.

When the interview was concluded I did several things: I explained that it would take 3 or 4 weeks for me to complete my first interviews with all the subjects, transcribe the tapes, and prepare for my return visit. I asked if I might borrow the two (or sometimes three) drawings from the portfolio so that I might photograph and photocopy them. I also told the children what I hoped we would accomplish on that next visit. I said there would be fewer questions, and I would like to see the whole portfolio and watch them work on a drawing. Finally I gave the youngster the honorarium and thanked him for being so patient in answering all my questions.

Between Visits

As soon as possible following the interview, I transcribed the tapes. In some cases that was later the same day. For a few it was 4 or 5 days later. Transcribing the tapes myself, and shortly after the interview, enabled me to remember things of a visual nature. It also enabled me to describe sounds. These add further sense and meaning to particular parts of the tape transcription and are

identified as such by the use of square brackets. Looking over just one transcript I find the following notes: [Teddy grins at this], [Teddy nods "yes"], [Teddy points at the ship on the left], [Teddy makes the sound of someone falling from a great height].

I took slide photographs of the drawings. Where possible, I used a copystand for this purpose. Slides are useful for two purposes: They offer more complete information such as color, and they pick up subtleties such as the faint blue lines of notebook paper. Such reproductions are an aid to research. Second, they are useful in doing presentations. Photocopies however, were a practical solution for meeting the requirements of University Microfilms. They enabled me to expand and reduce. They also allowed me to white out names where children had signed the drawing. This was necessary to preserve the anonymity of participants in the study. And while these photocopies convey a great deal of helpful information, it must be remembered that these reproductions are only shadows of the drawings they represent.

Once the tapes were transcribed, I wrote a summary of the responses. At this point I checked for questions I might have missed. This was also the time to check for understanding. Any part of the response which might not have been clear could be targeted for further questions at the

second interview. A simple example should suffice. When asking Eric what others say about his drawings, he replied "usually they say--oh that's bad--." The context suggested favorable comments but the quote appeared to be negative. On the second visit I asked Eric to help me understand that. Eric explained that "bad" is an expression that means "good."

Some ethnographers will have their subjects read the summaries to check for accuracy. I felt this would be asking too much of my interviewees, some of them second-graders. Instead I opted for a test of the system. One of the fourth-graders whose parents are university researchers, asked to be given a summary of our interview. I gave John a copy and read it to him as he listened carefully. I invited him to interrupt me in order to make comments where he found the summary to be inaccurate. Keeping in mind the rather large number of questions and that this was a summary of an hour-long interview, there were few revisions needed. Let me review them here. John had preferred to use the word "battle" rather than "war." Twice in the summary I used the word "war." John corrected me and was right to do so. I had reported that John makes his favorite team win the battle. On occasion however, John has them lose. He had said this, but in the process of reducing a complex interview to a summary, I left this out. Again John was correct in drawing

this to my attention. And at the end of the interview, John suggested 5 occupations he might be interested in pursuing: scientist, military pilot, FBI agent, CIA agent, policeman. I reported only the first 4 of these in the summary. John noted the omission of the fifth. The remaining points involved John's wish to add information to the record, information not given in the first interview, or not clearly expressed. None of these additions altered the thrust of his ideas.

In my judgment then, the test of the system proved that my summaries were reasonably accurate. And bearing in mind the burden it would have imposed on other children who had already patiently provided information through an hour-long session, I felt justified in "policing" my own summaries.

Second Interview

On my return visit, the setting was generally more comfortable for the child. We had established a rapport and a routine. When I arrived for my second visit with Scooter, he was seated at the table with drawings spread out. Scooter's mother told me that Scooter was ready, and "my chair" was waiting.

We began our second session with my returning the drawings I had borrowed. I then asked the questions I had prepared while writing the transcript and summary of the

first visit. Next we looked at the portfolio. The specific questions that I asked can be found in appendix D.

The final phase of the interview involved the observational drawing. My instructions to the subject were as follows. "I have now had the opportunity to see a number of the war drawings you do. But I have never actually watched you do a drawing. Would you do a drawing while I watch? And may I keep the drawing when I leave? It isn't necessary that you finish. I am asking young people to draw for 15 minutes. It is alright if you finish before that time. If it will take longer, then you may take a little longer. This isn't a test, I simply want to see how you make your drawings. Draw as you normally would if I weren't here. If you need anything--toys, books, other drawings--please get them. I have a drawing pad and pencil which you are welcome to use. However if you have other drawing materials and paper you would rather use, please feel free to get them."

When the drawing began I observed and made notes. I wrote about the setting, the use of external reference materials, the sequence of additions, and observations related to time (the duration of the drawing, pauses and so forth). I also noted the mood of the child as judged by comments, sounds, poses, and gestures.

Once the drawing was finished or the drawing activity was terminated, I asked the child to tell me briefly what was included in the drawing. I asked questions to help me identify each part. Some additional questions from the "product" section of the interview questions were also asked, where these seemed necessary to further my understanding of the events on the page.

The portfolio review and the observational drawing contributed to the process of triangulation. For example, the child would have told me in the first interview, how he makes a drawing. Evidence to support this could be seen in drawings in the portfolio which confirmed, modified, or extended that information. Watching a drawing being made, further contributed to that process. Information gathered from several sources enabled me to check the validity of my findings.

Concluding the Second Interview

The final order of business was to choose an assumed name. Many researchers simply assign new names to their subjects when writing the research. I wanted to give young people the opportunity to pick their own alternate names. Some had no hesitation whatever. They accepted my two simple rules: that it be a believable name for someone in the study, and that it be a name that no other subject had in real life or had picked as an assumed name.

Some children asked why it was necessary to use a name other than their real name. This was a difficult question to answer. The explanation I gave attempted to deal with the question on two fronts: The first was to show that it was acceptable to have an assumed name. Actors like Michael J. Fox become Alex Keaton in the television series Family Ties, and Marty McFly in the movie Back to the Future. The second front was to explain the necessity for using an assumed name in terms of rules. Some people in some kinds of research studies do not feel comfortable if they know their real names will be used, and so it has become a rule that all subject's names will be changed. Admittedly this was not a very satisfying answer, but with the few children who wondered why they couldn't just use their real names, parents helped explain it to them. Still, most children rather liked the idea of being able to pick a name for themselves.

By all indications the young people I interviewed seemed to enjoy the process. John and Amy's father told me that the children had asked if I could come over every night. At the conclusion of my visits some children wanted to share other accomplishments with me or show me cherished possessions. A.J. showed me his collection of Ninja Turtle action toys. Between interviews, most youngsters had done more drawings which they brought out to show me. Buddy had

told his friends about the interview, and one of these friends gave Buddy a photocopy of one of his war drawings, asking Buddy to give it to me. There were other indications as well that the children were excited about the visits.

For parents too there had been advantages. Three parents told me in advance of the interview that their sons were somewhat shy. They saw the interview as a good experience for their children as it gave the youngsters an opportunity to relate to an adult. Parents also learned things about their children through listening to the interview. A researcher asks questions the parent might not think to ask. As a result of the interview then, parents gained new insights into the interests and ideas of their children. Those parents who joined us or sat nearby, evidently enjoyed their child's contributions. Some could not suppress their admiration. Josh's mom at one point in the interview said "do you see how his mind is always at work?" For some parents there was relief. Several told me they weren't entirely sure what to make of their child's interest in war. When she learned how widespread war drawing is among middle childhood boys, Nate's mother said "I'm relieved to find I'm not raising a fascist." As I was leaving Scooter's home, his mother thanked me "for making Scooter feel special."

The Key Informant

Not only was Stephen one of the interview subjects, but he also played another, larger role in the study. I made field notes based on observations of aspects of life that seem to contribute to his interest and involvement in war drawing. The journal covers a ten-month period. I observed his drawing activity, his individual and group play, the television programs he watched, toys he bought or asked for, and so forth. A sample entry dated July 13, 1990 reads "Stephen watched the television presentation Prince Caspian and the Voyage of the Dawn Treader (from C. S. Lewis' book). While the program was in progress, Stephen got a piece of paper and drew a battle involving a dragon. The idea (for the drawing) came directly from the television program, though in Stephen's drawing there are differences: The dragon torches a house and is shot with numerous arrows. The dragon bleeds from his wounds."

The opportunity to observe such influences on a daily basis provided an important perspective. And the record-keeping extended beyond field notes: I collected Stephen's drawings, and I photographed the more visual aspects of his interests such as the weapons he found or made, the costumes he wore in play, or the arm loads of books about war that Stephen brought home from the library. We have kept many of Stephen's drawings from his earliest named scribbles. This

more complete portfolio also aided me in finding indications and themes which ultimately led to his present interest in war drawing.

My key informant was not only a subject I could observe more closely, he also helped me to understand popular culture, its language, and its influences. Many, if not all of my subjects, talked about Nintendo interactive computer games. I have never played a Nintendo game but Stephen has. When I asked him a question about a particular game, Stephen went to his room and brought out an illustrated book that provided the answer to my question. Stephen was similarly able to answer questions about Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, G.I. Joe vehicles, and other aspects of popular culture.

Concluding the Study

Reporting the Findings to Contributors

At my first contact with the parents of prospective subjects I offered to return when the study was completed, to share my findings with them and their children. By this I mean that I offered to let them know what I have learned about war drawings and the children who make them. To all the children who participated, I gave a collection of photocopied drawings representing each of the 18 participants. I used these to talk with children and their parents about what I have found in conducting the study. I also shared with them what I believe to be the implications

of the study. And I provided one further body of information--how the drawings and question responses of the particular child I was visiting, were like those of the group, and in what ways the drawings and responses were unique. This feedback was not intended to be evaluative but rather descriptive. Most parents expressed keen interest in getting this information; one even asked for my home address in Canada, and good-naturedly threatened to "track me down" if I should fail to return with this information.

Others who have contributed in one form or another have asked for written feedback. One school district administrator who granted me permission to seek referrals from teachers in her district, asked that I send a copy of the final chapter to the district office. This administrator also had suggestions for further research I might do in the district, an offer I had to decline.

Several authors and agencies who granted me permission to reproduce images from their texts also wanted a copy of the dissertation when completed. CUSO, for example, allowed me to reproduce drawings from its exhibition catalogue Disrupted Lives. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art allowed me to reproduce a print by Kathe Kollwitz. It too asked for copies of the dissertation. Each has its own agenda, and feedback is an important part of the study.

Several parents also had suggestions for me concerning publishing the findings. Nate's mother suggested I publish the findings in a popular magazine such as Psychology Today. Scooter's mother felt that if I were to publish a book, it would probably attract a wide audience. All of this drives home the responsibility of a researcher to those who made the research possible, and to a much wider community as well.

CHAPTER VIII

DRAWINGS ABOUT WAR: EXAMPLES AND CATEGORIES

Introduction

In collecting war drawings, certain categories seemed to emerge. These were suggested to me by the children themselves. Those categories include: plans of war, vehicles of war, warriors, and action. One further category is in fact a sub-category of action: This is extensions in time and space, multiple page drawings which several children referred to as continuation drawings.

In this section I will show examples of each, the largest group being the action drawings. The descriptions I provide are largely summarized from descriptions given by the children who drew them, though I will add my own observations about these works.

Plans of War

Perhaps the least common type of war drawing is that which deals with the plans of war. Typically these are aerial views. They can be maps or layouts of fortifications. They may show the deployment of troops and weapons, geographical features of the landscape, and so forth.

Figure 14.

Chad calls his drawing a map. We see land forms surrounded by water. In the lower right is a narrow channel. This connects with a horseshoe-shaped inland waterway. Six wedge-shaped boats float in this waterway. Chad offers a legend in the upper left to explain the various symbols he has used. A.F. is air force. Four kinds of aircraft are shown. From left to right these are: planes that have two propellers on each wing, jets, helicopters, and helicopters with two rotors. Camp is a military base. Mav refers to rifles that can have bayonets fitted to them. T.K. identifies a tank. B.K. is a breaker or steel lock. When these are closed, ships are unable to move through the narrow channel to the inland waterway. They open when the correct password is used. T.S. is a tower. BOOMS are explosions caused by rockets and Scuds. B.S. stands for bomb. K.S. is an aircraft carrier which Chad calls a "kaser." A.F.P. indicates a place for air force pilots. I understand this to be an air force landing strip. M.S. is a mountain.

With the legend explained, it is possible to see the topography and the deployment of armaments. In the upper right, for example, 12 aircraft fly southward over open water. Just right of center is an arrowhead shape which contains a great concentration of forces. This area is a U.S. base where Iraqi troops are invading. Chad brings us

into the action in a companion drawing (figure 37) which will be discussed later.

Figure 15.

Also inspired by the Gulf War is this map drawn by Brad. Both this and Chad's map are largely invented. Both boys have only a vague idea of the geography of the region. This is a map of Iraq. Brad's original plan was to add pieces of paper to extend the drawing: one to show Kuwait, another to show Saudi Arabia, and a third to show Baghdad.

Identifying various forces is difficult in such drawings. Brad calls upon color and words to aid that process. In the lower right is an "enemy" [sic] airport. A tank above is also identified this way. "Marines" and "navy base" identify U.S. bases. These are further identified by the colors yellow and orange. Blue and green indicate enemy strongholds. At the center of this map is an "ocean." A bridge spanning the ocean has been partially destroyed. And in the lower left, a Tomahawk missile moves to intercept an incoming Scud missile.

Figure 16.

Joe's view from above is not as distant. And apart from the cactus in the lower left, there is no reference to geography. We are shown a U.S. military camp in the enclosure. Outside are enemy forces.

The rectangular enclosure is a force field. Within it, in the upper left, is a mound with a tunnel. By means of

this tunnel, soldiers can pass safely underneath the force field and exit at the arcs above. The U.S. flag flies on the left and the flag of Ohio on the right. Above and to the right is a communications tent with antennae. Other tents are designated as sleeping quarters for the troops. Weapons are everywhere. There is a missile launcher, missiles, a cannon, mortars, and branch-shaped machine guns. Outside the enclosure is a rectangular supply building on the right and a long tent on the left. The enemy has its own weapons including more branch-like machine guns. The most sinister of enemy weapons is the rocket-shaped object at the bottom. It pumps lethal gas towards the enclosure in an attempt to kill those inside.

Joe's drawing is a mixture of fantasy and reality. His force field protects those within the camp. Anyone attempting to walk through it would die. In laying out the scene however, Joe has shown an awareness of military preparation which extends beyond weaponry. Provisions, communications, and medical facilities have been included in the design.

Figure 17.

In John's drawing there is action. Nevertheless many of the same characteristics of maps can be found. Whole armies are shown from above. Their location on the hilly terrain is shown. In the interests of presenting so much, John has found it necessary to reduce his soldiers to dots. Tanks and

aircraft are similarly reduced to symbols. Fighter aircraft are distinguished from bombers by size and shape. Color was employed to code the two sides. In the lower right is what John confessed to be an unrealistic part. Figures fight on a rope bridge which extends over a lava pit. However there are also aspects of the drawing in which symbols and realism must cooperate. When a bomb explodes among the clustered dots of an army of soldiers, John recognizes that there would be no way to represent a dot as a casualty. To resolve this problem he turns those victims into stick figures, hurled into the air by the force of the blast.

In drawings such as this, John makes decisions about the placement of troops and military equipment. Having only 2 countries, makes this one of his simpler battles. John told me he has had as many as 5 countries warring on a single page. Here more than ever, color would play an important role in distinguishing one cluster of dots from another.

While it is difficult to reach conclusions based on only four drawings, there are several points suggested by these. Maps seem to be a supplement to action. They are a mix of fact and fiction. And yet they seem to lend legitimacy to action drawings by providing a context for the war. In these drawings the children also take a more managerial role. They take the role of strategist or general in determining plans.

Vehicles of War

Many youngsters pride themselves on their knowledge about the armaments of war, and in particular the vehicles of modern combat. Like knowing the batting averages of baseball players, being able to draw the vehicles and even to list their specifications and capabilities is important to some. What seems the aim of these drawings is an identification with power. This is not the overt use of power as we find in action drawings, but rather it is power held in check. It is enough simply to display the potential.

Figure 18.

Eric has drawn aircraft for two years. In his portfolio were 35 drawings of this subject, and this is only a portion of his total production over that time. This particular World War II plane is a Boeing B-17 "Flying Fortress." He has committed features of these aircraft to memory and does not need to refer to external reference materials in order to draw them. Eric likes the appearance of the aircraft of this era and rarely draws modern aircraft.

In his effort to make the drawing look more accurate, Eric employs a ruler to draw straight lines. But there are also departures, or perhaps they should be called enhancements, to these carefully engineered drawings. Eric has added more turrets and guns. The aircraft is fairly bristling with them. Presumably these increase the potency

or the defensive capability of the "fortress." Like a mechanical porcupine, there are no unprotected areas.

Figure 19.

Like Eric, Josh has numerous variations of this subject. Josh is quite able to talk about how his tanks have improved. Earlier tanks had wheels, and Josh colored in solidly around them. Then he began drawing smaller wheels and added further details like the black dots for bolts. This idea occurred to Josh when he saw lug nuts on the wheels of a truck. Each time he draws it, he finds ways of improving it. This tank is easily identified as American by the three flags it carries. The upper portion of the tank has a camouflage pattern.

Besides its weaponry, the tank displays another, more active capability. It traverses some difficult terrain. This modern day tank moves down a rather steep hill. It is engaged in maneuvers--taking up positions for Operation Desert Storm which was soon to begin.

Figure 20.

A.J. evidently was pleased with his helicopter. He had two such drawings. This one was done on a scrap of pink paper. The details he has added, contribute to its effectiveness as a fighting helicopter. A gun protrudes from the front. Below is a cluster of lights. There are pontoons and camouflage markings. A star and "U.S.A." identify it as American.

When the vehicle is the sole subject of a drawing, the child can give this kind of care to develop it. When these same vehicles appear in action drawings however, certain shortcuts are usually taken. In his drawing (figure 33) done more than a month later, there is a smaller and simpler helicopter in the lower left. A.J. pointed out that it wasn't as good as this one.

Figure 21.

This drawing of Buddy's also has a helicopter. But from our conversation it became apparent that the real object of Buddy's interest is the vehicle below. It is similar to a large toy he owns called "Rolling Thunder." But there are differences between the drawing and the toy. Buddy has added more missiles. At the back of the vehicle is an exhaust pipe and an anchor. There are also tail fins like like those on superhero Batman's famous car, the Batmobile. Forward projections on the vehicle are missiles and guns. Wishing to fill in all available space, Buddy added some things that "looked neat." The purpose or practical function he determined later. The grid at the back, for example, may be "a jail or something."

Buddy added the helicopter because the drawing was too empty with just the truck. The palm tree and the sun were added as props. There appears to be action, with a missile located between the helicopter and the truck. Buddy explained that the helicopter and the truck are on the same

side. The missile was fired by an enemy not shown in the drawing. It seems as though the missile is more properly treated as another prop, it adds some drama and fills a space in the composition. But the drawing is primarily about a powerful and futuristic vehicle rather than about action.

Figure 22 A.

Aircraft in general seem to be very popular. Raymond's helicopter is one of his own designs. He calls this "Red Lightning." During the portfolio review Raymond showed me similar drawings, one called "White Lightning" and another "Blue Lightning." The drawing of the Red Lightning helicopter has been given a name. Raymond calls it The Unstopable Terminator."

To more fully display its weaponry and other special features, Raymond has included writing: the top speed is given and we read that it is bulletproof.

Figure 22 B.

Much more information is provided on the back of the drawing. For easy identification Raymond has numbered the parts. Thirteen of the 16 features are weapons.

Warriors

In dealing with the warriors, we come close to another genre--that of superheroes. The genres may be similar, but several of my subjects made a distinction. Raymond, for example, refers to the currently popular Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, as street fighters. He does not consider them

soldiers. John made a distinction as well between the actions of police in fighting crime, and soldiers fighting a war. And while Raymond and John might draw street fighting or police pursuing criminals, they do not consider them to be war drawings.

Figure 23.

Perhaps the closest figure to a superhero is this drawing by T.J. Both figures--Timber and Lord Lion--were drawn on the same page. In reproducing them I have moved them closer together, reducing much of the white space between them. There is no interaction however, between these mortal enemies. T.J. doesn't draw these figures actually fighting. Instead, he and his older brother pretend to be good guys like Timber. And they pretend to fight bad guys like Lord Lion. They do this in active play.

T.J. refers to these imaginative warriors as "mutants." The wolf hunters and the cat hunters were frozen in ice during the Ice Age. In recent times the ice melted and the two forces have returned to warring. The cat hunters rob from humans and destroy property. The wolf hunters try to prevent them from doing such things. Lord Lion is the leader of the cat hunters. He has awesome capabilities. You would be electrocuted if you were to touch his electrically charged mane. Across his chest is a belt of grenades. In one hand he carries an uzzi, in the other a super blackhawk--a handgun so powerful its bullets could "tear through a water

buffalo and keep going." Around his waist is a belt which has holsters for his guns and holds a machete besides. Timber is also armed and dangerous. He has a bow with arrows, a baretta, and killing darts and throwing knives. Throwing knives are like those Rambo uses--knife blades without handles. He also has a pack which contains other essentials: matches, grenades, smoke bombs.

Other imaginary creatures are also invented by T.J. and his brother. Each has unique characteristics and capabilities. With each it is sufficient merely to display these on paper. Like the vehicles with specifications outlined and arsenal displayed, the theme appears to be one of potency.

Figure 24.

Perhaps the uniformity and anonymity of modern warriors leaves few identifiable heroes. For those who want to portray the individual warrior, stepping forward into futuristic fantasy or back into legend is a means of finding such heroes. Apart from the Rambo drawings, I found no modern day warrior who could be named. And those drawings all showed him in action--a topic I will discuss later. The Middle Ages is one era of history which seems to be characterized by popular culture as a time of heroes and heroic deeds. Whether fighting dragons, rescuing fair maidens, or laying siege to castles, there is much material to satisfy a thirst for adventure. Buddy has drawn a knight,

set for battle. At the moment the medieval warrior is not actively engaged in combat. Though this is not King Arthur, Buddy saw this knight in a book about King Arthur and the knights of the round table. He copied it freehand. He did not copy the other knights in the illustration, only this one. And he added the castle walls.

Figure 25.

Again this fighting man is no one we would know. He is an American paratrooper. Scooter shows us the close-cropped side of an aircraft. In the upper right is a wing with propeller. Like the soldiers' uniforms, the plane has camouflage markings. A paratrooper has just leaped from the open door of the aircraft, and another paratrooper is about to jump. Scooter shows his knowledge of parachutes in the details he provides. A parachute below, for example, has a smaller chute which pulls the larger chute from its pack. The drawing isn't quite finished. That is why a distant parachute left of center has no paratrooper harnessed to it. Scooter reported this to be a training mission. This is the reason a soldier can jump without weapon or helmet. Instead he carries a U.S. flag. Perhaps that also explains why the paratrooper appears to be smiling so broadly. No danger awaits below, and it would probably be fun to jump with a parachute.

This soldier is not simply presented to us for inspection, he is engaged in limited action. The drawings

which follow however, might be described as having action as their real subject. There is active combat, and the action is normally viewed from a distance so as to get everything in.

Action

Action drawings are "full of sound and fury." And I submit that they are "signifying" something. Many of the action drawings involve a complex interaction among participants.

Figure 26.

All but one drawing in this section include action on the ground (or water) and in the air, involving aircraft of some kind. The one exception is a war between cavalry and Indians. For obvious reasons, aircraft would be out of place here.

John's drawing is typical. Iraqi ground forces are on the left; U.S. forces are on the right. More precisely, the midway point in the line of soldiers marks the division between the two opposing armies. With the horizon being the base line of the page, the upper portion would be very empty indeed. Aircraft provide a satisfactory means of filling that space with action. There is action between Iraqi aircraft (also on the left) and U.S. aircraft (on the right), and between air and ground forces. John shows his knowledge of weaponry by the variety of armaments he includes in his drawing. There are Stealths, B-52's,

Exocets, Tomahawks, flares (meant to divert heat-seeking missiles), and so forth. John is quick to explain apparent and real deviations from fact. One missile fired from the tank on the right, for example, does not follow a straight path. This is because the anti-missile missile has a homing device and is locked onto an incoming missile which it will intercept. John explained too that he knows Stealths have 8 engines. But because he couldn't fit all 8 on the Stealth, he imagines that the other 4 are on the bottom and so hidden from view.

Battle has just been joined. So far only 2 planes and a tank have been destroyed. Action drawings such as this are rarely seen to contain a whole battle. John has drawn two missiles headed off the page to the left. Possibly they will strike Iraqi military targets such as a chemical weapons store.

Figure 27.

Some of the same ideas can be found in this drawing by a younger child. Todd's tank on the left is more the product of his imagination. It has a covering of spikes to protect it from attackers. Joining the tank is a bigfoot truck. Such vehicles, more at home in auto shows than battle grounds, nevertheless seem powerful in their own right. The truck faces left, its exhaust pipe pointing towards the lower right corner. Completing the trio of vehicles in this drawing is a helicopter which has crashed into the bigfoot.

The cracked glass of its cockpit seems to be the major damage it has sustained.

In Todd's drawing it is the ground forces which are the good guys. The aircraft is the bad guy. Once again there are narrative aspects of this drawing which could not be fully known by examining the product alone. Todd said that the tank is shooting at the helicopter. A bad guy stands in the entrance of the helicopter, returning the fire. In the doorway of the bigfoot is a man who realizes he has forgotten his gun and is going back inside to fetch it. Dangling from the rotor of the helicopter is another good guy who was apparently caught by the blade. The action continues, and even Todd doesn't know how it will end. For Todd, as for many who draw war, the outcome is not as important as the action.

Figure 28.

Raymond did this drawing two years prior to "Red Lightning." This is at least one of the reasons that the helicopter in this drawing is much less sophisticated. Here is a hero figure we would recognize--Rambo. Based on the movies starring Sylvester Stallone, Rambo is in Vietnam trying to free American prisoners of war. With fewer characters, it becomes possible to add speech balloons. Dialogue is kept to a minimum however. Warriors shout commands to "freeze" or "drop your weapon." And of course Rambo lets loose a primeval yell as he shoots enemy

soldiers. As it was a while ago that Raymond did this drawing, he isn't entirely certain who is on which side. However he thinks Rambo is supported by two friends, one in a helicopter and one in a plane. Behind and in front of Rambo are enemy soldiers.

Figure 29.

A number of Stephen's wars happen in other times and places. He has drawn battles between knights in Medieval Europe, Samurais in 19th century Japan, the American Revolution, the American Civil War, and futuristic wars in outer space. Here the war takes place in the American west. Indians attack a U.S. cavalry fort. The Indians are attacking because the soldiers stole some of their horses. This is why three Indians don't have mounts. The Indians are winning. A soldier in the tower has been hit with an arrow and clutches his chest. All the soldiers are shooting at the Indian who is firing the flaming arrows. The doorway has been burned, so a soldier--his own hat on fire--stands guard to prevent attackers from entering the fort.

Like John, Stephen uses the base line as a horizon. In order to use the upper area of the drawing, Stephen added upper levels to the fort. He also planted a tree and placed an Indian strategically (and precariously) in the upper branches.

Figure 30.

A number of the drawings shown thus far have presented war by representing two opposing forces. These forces occupy the left and right of the page. Jimmy arranges his opposing forces using a front to back organization. A high horizon is then needed in order that the distant army can be seen. The viewer is less the spectator and more a participant with such an organization. We take sides in the conflict, and we dodge bullets headed in our direction.

Jimmy places us with the American troops. In the distance are Iraqis. To the right, a U.S. soldier has just thrown a grenade and blown up an Iraqi tank (upper right). In the upper left a U.S. warplane attacks the Iraqi position. The air is filled with bullets and grenades. Several of those hit are in dramatic poses and they drop their machine guns. The U.S. captain, his body cropped by the bottom of the page, brandishes two pistols. Amid the violence there is humor. The soldier to the right of the captain is calling for quiet. This, just after he has thrown a grenade; the pin is still in his hand. At the same time his pistol accidentally discharges, hitting an Iraqi who had been standing near the tank. Jimmy chuckles at the soldier calling for silence while throwing a very noisy grenade. And he is amused that a weapon accidentally fired, would hit an enemy.

Figure 31.

The drawing is of a MASH helicopter in the Korean War. Nate learned about the Korean war through watching the television program MASH. Nate told me that MASH stands for Mobile Army Surgical Hospital. Written on the helicopter is "11.80H - MASH 4077 - U.S. Army." Below and behind the helicopter are areas colored white; this is the air turbulence caused by the helicopter as it lands to evacuate the wounded. U.S. forces are carrying out an attack on a Korean base. In the upper right are Korean military vehicles (bearing the letter "C" for Korean). These have been dropped by parachute to reinforce the Korean ground forces which are losing.

American troops have blown up a staircase in the lower right, thereby cutting off the Korean escape. Other elements are reduced to symbols. Fighter planes are drawn as cross shapes. Directly over the helicopter is a large U.S. bomber. Arrow symbols represent missiles. "V" shapes describe explosions. Three pieces of construction paper have been taped onto the drawing as flaps. Below the "4077" is a U.S. flag that has been shot full of holes. Above and to the right is a triangle. This is another flag being lowered to replace the damaged one. In the lower left corner is an addition quite different from the other two. This, Nate described as an area where American troops had dug foxholes. Korean troops fired but the Americans ducked. What we see

are black dots. These bullet holes Nate called "lucky misses."

Such explanations are necessary in order to grasp the meaning of such a work. Nate's ideas race beyond his ability to represent them in images that would be widely recognizable. Coding by means of symbols becomes the way Nate and others choose to represent their complex imagery and action.

Figure 32.

Nate thinks Underwater Battle would be a good title. This Korean War episode involves submarines. Soviets and Americans are allied against the North Koreans. Entering the picture in the lower right is a Soviet sub. In the lower center is a large U.S. sub called "The Shark." It is nuclear-powered and bears the identification "U.S.S. 10 WAY." A smaller U.S. sub in the upper right has fired a laser-guided torpedo at a small Korean sub on the left. And in the upper left is a battleship which also serves as a medical ship, taking care of the wounded. Choppy waves run along the top of the picture, and below the surface the sea is alive with submarines, torpedoes, depth charges, dust particles, and other things natural and man-made.

Figure 33.

No less involved is this imaginary war between dogs and cats. The cats are recognizable by their dark bodies and fluffy tails. Dogs are natural enemies of cats. This war

began when dogs tried to kill the leader cat. Then other cats (and one tough dog) came to his rescue. The dog who has allied himself with the cats, is presented in the upper left. With one hand (or paw), he holds onto a rope. With the other he shoots a super gun. This remarkable weapon simultaneously shoots bullets (small circles), laser beams (dashes), and grenades. In A.J.'s words, the dog has "a ton of weapons." Many of these are martial arts types of weapons; they are arranged in his belt, secured to his back, or conveyed in a golf bag. In talking about them, A.J. identified each weapon by its proper name.

By all indications the dog is an adventurer and a tough guy: He sports a Mohawk haircut, an earring, and tattoos. He bears the marks of previous skirmishes: He has a bandaid, stitches, and pieces are missing from his ear. Through his sharp teeth he laughs a diabolical laugh.

The three horizontal lines behind him are electrical wires. Several cats have parachuted from an overhead plane, and one has been electrocuted by the wires. Above the U.S.A. blimp is a dog who has been stabbed. Dogs in the blimp shoot at cats, and cats shoot back. One dog foolishly shoots a hole in the balloon, laughing as he does. From a high rise building on the right, from a helicopter, and from a rope suspended from the blimp, the action is intense.

Figure 34.

Josh's drawing shows only vehicles--futuristic ones. Much of the imagination in this drawing is invested in the invention of so many different craft. A further complication is that there are not 2 but 3 forces involved in the fighting. One force is easily recognized, the black ships with bracket-like shields or wings. These are uniformly alike. The other ships however, are unique in design. Here Josh applied markings to the exterior surface to aid in identification. The defenders are distinguished by a wide dark stripe flanked by two smaller stripes. The insignia on the invasion force is a cross within a circle. The black craft are a complicating distraction more than they are an invasion force. Nevertheless all three teams war against each other.

Ships of the "stripe" force are raised hydraulically from underground hangars, and are launched to join the fray. A ground vehicle on the right is also actively involved. The broken lines identify gunfire, drawn with an almost mathematical precision.

Figure 35.

With the help of a friend, Stephen drew this air and sea battle between the Soviets and the Americans. Though relations between the two superpowers were warming at this time, it still seemed easier to imagine these two nations at war than any other two.

Occupying center stage is a Soviet ship. American jets and paratroops attack the ship and are taking heavy losses. Two American casualties are on the left side of the boat, trails of blood turning into spidery lines as they reach the water. The Soviets have difficulties too. Just below the water line is a gaping hole that has been blasted by an American submarine, itself damaged by an explosion. In the lower right corner is a giant squid with one tentacle grasping the stern of the ship and another the sub. Two U.S. divers attempting to plant a bomb under the ship, are about to be challenged by two Soviet divers, one carrying a spear gun. It does not seem to bother Stephen to add American biplanes from an earlier era. Eight of these approach from the upper right.

Stephen's account of the action is more complete than what I have provided here. He talks about the submarine commander struggling to aim his missiles. He tells how it came to be that there is an empty parachute and harness. Another sub is hidden from view in the lower left corner. A complex narrative accounts for actions which preceded and those which will follow the events shown on the page. For much of the narrative the evidence is present in the drawing. But without the verbal accompaniment, some aspects of the drawing would remain a closed book to the viewer.

Figure 36.

Yet another chain of events unfolds in Chad's drawing. Effectively he compresses a great deal of time into this single frame. Chad does not imagine that all of this happens simultaneously.

Iraqi forces occupy the left, U.S. the right. Originally only a narrow channel separated these forces, but bombardment with atom bombs from the American side has reduced the once smooth-surfaced cliff to jagged mounds and hollows. To aid in identifying the forces, Chad has used a gray marker to draw the Iraqis. The U.S. soldiers and equipment are more colorful, drawn with blue, green, tan, and yellow.

Among the more novel aspects of the drawing is a treasure vault in the cliff on the American side. The entrance passage has been filled with rock. Further security is provided by laser beams drawn as webbed lines in the vault. Iraqi guns across the channel join their fire in a single stream, pounding at the rock-filled passageway. Should they succeed in breaking through to the gold, the laser beams in the chamber will shoot out the passage and destroy the whole cliff on the left. The complex interaction of who shoots whom, is again too involved to fully report here. One example should suffice. Just left of center is an ascending jet. From its vapor trail we see it has just come from behind the cliff on the left. Its nose has been hit by

fire from a jet in the upper right. Its wing has been hit by streams of bullets from a jet below. The pilot has bailed out of his disabled aircraft; as he parachutes, he shoots his revolver at the jet which did the more serious damage. Waiting below to rescue the pilot is a submarine with life raft tethered behind.

Each part of the drawing seems to have a role to play. Each part is connected both physically and in terms of the developing story line.

Figure 37.

Another drawing by Chad also contains a complex series of actions and consequences, and of course violence. This is an enlargement of the arrowhead-shaped U.S. base on the map (figure 14). Iraqi troops on the right, attack a U.S. base on the left. Iraqi soldiers dig tunnels, plant bombs, and detonate them, destroying U.S. equipment. A weapon can do an amazing amount of damage. In this drawing an Iraqi soldier was standing on the edge of the cliff. He fired his weapon at the plane. The bullets tore through the wing, passed beyond and ricocheted off the brick wall of the hangar. Bouncing back, they then struck a grenade, causing an explosion just to the right of the building. Continuing back, the bullets again passed through the jet and changed course. They slammed into the cliff less than halfway up, tearing a trench through the cliff and causing an avalanche

in the vertical tunnel where an Iraqi soldier is now trapped.

The nose of the damaged plane is yet another "bullet story." Its bullets knocked the corner off the cliff and continued out of the page where they struck a mountain. The result was that four boulders of varying sizes flew from right to left across the page. The largest of these will fall behind the helicopter, but the middle-sized boulder will land directly on the helicopter, crushing it. And still there is more to tell. Chad recognizes that bullets don't do all this in real life. But in his drawings they can perform even more impossible feats. In Chad's drawing, a guy can shoot off the page to the right, and the bullet can enter on the left (presumably after circling the globe). Putting sunglasses on the sun, is another example of the playfulness Chad brings to drawing.

Extensions in Time and Space

For some children the limitation of a single page restricts their efforts to satisfactorily report events as they unfold over time. And it does not provide sufficient space to describe all of the equipment and personnel. For some children, additional pages are added.

Figure 38 A.

One of the simpler examples of time continuation is this pair of drawings by Stephen. A number of things happen

in the first drawing, the results of which are shown in the second. In the first drawing an enormous vehicle (compared with the ant-sized soldiers which are the same distance from us) launches a missile at the enemy across the page.

Figure 38 B.

In the second drawing the vehicle has continued its progress towards the left; the missile as well, continues its flight. In the first, we see a warplane from a peace-keeping force. In the second, it dives to follow its bomb which is intended to detonate landmines.

Like Chad, the strategy and intrigue of underground tunnels is included in the drawing. A tunnel has been dug from right to left. A chamber in the middle is where the general operates a command post. Further along the passage, explosives have been set. These will be detonated under the enemy position. Above ground, just to the right of the explosives, a doctor administers medical care to an injured soldier.

In the second drawing we see the explosion and the destruction caused by it. Smoke fills the passage to where a protective wall had been built. Behind the large vehicle, the driller is beginning to bore another passage. Entering from the lower left is an enemy driller.

Because the figures are so tiny, Stephen felt a need to show what a soldier looks like. Accordingly he turned the

first drawing on its side and drew a soldier pointing a machine gun directly at us. The soldier smokes a cigarette. And in his helmet is a plume. Stephen got the idea for a plume from an illustration of a 19th century cavalry officer.

Figure 39 A.

Extensions in space also contribute to the desire to more fully report the events of war. Though only two drawings are reproduced here, Elliot has 6 drawings in all which connect in a linear series. Elliot did not set out to complete a linear series. The idea to add a second page came to him after he finished the first, and so on. In the drawing reproduced here we see the front of a plane.

Figure 39 B.

In the second drawing we see the tail section. The sack shape is an underground bunker which Elliot shows by means of x-ray or cutaway. There are stairs in the narrow entrance passage. Along the hilltop are wavy lines which represent explosions.

We are familiar by now with bullets, bombs, missiles, and the damage they do. In the second drawing we see a Scud missile leaving the top of the page. Originally there was a 7th page, this one extending above to complete the Scud. But Elliot lost this page. An aerial dogfight takes place in the upper right. At the crest of the hill is an above ground

bunker. There is also a headless figure thrown into the air by the force of a blast. These extensions do not serve to show the passage of time, but instead widen the stage to include more actors and activity.

Figure 40 A.

Both extensions of time and space can be found in Teddy's continuation drawing. The drawing is on 5 sheets of computer paper, perforated but connected. Like Elliot, Teddy isn't too sure who is fighting whom. He gave the ship a Russian sounding name--Sniezshnick. Those attacking from the right share a land border, and that would exclude the U.S. from being the invasion force. In any case the border is where the war began; this is about a fifth of the way over from the right. The attacking forces have crossed the structure which marks the boundary. There are stick figure troops; and there are planes that bomb and strafe, and are themselves knocked out of action. Though the aircraft come in different shapes and sizes, there is a general rule which helps us identify them: If they are flying left, they are from the right. In Teddy's drawings, planes only attack, they don't return home.

The geographic area covered by this war is large. There are two countries, a city, and an ocean. But the passage of time is the more intriguing characteristic. Teddy shows one airplane in two different locations. Nearer the beginning of

the war a large, undamaged plane can be seen flying left (about one third over from the right). If we follow its flight path (the line extending from its nose), we see that it loops around to ground level where it picks up ground troops from the nearby truck. The plane then takes off, being careful to fly over the mushroom cloud above the city. This is so that people in the plane would not be exposed to the radiation from the atomic blast.

Figure 40 B.

In this detail we see the plane finally landing unchallenged on the deck of the enemy ship. At this point hordes of soldiers deplane and swarm up the stairs, defeating those on board. The ship's officers are pursued to the upper areas of the ship where one falls from a great height and others are "wiped out" by grenades. Little gravestones testify to their fate.

Once again there is much more to tell about the events pictured here. The "continuation drawing," as several youngsters called it, seems an aspect of war drawing which grows out of the complexity of the subject, one which needs space and time to develop.

Insights

In introducing individual drawings, I have arranged these in categories suggested by the children themselves. Maps or plans of war do not seem very common, and I have not

found anyone who draws only these. But for some it provides a necessary context for their action drawings, and it contributes a greater sense of reality. In the same way, inventing capabilities and specifications for military vehicles makes these seem more factual, more like engineers' blueprints. With maps there is the opportunity to plan and direct the war. With vehicles the satisfactions seem to have more to do with individual power, speed, invincibility.

A third category is the warriors themselves. Some are a walking arsenal, and differ little from the vehicles of war. T.J.'s "Lord Lion" has more in common with Raymond's "Red Lightning" than at first might be apparent.

By far the largest group of drawings however, is that which presents action. That action extends from an engagement of only a few individuals, as was the case in Todd's drawing, to the innumerable ant-like figures that populate Teddy's drawing. And when a single page could no longer present all the action, additional pieces were added to extend space, time, or both.

CHAPTER IX
GENERAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE PRODUCT

Introduction

Having taken stock of general categories of war drawing, and having examined specific examples, it now becomes possible to speak in more general terms about the war drawings. Included in the discussion which follows is an examination of the character of the warriors and the causes for which they fight. I will also examine the progress of the war, from beginnings to endings. Included here are forecasts as to the outcome, where such outcomes are not shown. Following this I briefly look at the various settings of war, both historically and geographically. Next I look at the graphic symbols children use to represent their ideas. Included here are ways in which individual objects are represented, as well as the ways in which children indicate depth and movement. The next topic considered is that of parts and wholes. I inquire as to the relative importance of certain parts, and whether or not the whole narrative continues beyond the boundaries of the drawing. Finally I

look at the media. What materials do children draw with, and how do they use these?

Character and Cause

Character

Many drawings we have seen, show no people. Joe's war zone for example, has the presence of people implied. A medical tent waits to treat the wounded, and machine guns are positioned for a battle. But not a single individual is to be found. Josh's futuristic war is filled with action, but all we see are aircraft. Not a single person can be found. Others like Teddy and John offer tiny stick figures, or just dots to represent people. Still others such as T.J. and A.J. develop warriors who are mutant or anthropomorphized animals.

In almost every case, however, these figures are combatants. Stephen included a doctor in his drawing, but medical personnel are also part of the war effort. Only one figure in all these drawings is not a fighter. Teddy includes in his drawing, a civilian spectator. This observer stands on the dock watching the boarding and capture of the "Sniezshnick," and he shows no particular alarm at the fire burning behind him. In the observational drawing, Teddy did something similar. While a battle occurs at sea, a painter on a scaffold calmly applies a new coat of paint to the prow of a ship, seemingly oblivious to the deafening roar of guns and the danger around him. Teddy also shows a city

that has been hit by an atomic blast. A.J. has a high-rise building in his drawing as well. But there are no civilian casualties shown, and there are no women or children. Almost all scenes of warfare occur away from civilian populations, involving soldier against soldier, and military vehicle against military vehicle.

Concerning the character of the people who are shown, most of the youngsters do not concern themselves with these sorts of thoughts. Where they give any description at all, they describe the soldiers stereotypically as: strong, brave, determined to win, and "scared but tough." Those who offered these adjectives, tended to be those such as Raymond who had drawn fewer and larger figures. When drawing dozens, perhaps hundreds of ant characters, it would be surprising if children did think in terms of character.

Causes

While they may not think about individuals and character, some reflect on the general virtue of the group. Brad, A.J., Todd, and others made reference to "good guys" and "bad guys." Generally what makes one group good or bad, is whether or not their cause is just, and whether or not they represent the home team.

In Todd's war the ground forces are the good guys. Todd doesn't tell us why they are good, we simply take it as a statement of fact. It is doubtful that children reflect much on the causes for their fantasy wars before they begin

drawing, or even while they are drawing. But where they do give explanations, we are given some insight into their ideas about war. There may have been some initial provocation. For Stephen, the Indian attack on the fort was provoked by an earlier incident in which the cavalry stole Indian horses. A.J. sees the war between dogs and cats as having started when the dogs tried to kill the leader cat. These incidents involve aggression by the bad guys. Good guys are morally superior in that they do not start fights. I return to these ideas later in chapter XIII where I deal with the children's responses to a more general question--Is war a good thing or a bad thing?

Patriotism is one of the most apparent factors in the decision as to who is good. Scooter said quite simply that the U.S. forces are the good guys. As this study was done during Operation Desert Storm, it is not surprising that a large number of the drawings involved war between the U.S. and Iraq. But other wars involving the U.S. were drawn as well. Nate's drawings take place in the Korean War; Raymond has drawn a skirmish in Vietnam; Eric draws World War II.

Stephen's involvement in the study provides a slightly different political perspective. Since he is a Canadian, it struck me as curious that he doesn't draw Canadians at war with anyone. One reason might be a lack of models. If there is a Canadian equivalent to the American hero G.I. Joe, Stephen is not aware of it. Another reason involves a more

general perception of international politics. When I asked Stephen about this, his answer gave me some insight into his biases. Stephen claims that Canada "doesn't seem much like a war-mongering [sic] place because it has a peace-keeping army and not an ordinary fighting army." Stephen sees the superpowers--the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.--as more likely to be involved in a war. And when asked if there were good guys and bad guys in his drawing (figure 35), Stephen picked the U.S. as the good guys. He did so because he imagines that in this particular battle it was the U.S.S.R. that initiated the hostilities.

This touches upon another reason for war. Some individuals and groups are inherently warlike. In reference to a drawing about Ninjas, Stephen said, "Ninjas love to fight." Two youngsters produced drawings which are based on the natural animosity between dogs and cats. A.J.--who has cats as pets--favors the cats in his war (figure 33). And T.J.--who has a dog--considers the wolf hunters to be the good guys and the lion hunters to be bad.

It is important to remember that character and causes are not generally large issues, at least for the children who participated in this study. Drawings done in more direct response to the Gulf War will be considered later in chapter XIV. There, character and cause are given more thought. But for fantasy drawings it is power and action which seem of much greater importance to the child. In some cases the

child will simply pick a favorite team to win. Josh chooses the stripes force to defeat its two opponents. When John drew his armies of colored dots--sometimes having as many as 5 armies in a single picture--he would simply choose a favorite color.

Perhaps it is a characteristic of younger children to see war in terms of good guys and bad guys. Coming to understand that life is rarely so simple, may be a realization which comes through greater knowledge and experience. Teddy's war, he finally concluded, involved Germans invading Russia. Initially he thought that since the Russians are bad, they should lose. After some reflection he revised his thinking. The Russians aren't that bad and the Germans aren't that good. His final assessment was that neither side is good, "they just all want power." It would seem that it would be easier to reach such a conclusion when your own country is not one of the countries at war.

Progress and Prognostication

Operation Desert Shield seemed to raise some children's awareness of the time, training, and management involved in preparing for a war. Scooter's paratrooper (figure 25) is involved in a training mission. Josh's tank (figure 19) is also a pre-war event. The tank is moving to the front in preparation for war.

John shows restraint in the destruction which occurs on his drawing (figure 26). The war has just begun. We know

this because there is little damage. While John realizes that wars can end with little damage having been done, he and others see this as an exception rather than a rule. Most told me their drawings take place about the middle of the war or near the end. For most youngsters, a war is over when a leader like Saddam Hussein is killed, or when all or nearly everyone on the losing side is dead--or at least their military equipment is destroyed. Josh and Stephen both suggest that wars begin with limited action, then more soldiers and equipment arrive. The peak activity is about the middle. After this the action tapers off towards the end. Perhaps this is why a majority of the action drawings take place about the middle of the war.

For those like Joe who show the beginning of a war, they may not care to speculate on who will win. Joe said he doesn't know who will win, "I think it's just going to be a fair fight." But even some like Elliot who depict the middle of a war, don't give any thought to how it will end.

For those who predetermine the outcome, whether by simply imagining it or by actually bringing it about on the page, it is not always the favorite side that will win. John usually has his favorite side win, but not always. After all, good guys don't always win. A case in point is Chad's drawing (figure 37) where the Iraqis are winning against the Americans. His reason for doing this involves a keen sense of fairness. Chad noted that mass media presents a one-sided

view. In television programs, cartoons, comic strips and so forth, the good guys always seem to win. This doesn't seem fair or realistic to Chad, so he restored some sort of balance by allowing the bad guys to win. Drawing, then, has instrumental value for Chad and his notion of how the world really is, as opposed to how it is presented.

Teddy's drawing (figure 40) is obviously a war that has ended. Almost everything is destroyed. The idea of a negotiated end to war is either inconceivable or uninteresting. The enemy fights to the last person. When Teddy is done, the drawing itself is "dead." Teddy sees no reason to keep it.

It seemed a natural question to ask at this time if children feel sorry for those killed or injured in the drawing. Of the 6 who said yes, and the 2 who said "kind of," there was not a great deal of conviction in their answer. Nor was there a great deal of evidence in the drawings to show this is so. Some children seemed surprised by the question, and after some hesitation replied "yeah." No doubt the question proved difficult. Prominent in Nate's drawing (figure 31) is a MASH helicopter. Joe's camp has a medical tent. And Stephen has a doctor administering care to a fallen soldier.

But this is scant evidence. It could be that medical units are present to reinforce the notion that there are wounded, and not out of a particular concern for the

well-being of individuals hurt in the conflict. About an equal number said they don't think about their drawings in terms of real people and real hurt. Perhaps the question is an unfair one. Surely one would feel sorry for real people in these circumstances, but these are after all just pencil marks on a page, and several youngsters told me this. The question is one I return to in chapter XIII. There I asked a more straightforward question--"What do you think of real war?"

Time and Place

Time

A majority of the wars that take place are contemporary, if one is to judge by the equipment used. And where there are inconsistencies, children seem largely unconcerned. When Stephen placed biplanes in the same sky with jets (figure 35), I asked if he knew they were from different eras. He did. When asked why he had done this, he replied "those [biplanes] are easier to draw if they are coming towards you." Observing Teddy draw, he made a World War II naval battle between U.S. and Japanese ships (figure 41). The battle involved jets. Teddy volunteered that he knows jets weren't used in the Second World War. He told me they were developed in Germany after the war. Nevertheless he chose to use them.

Some of the wars take place in other centuries. We have seen Stephen's drawing (figure 29) of the fight between

cavalry and Indians, and Buddy's drawing (figure 24) of the knight. In doing the portfolio review I encountered others of these. When asked to tell how long ago these wars took place, children were sometimes a little confused about history. Buddy said his drawing of the knight is set in a period about 500 years ago, just after Jesus died and King Arthur found the holy grail.

A few wars take place in the future. Again there were others of this sort in the portfolios. Nate had done a battle based on the television program Star Trek. Of those reproduced in this study, Josh's (figure 34) is obviously futuristic. For Josh, there are several attractions to drawing wars which take place in the future. Unlike Eric who loves the appearance of World War II vintage aircraft, Josh finds past and present planes uninteresting, not to mention difficult to draw. In drawing futuristic craft however, Josh can be quite inventive. A further advantage is that no one can challenge him on the accuracy of his drawings. Since no one has visited the future, no one can say of Josh's drawings, "That's not right."

Place

Most wars were reported by their makers to take place near the Persian Gulf. In the case of maps, Brad simply wrote this information. But on the whole there is little attention paid to landscape features which are identifiable as belonging to one region or another. John's Gulf War has

no land at all. The bottom of the page serves as ground and horizon. Joe's war, viewed from above, has only two natural features: a rock and a cactus. Younger children often include a sun in their drawings, but for those drawing war in the Gulf, the presence of the sun may be more significant. Jimmy felt it was important to add a sun because the sun is "blazing hot" in the desert.

Not all of the wars take place in the Middle East. Buddy drew his war (figure 21) in a jungle. He provided a palm tree to indicate this as the location. When asked if there was a particular reason that he chose to draw his war in this setting, he replied "yeah, because usually when you watch movies, war usually takes place in the jungle."

For some the war takes place on the borders of America. Elliot doesn't know which country is invading, but presumably it is not Canada or Mexico. Defending one's borders makes the war more dangerous and somehow more noble.

Most of the action takes place on land and in the air. It is less common to find naval action. It is even less common to find drawings that deal with only one of those: land, air, or sea. I discussed this earlier in regards to John's drawing. War drawings tend to present all their information on a single plane. An aerial view is one kind; a ground view is another. With a few notable exceptions such as Jimmy's drawing (figure 30), the desire to add more action requires using devices to include action in an upper

space, and in some cases below ground. Planes do that quite easily. A.J. provides ropes, high rise buildings, blimps, and other ingenious devices for lifting the action into the air. Josh, Elliot, Chad, and others, cut away the ground to reveal underground tunnels, bunkers, storage facilities, and so forth. And Stephen sets one of his wars on the sea where aircraft duel in the skies, action occurs on the deck of the ship, and underwater action extends from sea floor to surface.

Most wars seem to happen in rather characterless and uninhabited places. Sometimes land contours like hills help to contribute greater interest, the feeling that this is a real place. Chad likes to add cliffs so that upper space is used; and further dangers from avalanche, and adventures from leaping or falling, can be had. It is much less common for a battle to take place in an urban area. Teddy shows us a whole country, which includes a city; A.J. involves a modern office building. But these urban structures are not common. War drawing on the whole, seems to happen in the uninhabited countryside.

Graphic Symbols

When I asked youngsters if they have a certain way of drawing the things in their pictures, there were certain assumptions made in the question itself. Virtually everything on the page qualified, yet the question seemed to call for recognition for only some special items. Perhaps

those items are ones repeated in other drawings. In order for it to be "a certain way," it seems that it should be something done over and over. It also seemed to call for items that were particular accomplishments. It was, at the very least, a way of asking the children to pick one or more parts of the drawing so that they may talk about the graphic symbols they use.

Todd's response showed that he understood the question to mean a constant, repeated form. He picked the stick figures as his "certain way of drawing things." While the poses vary, the basic construction technique does not. And these are not nearly as inventive as his spikey tank or his bigfoot. Chad also understood the question this way when he talked about the variety, rather than the uniformity of his tanks. No, he doesn't have a special way of constructing these. Instead he looks at different toy tanks called Micro Machines, and tries to incorporate something of the variety of form and detail to be found in those.

Josh talked about his way of developing unique aircraft. Josh's ships begin with an invented geometric shape. To this he adds guns and other details. Triangles and rectangles are put together, and Josh then decides which direction it is headed. Finally he adds a cockpit. Wilson (1988) talks about the difficulty of inventing new graphic symbols, and its consequent rarity. I would agree. But Chad and Josh have given some suggestions on how this can

occur--either by looking at an external referent such as a toy, or by developing a procedure that gives rise to new graphic symbols which both child and audience will be able to accept.

Others as well gave step-by-step instructions on how they make certain things. This not only reveals how they conceptualize these objects, but how it is possible for them to teach each other how to make the objects. T.J.'s helicopters (figure 60) are made by first drawing a "T." This is the rotor and shaft, viewed from the side. Below this, T.J. draws a paddle shape for the body. A circle on the front, with a stick figure inside, becomes the cockpit and pilot. To this, T.J. adds a ski shape for landing gear. Then the helicopter is armed with a gun. T.J. accomplishes this with the addition of a line on the side of the helicopter.

Others too talked about simple forms put together or elaborated upon. John's jets begin as a triangle without a base. To this, wings are added and so forth. The more competent drawings tend to be those which are more elaborated or differentiated. Referring to just one feature of his aircraft, Brad criticizes the way his friends draw the tail of their aircraft. They use only two lines, and their tails resemble inverted "V"s. Brad, however, adds a third line squaring off the top. This looks much better, and

Brad tries to persuade his friends to adopt this better feature in their own drawings of aircraft.

Some of the children chose to talk about their methods of drawing things less concrete. Teddy pointed to his fires and explosions, taking care to make a distinction between the two. Near the center of his continuation drawing (figure 40) there is a fan-shaped scribble where a missile has exploded. This is a typical explosion. To the left there is a fire on the dock. The fire is a spikey shape with the same shape repeated inside. It is drawn in a more controlled fashion and is not as black or as violent as the explosion.

Pariser (1979) studied children's drawings of wrecked cars. Pariser identified two kinds of line present in the drawings of kindergarteners through sixth-graders. The first is gestural (or enactive). The youngest drew their cars, then overlaid, marred, or surrounded the car with a scribble to "wreck" it; at times obliterating the car to the extent that a viewer would not be able to identify the object. Older children used controlled (or ikonik) line. They employed conventions such as a regular, jagged line to indicate the damaged portion of the car. Older children also integrated these controlled lines into the contour of the car rather than overlaying. This represents a different kind of planning and maybe even a different purpose in the activity. It seems that older children drew a car wreck, whereas younger children wrecked a drawing of a car. Also,

older children tend to use contrasting line qualities within the same drawing to emphasize the smoothness of undamaged areas and the roughness of wrecked portions.

There is a range of approaches to "wrecking" in the works shown in this study. At one end of the spectrum, John draws a plane and then simply scribbles over it to destroy it (figure 26). At the other is Josh, who describes three distinct stages of destruction (figure 33): When a ship is first hit, it breaks apart and there is a cloud surrounding it. When something is completely destroyed there is a densely packed scribble surrounded by short, radiating lines. And finally Josh may draw a pile of wreckage on the ground (as shown in the lower left corner). While this may seem to support the developmentalist explanation, there are several things to point out in the drawings. One is that there are varying solutions used by the same child. In figure 37, Chad erased and redrew the aircraft that had been hit by enemy fire. Figure 36, however, was drawn with marker. Here it was not possible to erase and redraw. In another example, Teddy (figure 40) used a combination of scribbling over and erasing to inflict damage. If a whole city is to be destroyed, his little eraser would soon be used up if he tried to erase all that pencil drawing. Where the destruction is this extensive, he scribbles over the destroyed area. When a smaller object like an airplane has

been hit, he erases the damaged area and draws the jagged or charred ends.

But the larger issue stands apart from practical concerns about media. And here is where the greatest difference exists between the war drawings and the drawings of wrecked cars. War drawings tend to record a series of events which unfold over time. Some of the children in my study did choose a single moment of time in recording battle. Scooter (figure 42) drew an aerial war in which he depicted the fuselage and other fragments of an exploded jet. His drawing comes closest to those in the Pariser study. But most youngsters found satisfaction in waging the war. Teddy (figure 40) drew the entire scene: buildings, aircraft, ship, and so forth. When everything was in place, he began his explosions and other destruction. This is much like play. When Stephen sets up his toy soldiers for a war, he first arranges two complete armies. Then the war begins. Soldiers are knocked over, shooting and explosion sounds are made, and an outcome is discovered. Wrecking is perhaps the more satisfying part. But it cannot be done without some initial preparation.

Different purposes then, are what account for differences in the ways objects are destroyed on the page. With war drawing it is not necessarily more advanced to draw a plane wreck (as Scooter does), than to wreck a plane (as Teddy does). It is primarily a matter of different purposes

and intentions. Different satisfactions are gained from each approach.

Movement

In describing some war drawings as "action," movement is an important factor to be considered. In some cases the viewer is simply expected to know that things are in motion. When Eric draws an airplane in the sky, for example, it doesn't seem necessary to do anything further to indicate that it is moving. Aircraft, after all, do not hover motionless in the air. Some youngsters choose to use motion lines as a means of telling us that movement is occurring. In its most formalized state, Brad uses a dash line to show the flight path of a Tomahawk missile (figure 15). Chad has lines behind his boulders (figure 37), a device commonly used by cartoonists as a means of showing movement. Sometimes the object itself provides suggestions for ways to indicate motion. Todd drew exhaust issuing from the tail pipe of his bigfoot truck (figure 27). He considered this an indication that his truck is moving. Nate colored a white wind below his helicopter (figure 31) as a way of providing evidence that the rotor is spinning, and to show its relative proximity to the ground.

There are times when the form of an object changes as it moves. The human figure assumes different poses when moving. Jimmy's people (figure 30) assume a variety of dramatic poses, all of which convey the idea of movement.

When Scooter's paratrooper leaps from the plane (figure 25), his hair is blown upwards and his flag flutters upwards as well. We can see where Scooter originally drew the flag hanging downward, but he erased and corrected it as he thought about such things as the direction of air flow with a falling figure. As he continues his attempt to master realism, Scooter will likely come to see that a leaping figure would fall behind the moving plane rather than ahead of it. Nevertheless, Scooter's is an achievement in creating the illusion of movement.

If we compare Scooter's flag with Nate's (figure 31), we see contrasting strategies. Scooter chose to draw an illusion of movement. Nate used a more physical approach. He collaged a piece of construction paper as a flag. Hinged with a piece of transparent tape, Nate's flag can actually be flapped. When I asked Nate if there was movement in his drawing, he waved his flag back and forth to show me there was.

Depth

Another challenge for representing three-dimensional events on a two-dimensional surface, is depth. How do children who make war drawings, show that certain parts of the drawing are nearer to us and other parts are farther?

Many of the drawings record the events on a shallow "stage." It is this in part which promotes extensions left and right in the continuation drawings; or up and down in

the air, land, and below ground drawings. Perhaps this contributes to the great sense of activity and excitement that would be lost if more depth were introduced to the drawing.

In Brad's aerial view of Iraq (figure 15), he has drawn two missiles in flight. A Scud missile flies high, whereas the Tomahawk is a cruise missile and so remains fairly close to the ground. The viewer is expected to know this. Brad doesn't do anything to the drawing to indicate an illusion of depth. John acknowledged some of the problems of using a shallow stage. Since the base line (figure 26) serves as the horizon, all of his soldiers stand in single file. John said "If I draw men behind each other, it's hard to make them hold or shoot a gun because it'll look like he's shooting through his own men; because I don't have three-dimensional space." This is less of a problem in the aerial war overhead. There planes don't need to be in single file. They can be above and below, with an unobstructed view of, and shot at, enemy aircraft. John is aware of overlap as a device for telling which objects are nearer or farther. When an aircraft in his drawing shoots a missile, that missile will sometimes pass in front or behind the wing of another aircraft.

A number of children talked about overlap as a means of showing depth. Only Todd told me something was nearer to us than something else which overlapped it, suggesting that he

was confused about overlap as a device for indicating depth. A number also spoke about size as an indication of distance. Scooter (figure 25) noted that the smaller parachute to the left is more distant from us. Jimmy (figure 30) used a deep stage, and demonstrated a secure grasp of overlap and size differences as means for creating the illusion of depth.

In reference to his naval battle (figure 31), Nate made a rather sophisticated observation about depth. He pointed to the small ship on the horizon and told me it was far away. We know this because we can only see the top of the ship. Chad had some things to say about depth. He suggested that distant objects appear darker. They also appear more "put together" and their lines are not as distinct. And while distant figures normally appear smaller than near ones, since people are not all the same size, it is possible that a taller person in the distance may appear to be the same size as a shorter person who is nearer.

Reviewing the drawings, it appears that children understand more about illusionistic devices than they choose to show in their drawings. Children, it would seem, choose not to use all the knowledge they have. But then, demonstrating their grasp of illusionistic devices is surely not their top priority in making the drawings.

Parts and Wholes

Important Parts of the Drawings

Another question which requires interpretation by the respondent, asked if there is a particular part of the picture that is most important. In order to answer, the child must decide how importance is to be gauged. Half said there was no particular part of the drawing which was more important. Of those who selected a part, there were three contexts for discussing importance. One is the narrative itself. In Nate's drawing (figure 31), the MASH helicopter is the most important because it carries the wounded. And in fact this object is made important by its large size, central location, and by the clarity and detail with which it is drawn.

A second reason for announcing something to be important, involves the task of drawing. Certain things are more pleasurable or challenging to draw. John said the air battle (figure 26) is most important. The fighting on the ground is confined to a very small area along the bottom of the page. Perhaps 90 percent of the space is given over to the battle for the sky, an indication of the importance it has for John. For Jimmy, the important parts are those which he finds most difficult to draw. Tanks are pretty easy. But people and aircraft are more challenging, and consequently more important.

The third context for judging importance, stands apart from the narrative and the tasks of drawing. This has to do with interests beyond drawing. For Brad, the parts of the drawing which involve the Navy are the most important. This is because when he grows up, Brad wants to fly an F-14 jet in the Navy.

Telling the Whole Story

Very few saw their drawings as recording "the whole war." Not surprisingly it was the continuation drawings which were more often seen to accomplish this. Teddy added that in order to get the whole war in one drawing (figure 40), he had to compress distances. The ship, for example, would be a mile out to sea, but Teddy moved it to just a few feet off shore. Buddy thought if he were to add a few more pages he could fit it all in. And Raymond thinks that even though his drawing takes place just after the Vietnam War, there would probably be a few guys left besides the ones in his drawing.

Nate already had other drawings about the Korean War, but still he hadn't recorded it all. And Joe thinks there would be "thousands and thousands of tanks" needed to draw the whole war. Several pointed to cropping as proof that the war is not contained within the edges of the page. A ground vehicle on the lower right corner of Josh's drawing (figure 34) shows that the scene continues. John pointed to the missiles travelling off the page to targets elsewhere, as

further evidence that there is more to the war than what appears on the page.

Paper and Media

Paper

A wide variety of sizes and types of paper were used by the children in my study. Most however, used paper approximately 9 in x 11 in. The smallest was done on a scrap of pink paper cut in an oval shape. A.J.'s drawing is about 4 in x 6 in. Joe's father gave him a sheet of paper measuring 27 in x 32 in; this was the largest of the drawings I saw. The paper types vary from artist's poster board, to the back of a children's menu from a restaurant. Lined notebook paper was particularly common.

Most felt comfortable with the size and type of paper they had been using, though Teddy thought it would be "awesome" if he had a piece of paper even larger than the 5 joined pieces of typing paper (measuring 55 in in length) that he had been using. With a larger piece of paper he would be able to draw much more sky, and he would not have to compress space horizontally as he had done. Almost everyone said they would add more "stuff" if given a larger piece of paper. In addition, about half said they would also draw the objects larger. This seems supported in two ways: Children who did continuation drawings, generally used the additional space to add more objects and provide more

action. And when they were given a larger paper, children such as A.J. did add more. A.J.'s first drawing (figure 20) is on a 4 in x 6 in piece of paper. His second (figure 33) is 12 in x 18 in and contains many more objects.

The point that seems to emerge from this simple observation is that perhaps children have learned a "proper" scale when they learned to make their graphic symbols. It may be more challenging if they are asked to draw much larger or smaller. Other possible explanations present themselves as well, and this is merely speculation on my part.

Media

Twelve drawings were done with pencil. The next most popular medium was marker; four of the drawings were done with this. Two used colored pencil. One was pen. A further two were mixed media: marker, crayon, collage, chalk.

In talking about the advantages of certain media, 15 of the 17 children talked about the advantage of pencil as being that it can be erased "if you mess up." The next most often mentioned advantage of pencils is that you can sharpen them and do detailed drawings. John said he likes the appearance of pencil. Only one problem was mentioned, pencil smudges. Markers offer color. This is good for helping to distinguish between different groups in a war drawing. Markers are also visible at a greater distance than is

pencil. And its darker lines show up on construction paper, where pencil does not. A.J. liked the varied tips that are available such as the double line--though I saw no use of this in his war drawing. Markers are somewhat thicker than pencils however, and it can be difficult to make details. Though he did his map with markers (figure 15), Brad used a pencil to write the words "Air Force" in an area too small for marker to fit. Chad used markers as well (figure 36), and resorted to using white-out as a means of correcting mistakes. Colored pencils are alright for filling in contours drawn by a pencil. They allow detail and offer bright colors too. Ball-point pen also gives detail, but you have to be sure of what you are drawing since it can't be erased. Crayons received no votes at all. It seems their colors aren't bright enough. They are clumsy in that they cover over details. And the paper wrapper sometimes slips down, smudging the work.

There was general concern about control, detail, and the opportunity to make corrections. Pencils in concert with sharpeners and erasers, were endorsed by nearly everyone as the medium of choice. In light of other studies of media preference (May, 1987), this finding merits discussion. May concludes "Students enjoyed exploring and manipulating/sensing different media, were sensitive to the qualities of different media, and regarded flexibility of

ideas as more important than product outcome (p. 112)." She goes on to say that pencils and other familiar media ranked low in student preferences. May suggests that "product outcome and a desire for realistic representation were not prevalent student reasons for media preferences" (p. 112).

May's study was conducted with third and fourth-graders, children the same age as the majority in my study. The key word that might suggest a difference in our studies is "student." May's study is about school art and mine is about spontaneous drawing. Hamblen (1990) provides what may be the best answer to the conflicting findings of May's study and my own.

Much school art is taught to overcome art learning from other contexts and, in particular, the local contexts of popular culture and of personally based learning. In local contexts, children will draw on lined paper, scrap paper, their own bodies, and, of course, on walls and on sides of buildings. They use ball-point pens, rulers, and erasers; they copy, trace, and use stencils. These are materials, tools, and techniques discouraged in school art (pp. 74-75).

My subjects have a generous store of ideas which they want to release by means of drawing. They do not come to media primarily to have a sensual experience or to experiment with media. They do not regard pencils as

tiresomely familiar. Instead they appreciate the control that familiar media give them in developing their imagery. The idea takes precedence over the medium. For this reason Teddy will briefly set aside his pencil in order to use a black marker so that his atomic blast will be dark enough to match his idea of such an event (figure 40). For this reason Scooter will use red, white, and blue paint to color the U.S. flag, while all the rest remains in pencil (figure 25). And for this reason Nate will make a moveable flag. Children in a local context use whatever materials and techniques are necessary to release their visual ideas.

CHAPTER X

PROCESS

Introduction

Having gained some understanding of the war drawings themselves, an investigation as to the process seems a logical next step. Here I have taken a chronological approach, first asking about the setting. When and where were these drawings done? I then asked where the child's ideas came from. This is an important issue and one to which I return in later chapters on Use and Culture. In further questions on getting started, I asked if they think about other drawings they've done, and whether or not they normally have an idea in mind of what the finished drawing will look like. Then I asked what part of the picture they usually do first.

Turning to the middle part of the process, I asked about the use of external reference material: toys, books, and so forth. Besides their sources of knowledge, I also asked questions about affect. How do they feel when they are drawing? And whether or not they think about the affective response of those who may later view the work. Concerns about the challenge of drawing can also be part of the

affective experience of drawing. Children talked about the difficulties and the rewards of drawing.

Finally I asked questions relating to the finishing of a drawing. Are these drawings generally done at one sitting? How do children decide when a drawing is completed? And having completed a drawing, do children evaluate their work? If such an evaluation occurs, on what criteria are these judgments made?

The answers to these questions were brought together with my observations of the drawing process. In watching the children at work on a drawing, I gained further insights. By noting the sequence of additions to the drawing, for example, I learned something about the decision-making process and the dynamics of war drawing. Children practice on a scrap of paper, erase certain things, or say "oops!" All of this and more, provides clues as to the nature of the process.

Getting Started

Where and When

Most of the drawings are done at school and at home. At school there are times where children are able to engage in spontaneous drawing. Chad's teacher allows a little free time as part of the celebration of a student's birthday. Eric, Teddy, and Stephen draw when their teacher reads to the class: Stephen's drawing (figure 35) was done at such a time. Others mentioned indoor recess. When the weather is

inclement or the playground is muddy, children are kept inside for recess. Since Jimmy finishes his math assignments quickly, his teacher permits him to draw. Several others also talked about drawing between assignments. Brad and Joe find time to draw during an after-school latchkey program while waiting for their working parents to pick them up. Only Todd mentioned drawing about war in his art class. It may be that others did spontaneous drawing in art class as well, but that was not a primary location. This explains why some art teachers didn't know of any children in their classes who do war drawings. And it explains why other art teachers had only hints of this interest as they guessed which students might do war drawings.

At home, most had no preferred time. A few had personal habits that affected their involvement in spontaneous drawing. T.J. is "not a morning person." Nate likes to draw while waiting for dinner. The two most frequently mentioned locations in the home where drawing takes place are the child's room, and the kitchen or dining room table. Few children draw in a specialized location. John is perhaps more particular than most. He needs a hard, smooth surface under his paper. Putting his paper on a book is not satisfactory. The textured surface of a book affects the character of his line and doesn't provide the sharpness and precision he needs. When I observed him draw, John set his paper on his desk; he prepared by sharpening his pencil and

turning on a desk lamp. Jimmy, on the other hand, draws almost anywhere at home: at the table, on the floor. The carpet and upholstered chairs are about the only places he doesn't set his paper. There the pencil would poke a hole in his page.

There were other locations for drawing as well. T.J. and Josh both draw in the car on family trips. Raymond's drawing (figure 28) was done in a restaurant. And Scooter's drawing (figure 25) was done in church. Drawing, it seems, is a marvelously "portable" activity, one which can take place in those gaps between events in our scheduled lives, and one which can happen in leisure time. John draws at school during open library, he draws when he doesn't feel like playing basketball or using his computer, and he sometimes draws when he is supposed to be asleep.

Sources of Ideas

In asking children where they get their ideas, some "expected" and some not-so-usual sources were given. From their answers it was evident that children interpreted the question in different ways. Some equated "ideas" with specific information about the appearance of things. Others talked about more general ideas for action. And a few spoke about the stimulus to engage in drawing.

Obviously a single source can provide information as well as inspiration, but the most frequently mentioned source of ideas is illustrated books. Todd's brother gave

him a book about tanks. And Eric's grandmother gave him a book about aircraft of the Second World War. Chad likes to get illustrated books about the Civil War from the library. Television and movies also received votes from a number of children. Elliot talked about news coverage of the Gulf War. Raymond's "Rambo" drawings have their origin in Rambo movies starring Sylvester Stallone.

Moving pictures may be more a source of stimulation than a source of information about the appearances of things. Stephen relies mostly upon books and other sources for still pictures when he attempts to draw a certain object. This is partly because "there are more books about war than shows on television about war." This, at least, is his perception. When we go to the library, Stephen heads directly for the section on war. And he borrows a number of these books so that at any time he has access to perhaps a dozen books about war. Stephen has no such control over television programming. The other reason for Stephen's making greater use of books for his information about war, has to do with the fact that pictures in a book hold still so they can be examined and copied. Stephen says of television, "it happens and there's not real looking back to it unless it's on again or you taped it. So in books you can always look back."

Computer games and toys were also mentioned. But these did not appear to be the major sources of ideas for war

drawings. Nate traced around a bathtub toy submarine in making a naval battle (figure 32), but this was not his usual approach to drawing war vehicles and equipment.

Several children credited older brothers or friends as an important source of ideas. Buddy was one who acknowledged that most of his ideas for war drawings come from his friends. He and his friends share ideas on details they want to add to their drawings.

In chapter VI, I spoke of the role of imagination in drawing. All of the children in this study used their imagination, but in varying degrees. Two specifically mentioned their imagination as the source of their ideas. One of the seemingly larger leaps of imagination was Chad's description of how he got an idea for a drawing. While playing a rough and tumble game with his dog Binkey, Chad received some scratches. The red lines on his arms, he decided, looked "sort of neat and I use them for my drawings." Chad did not say precisely how these lines translated into lines in his drawing; however it would be fair to say that not all ideas need to come from the more traditional sources of illustrated books, television, toys, and so forth. Wider experiences in life--whether it is Scooter's ride in a small airplane, or the scratches Chad got while playing with Binkey--can stimulate ideas and suggest imagery for war drawing.

Reference to Previous Drawings

When I asked children if they sometimes think about their previous drawings as they start a new one, most said they do. But their reasons are quite varied. Some recall previous successes in order to repeat all or portions of them. Others remember previous drawings so they can avoid duplication. Brad gave me a number of drawings on my first visit. These were free-hand copies of his more successful drawings. He called these "seconds." A.J., as well, showed me two nearly identical drawings of a helicopter. On the 17 occasions where I observed a drawing being done, 4 of the children got out previous drawings, not to duplicate them entirely, but to copy some parts. A.J. referred to his drawing (figure 33) in order to remember all the weapons he wanted to add to the dog he was drawing for me. Todd also copied his spikey tank on the drawing I watched him make. Looking at the portfolio, it was clear that such copying and referencing is common practice.

Still another reason to refer to earlier drawings is to achieve consistency. Raymond looked at an earlier Rambo picture (figure 28) before drawing the Rambo I observed him draw (figure 57), so that essential characteristics of Rambo would be consistent from one drawing to the next.

A.J. and T.J. also repeat objects, but their attention is directed more to a need for change. T.J. thinks it wouldn't be very satisfying to duplicate earlier efforts.

This raises another related issue which returns to notions of imagination and imitation. For some youngsters there is minimal change from one drawing to the next. These children consequently tend to develop a high level of competence in representing these few objects. Eric draws his World War II aircraft again and again with only small changes and refinements. The image is quite skillfully drawn, and Eric appears to derive a great deal of satisfaction from his drawings. Nate is more interested in action; each drawing is quite different from others he has previously done. The representation may not be as skillful, but the satisfactions for Nate are in having imaginative adventures on the page. For each child the drawings meet specific needs. For some it is the need to be competent and develop mastery over certain images. For others it is the need to engage in discovery and to have imaginative adventures. Each will find a different use for previous drawings. The first, to improve upon earlier efforts; the second, to relive the adventures and to seek new challenges. And often the same child will have drawings which fill both kinds of needs.

Ideas in Mind

Not surprisingly then, youngsters like Eric and Brad say they have a pretty good idea what their drawings will look like when they're done. Those who draw objects, tend to know more or less how it will turn out. And those who draw action have little idea what the drawing will look like when

it is done. When T.J. does a heroic figure (figure 23), there are few surprises. Not so, however, when he draws action (figure 60). In drawing an object there are some unexpected developments: Raymond's drawings don't turn out as good as he imagines they will be, and T.J.'s heroic figures seem to end up with heads being too small. But these kinds of "surprises" have more to do with the task challenges of drawing.

Chad has a middle step to reduce the mystery of the end result. He does a preliminary sketch or "dummy," in which he makes decisions about how the work will develop. Teddy has only the most general notion of what his drawings will look like. There will be a lot of things blowing up, and there will be ships sinking.

Joe may have begun his drawing (figure 16) with an idea, but that idea was soon abandoned as new and better possibilities presented themselves. Initially he drew a rectangle, thinking it might become a big house with guns shooting out. Then he drew an inner rectangle, planning to make that the roof. It was then that he got the idea to make it a force field.

First Things Drawn

Some youngsters whose individual drawings vary considerably from one to another, maintain that they have no customary starting place in their drawing procedure. In drawings where there is a major object or figure, this is

usually drawn first. Stephen drew the ship first in figure 35. Raymond pointed out that this approach lets you see how much room is left on the page. Sometimes the beginning point is important not by its size but its place in the narrative. After drawing a horizon, Raymond drew Rambo (figure 57). And Teddy's drawing (figure 40) began with the boundary between the two warring countries.

Not every drawing has a major or significant part. Elliot began with a ground line. Then he added a few jets-- he likes those best. Next he turned his attention to the ground war. Having initiated ground action, he moved back and forth from sky to ground, adding further players as the war intensified.

The Developing Drawing

In describing and analyzing the drawing process, it seems most useful to first talk about the construction of individual objects. For some drawings, chiefly those dealing with the vehicles of war, this is all that is present on the page. For drawings involving action, objects tend to be drawn smaller and more simply, but the same basic sequences are followed. Next I will examine composition and the dynamics of action in order to show something of how children think about drawing and war.

Individual Objects

Where the action takes place on the ground, the children in my study were careful not to have the figure

extend below the ground or base line of the page. It is as though the figures are tightrope walkers. Stephen prefers to begin a figure by drawing the body, but the standing figures (figure 29) are drawn from the feet up. This is his way of making sure they don't violate that base line by extending below it. Raymond's Rambo (figure 57) also does not extend below the ground line. But Raymond found it easier to begin with Rambo's head, and insure by scale and pose that he had left enough room to fit the rest of the body between the head and the ground.

Two basic constructions methods were employed, sometimes by the same child and in the same drawing. Those methods are: constructions involving combinations of simple geometric shapes, and more elaborate contours which then receive interior definition and detail. Nate created his soldier (figure 43) by piling circle upon circle as one would build a snowman. And the truck on the right consists of a rectangle atop a circle (wheel). The plane at the top however, began as a more intricate contour. One of the clearest examples of the contour method is A.J.'s dog (figure 33). It began with triangle-shaped ears. A contour line continued across the body at the belt. The lower half of the body was drawn next. Then A.J. moved inside the body to add a collection of weapons, wounds, tattoos, and so forth. For the most part, objects were completed in their entirety before the child moved on to begin another. And

once it is fully operational--like Gepetto's famous puppet --it comes to life: weapons can shoot, and motion lines can be added.

How complex the drawing of an object will be, depends on its size and importance in the drawing. T.J. can draw figures quite well (figure 23), but in his more involved action drawings (figure 60), he makes stick figures. These are sufficient for his purposes. Joe began drawing machine guns (figure 44, lower left), but he soon realized this would take longer to complete than he wished to spend. He reduced his machine guns to a branch-like structure which served as a suitable graphic representation.

When one learns to draw an image a certain way, reversing it can be challenging. Joe found it easier to draw the machine guns in the lower section than he did in the upper area. There, he got confused and made a mistake on one, ending up with a rather large asterisk-shape. War drawings, by their nature, seem to invite the use of a similar shape, repeated many times and in different poses. As a consequence, there are particular challenges in making war drawings. And this contributes something to the unique character of these pictures.

John finds it easiest or most effective to draw his planes from the top, a pose which needs no foreshortening. Brad prefers side views in which the wings are foreshortened. And Scooter has learned to draw an airplane

from the front, a presentation which foreshortens the body and leaves the wings fully extended. There would be much here for a developmentalist to discuss, and it would be tempting to wade in at various points. I will however, confine my observations to aspects which illumine the genre of war drawing.

When children spoke of their concern for accuracy and craftsmanship, these concerns were also evident in the observational drawing. Youngsters used a number of devices and tactics to produce their objects. Several made use of rulers to draw straight lines. In free-hand drawing, Eric has found that a vertical line can be drawn straighter than a horizontal line. When drawing horizontal lines then, he turns his drawing pad on its side and draws a vertical line instead. Some find it easier to draw a complete shape and erase parts of it afterward where breaks in the contour are needed. It is a more challenging task to draw a shape and interrupt it at those points by lifting the pencil. Todd made his aircraft (figure 45) by drawing the horizontal body and then drawing the wings across as a vertical shape. Then Todd erased where the wings overlapped the body. T.J. drew a horizon line (figure 46) and then erased it at specific spots to serve as entrances to underground bunkers. With such strategies it is not surprising that pencil is preferred by most children in the study. Pencil can be added and subtracted. When other, less flexible media are used,

problems may arise. Stephen used colored pencils in figure 29, for example. The additive approach meant that Stephen would first draw a horse. Then he drew saddles on the horses. Then riders on the saddles. But it was impossible for him to draw legs over top of the black saddles. These kinds of problems might be encountered in any genre, but action drawing is more likely to involve progressive change. Stephen tried with only limited success to erase a doorway on the side of the palisade. As the battle developed, the door was burned. Stephen attempted to introduce this change by resorting to erasing the colored pencil and replacing the lines of the timbers with a soldier standing in the now open doorway. Others too made use of erasing to damage equipment as their wars progressed. Teddy's drawing provides the most obvious example.

Composition and the Dynamics of Action

In his two map-like drawings, Joe shows two simple ways of conceptualizing war. Figure 16 presents war as attack/defense. There is a fortified camp which is surrounded by hostile forces. Figure 44 presents war as two opposing armies, rather like a chess game. This field of play is viewed as a top/bottom division. By far the more common setting involves a left/right orientation. For some, the terrain on which the war is waged, is of little importance. John (figure 26) uses the bottom edge of the page as a ground, and draws his tanks and armies floating

just slightly above. For Teddy (figure 41), the decks of his ships serve much the same purpose. Chad devoted the most attention of anyone to the potential of the landscape. And to carry that notion still further, he also drew a map (figure 14).

But no matter how varied the terrain may become, almost anything below that all-important line becomes an x-ray view of underground tunnels and bunkers. Apart from Jimmy's drawing (figure 30), unique in its front/back orientation of forces, the others maintain the sanctity of the ground.

Action can be similarly described. At its simplest, a drawing may present a single army moving across the page to fight an unseen foe. Nate's drawing (figure 43) is of this sort. Brad's drawing (figure 47) represents war in terms of flight and pursuit. The aircraft on the right is chased by the aircraft on the left. A missile (lower right) is shot at the plane on the left. And completing the action, a soldier throws a knife at the missile, hoping to disable or deflect it. Both of Todd's drawings (figures 27 and 45) involve a single aircraft against two ground vehicles. Here we have opposition shown rather than implied as it is with Nate, or flight and pursuit as it is presented by Brad. More complex interaction patterns are found in the drawings of John, Teddy, and T.J., but the basic notion of a left/right orientation of two opposing forces is maintained.

For most, the "action" begins shortly into the drawing. Todd had no sooner drawn his second vehicle when the bullets began to fly. Stephen waits a little longer. He described two stages. The first he called the "peaceful" part. There he draws the battleship, palisade, or whatever major structures might be there. Then comes the "messaging up" stage in which things get blown up. This, Stephen said, is more fun. Feinburg (1975) describes a similar two-stage process in the case study involving her son Douglas. Teddy carried this further than any other subject in my study. As I observed him draw (figure 41), he constructed two ships: a Japanese ship on the right and a U.S. aircraft carrier on the left. He patiently added aircraft, missiles, and artillery to both. Once the equipment was all in place, he moved about the drawing adding stick figures wherever he felt they were needed. When all parts were added, Teddy stopped; he said "all prepared for war." Apparently he thought that was all I wanted. When I asked if there was going to be any shooting, he energetically commenced firing. Streams of bullets, scribbled destruction, erased damage (followed by redrawing ragged holes in boats, and ends of planes). He continued with arcing lines for kamikaze planes, missiles, and so forth. The shooting began from the U.S. ship, but the fire was soon returned. Teddy quickly moved from one ship to the other to fire, inflict damage, and return fire. Teddy draws lines almost to find out what is

going to get hit. Rarely does a bullet, bomb, or artillery shell miss its target. The last things to happen were the fuel tank being hit, and the large hole blasted in the prow of the Japanese ship. The war was over when the Japanese ship was damaged to the point where it would surely sink. Virtually all of its firepower had been expended or destroyed.

Most children do not continue their battles till all is destroyed. Stephen has a friend who does this, and Stephen finds this "weird" because there is nothing left. But each child has an ideal point at which to terminate the action. Nate's drawing (figure 43) did not end with destruction. Everything is virtually intact. But when all equipment and personnel were positioned, he did open fire. The guns on the helicopter blazed, a machine gun began shooting at the unseen enemy. Nate gave everything written sounds, or onomatopoeia. The plane goes "wsh," the helicopter "wopa wopa." Other sounds include "clang, vroom, ratatatatatat;" and the soldier shouts "yo Joe."

While some war drawings ended with a bang, others ended with a whimper. The final details added, some youngsters then returned to the landscape: Jimmy drew a sun, Chad pencilled in some clouds, Scooter added clouds above and land features to the ground below his air war (figure 42). And those who drew a single vehicle or warrior, added tiny details. Where a picture ended with a bang, it seems as

though the drawing was mainly about action and the satisfactions of the process. Where a drawing ended with finishing details and improvements to the landscape, it appears that the drawing has a somewhat different purpose, or at least another purpose. It seems that the child is valuing the product as something to be looked at and admired.

Affective and Physical Aspects of War Drawing

Looking at a drawing as filled with danger and violence as Teddy's, one might think that powerful feelings are stirred in the making of it. If there are such feelings, Teddy was unable to describe them. Several others described their feelings as nothing out of the ordinary, or said they didn't know how they felt. Those who talked about the feelings they have while drawing, generally talked about mild pleasure. Chad said he feels good and doesn't like to be disturbed. John also enjoys drawing and doesn't appreciate interruptions.

All other expressions of feeling centered on the task of drawing itself. Nate feels "busy." Raymond feels good when the drawing is going well and it appears it will be successful. Elliot feels impatient to see how it will turn out. Most expressed similar hopes that the task will proceed favorably. Not all such ventures have a happy conclusion. Buddy spoke about the drawing he had worked on the previous

night. He "messed up" and couldn't finish. The drawing was too hard. Despite occasional disappointments though, they continue to draw.

While observing the young people drawing, I made note of comments, sounds, poses, facial expressions--anything that might give some indication of their mood. Consistent with their prior comments about the challenge of the task demands of drawing, it was visibly an effort for some. While Eric was working, he hunched over his drawing, and sometimes leaned back. His lips were compressed, and the toes on his right foot were curled. Joe paused briefly before starting, then he worked quickly and consistently for the full 15 minutes. His only comment was an out loud thought. Joe said "a tent over here." The drawing must have been physically taxing; on a couple of occasions Joe stopped to shake his tired wrist and blow on it.

There were positive emotions in evidence too, satisfactions on the successful progress of the drawing. Earlier I mentioned Buddy's disappointment over a drawing which messed up and couldn't be corrected. As I observed him draw, Buddy was quiet and studied throughout. After 11 minutes, he leaned back and smiled. Then he resumed drawing, using the full 15 minutes.

Others were quite talkative. Nate explained things to me: "by the way, that is the moon if you wanted to know." He gave reasons for additions. While coloring the soldier's

chemical warfare suit a dark blue, Nate explained the camouflage value: "that way they can sneak up on the enemy." And he remembered things he should add: "Oops, I forgot the boots and the gas mask." Jimmy also chatted about the task: Referring to his drawing (figure 48), he said, "Oops--head's shaped wrong. It's hard to make their heads shaped right." Jimmy added: "I erase a lot when I draw." When shading the soldier's boots, he said, "I'm coloring it in gray or brown --whatever color you imagine it is." There were other observations and explanations as well. Though he made efforts to get his drawing "right" and correct it when it wasn't, Jimmy was not overly serious. His manner was light. At one point he chuckled good-naturedly when he realized his ground line wasn't straight. A short time later he laughed at me craning my neck to observe the drawing he was working on.

When Stephen plays with his war toys, he makes a wide range of noises. He also provides dialogue for his miniature warriors. Yet on only one occasion have I heard him make vocal sound effects while drawing about war. Understandably if war drawings are done in church, in a restaurant, or in the classroom, sound effects would not be appropriate. But observing youngsters in the relative privacy and comfort of their own homes, I was most interested in learning if they make sounds while they draw. Five of them did. Each youngster seemed to have a repertoire of sounds appropriate

to particular vehicles, missiles, bombs, and bullets. These sounds were made in a soft, controlled manner. When drawing a jet, John would blow to imitate the sound of a jet in flight. He had 4 or 5 distinct sounds of explosions, and he made these sounds as long as it took to draw the scribbled explosion. He also added dialogue. In a small and expressive voice he said "oh no, it's going to get us!" as the figures he was drawing saw approaching danger. Todd made sounds too, at strategic moments during the drawing (figure 45). He would make gun noises as he drew the bullets issuing from a barrel. But more than just saying "aaa" as a figure was struck by bullets, Todd also wrote this on the page. And so that I would understand, Todd stopped to explain "he's saying--aaa." Nate did it all. He made soft vocal sounds and wrote onomatopoeia. He also spoke and wrote the brief dialogue on his page.

Particularly for those who include action in war drawing, but possibly for those who draw plans, vehicles, and warriors as well, there is a good deal of fantasy involvement. And since the children can determine the outcome, it would seem they can control their mood. The things they draw are neither too frightening nor too dull. And if the task is too difficult they can abandon it. If it is too easy they can make it more challenging. There is much they can do to insure an experience which is on the whole, a pleasurable one.

Time

By timing the children as they worked on the drawings, I gained some further insight about their procedures. For the most part, children began after a brief pause to come up with an idea. Scooter took the longest to set pencil to page. It took him 30 seconds to think of what to draw. This is still a relatively short period of time. And it is understandable why he should require a little longer. His drawings are more varied, one from another. He does not have a customary beginning point. And his approach to drawing tends to require more mental pre-planning than other's approaches such as Teddy's who makes it up as he goes along.

After only a brief pause to start, children worked consistently till they were finished. Only a few would have spent considerably longer than 15 minutes finishing their drawings. By the end of 15 minutes John had nearly completed the action on the ground (figure 58), but he would have required a longer period of time to fill the sky with airplanes as in figure 26. Still, seeing what Scooter accomplished in 18 minutes (figure 42), or what Teddy managed to draw in 19 minutes (figure 41), it becomes clear that the children work rather quickly and efficiently. Children spent an average of 12 minutes on their drawings. As they neared the conclusion of the drawing, there were more likely to be pauses, this time trying to think what else might be added to complete the drawing.

Caring for the Product

In Feinburg's (1975) study, Douglas is described as having a healthy disregard for the sanctity of the paper. Feinburg relates the story of her son squashing a bloated mosquito which happened to land on a war drawing in progress. With his crayons, Douglas simply incorporated this new "texture" into the swirling colors. One value in watching a number of children draw is that it becomes easier to find out if this is common among those who draw about war, or if this is unique to a particular child. I asked children if they sometimes worried about getting their paper messy while working on it. While I found varying degrees of concern, and varying degrees of acceptance of accidents, on the whole I found children wishing to protect their drawings. While there were no mosquito stories, Chad related an incident which had some similarity. On one occasion he spilled black paint on a drawing. He adapted his drawing to have a creature remark "I hate it when that happens to my picture." Chad incorporates spills, sneezes and other accidents into his drawings with characteristic good humor. Several others said they weren't concerned about their drawings getting messy because they can always erase or start over.

But most said they are concerned. And this seemed to invite them to relate various accidents which have occurred.

Coffee was spilled on Raymond's work. Drawing at the kitchen table resulted in pancake syrup getting stuck on Josh's drawing; melted chocolate chips on fingers, somehow got on another. Family pets are responsible for occasional mishaps as well. In a twist on the familiar "my dog ate my homework"--Elliot's dog licked his drawing. Learning from such experiences, Eric doesn't eat while he draws, and Scooter handles and stores his drawings with care. I found that most youngsters are not as carefree concerning their drawings as Feinburg's Douglas.

Finishing the Drawing

Only John said his drawings normally take longer than one sitting to complete. Everyone else said they generally continue working on a drawing until it is finished. Especially when drawing at school, but also at home there are interruptions. When such occur, the drawing will be finished at a later time, perhaps even a day or so later. But considering the speed at which most of the youngsters draw, it is not likely that many drawings must be set aside for later completion. Teddy was the only one who said if a drawing must be set aside, he will not return to it for the purpose of finishing it. Teddy's inclusion in the study is important because his approach to the process is one which is "out there" and yet not common (or perhaps only more difficult to find). In Teddy's view, the product is something to be discarded. Process is everything.

Deciding When a Drawing is Done

There are three ways in which a drawing may be finished: the narrative or action may be sufficiently complete, the space may be filled, or the object(s) on the page may have all their requisite parts. Concerning narrative or action, when I asked him if his drawing was done, or if there was any further exploding to be done, Teddy assured me the drawing was finished. "Well this is dead. I mean everyone has been crashed....I just scribble it all out." For Teddy, that completion refers to reaching the final outcome of the war. But for most, that ideal point to stop is earlier in the war. For Stephen, it is when it is blown up enough (but not completely). Elliot and John also spoke of the right amount of action.

Most talked about the page being full. What constitutes "full" will differ from one child to another. For John, a drawing is complete when there are no huge white spaces. Raymond admitted that some of his drawings become overcrowded. Most applied some intuitive standard of full. Scooter gave an objective criterion for making that judgment. "I don't like so much that it's completely filled because then you don't get really the detail of one thing." I understand Scooter to mean that where a drawing is too crowded, details of a particular object can no longer be appreciated.

When the drawing consists of the equipment of war or warriors, then a drawing is complete when all the details have finally been added. When Jimmy can't think of anything else to add, the drawing is finished.

Judging the Quality of a Drawing

Only two children did not respond in the affirmative when asked if some of their drawings are better than others. As Teddy destroys his drawings in the process of waging battle, it is not surprising that he doesn't make judgments about the relative quality of his drawings. Nate said that all of his drawings are of equal quality. Perhaps they are so different that comparisons of quality are not easily made.

With those who make judgments, varying criteria were given. Todd simply has favorites. He likes his spikey tank. Several looked at the objects within the drawing. Where they are more competently drawn, more representational or realistic, the drawings are judged better. Elliot told me that his better drawing "looks more like a jet, a real jet." To press the point I asked a hypothetical question: If two drawings had jets that were equally good, but the jets were in different positions and there was different action, would the drawings still be equally good? Elliot assured me they would still be equal. Scooter also talked about controlled line. Better drawings are those which have straighter lines.

Though Scooter was the only one to name this as a criterion, others also held this as important. This was evident in the frequent use of rulers by several of the children.

Scooter added a second criterion: effort. Careful attention to detail and skillful eye/hand coordination require effort. Buddy advised "take your time and draw neatly." And, of course, sustained effort over time pays off. Joe sees his drawings as improving with practice.

Insights

I began the discussion of process by looking at the "when and where" of spontaneous war drawing. It happens at home and at school. It is an activity before dinner, on weekends, or when riding in the car. The ideas may come from things in the everyday world. Josh got an idea to improve his tanks when he noticed the lug nuts on the wheels of a truck. But more often the imagery and inspiration to draw about war comes from books, television, and other children's drawings. Their own drawings are often referred to, or at least recalled. Some duplicate their success by drawing "seconds." Others will extract more successful aspects for further use, or will extend their drawings with a continuation drawing or a sequel. And still others will remember so as to avoid duplicating earlier drawings, in favor of creating something new. When the objective is to draw a vehicle of war or a warrior, the child generally has

some idea in mind of how the product will look. With action drawing however, children rely more upon a working method. They draw to find out what will happen and to enjoy the adventure.

Where there is some significant object or person, that is usually drawn first. But action drawings sometimes do not have this, and so the drawing begins somewhere along the ground line with action and interaction. As new combatants arrive, they join the fray. Each individual object seems to have a particularly suitable starting point. Most children begin their tanks by drawing an oval track. But other factors enter the picture as well. Human figures may be drawn simply as stick figures, more elaborately by circles, or even more elaborately by an intricate contour. A ground line can be respected by drawing from the feet to the head, or the head may come first. Whatever individual plans of action are employed, the children generally draw each object in its entirety before moving on to begin another one. And not until they are complete can a gun be made to shoot or a plane be made to fly. War drawings pose special challenges when children try to record movement of objects or record an extended period of time.

Conceptions of war become evident in the compositions children develop. Generally, war is represented as a contest between two opposing teams or armies occupying the left and

right sides of the page respectively. But sometimes there is an attacker and a defender, or the notion of the pursuer and the pursued. The interaction may become very complex, or it may remain relatively simple. Sometimes action is delayed. There is an initial period of setting an elaborate stage. The terrain is established and armies are deployed. Following the fairly peaceful preparation for war, there follows a violent "messaging up" in which the battle is waged. How extensive will be the destruction that follows, is a matter of individual preference. Some children will also provide their own sound effects, whether written, vocalized, or both. For those who create something more akin to a single moment in battle, the fighting begins early and fades. For these children the final additions to their drawings are small details--embellishments and props to improve the realism of the objects or the landscape.

Considering the apparent dynamism of the imagery, children are not in a highly emotional state as they draw. They talk more about the challenges of drawing difficult objects, and their hopes for a successful product. Observations of the children at work, supported their earlier statements about affect. For most there was evidence of mild pleasure and satisfaction. And even the sound effects made by some were made in a soft, controlled voice. The children in my study indicated they valued the product.

With few exceptions they kept their drawings and took precautions to give proper care in their making and preservation.

The drawings take a relatively short time to complete. Completing a drawing may involve finishing the narrative. It may involve adding all the requisite parts. Or it may mean that the child has filled the available space to the point where further additions would violate the space each object needs to preserve its identity or integrity. Most children make judgments as to the quality of their work. They do so on criteria ranging from idiosyncratic favorites, to judgments about the representational fidelity of drawn objects to their equivalents in the world. Certain standards of control are also applied. Straight lines are better than irregular lines.

The process is an important means to understanding the drawings. And it is an equally important key to understanding the children who make them.

CHAPTER XI

USE

Introduction

In the preceding chapter on Process, I concluded with a look at the question of quality. This leads naturally to a discussion about use. If children identify certain drawings as "better," do they do anything different with these better drawings? Their answers to this question reveal something about the relative value they place on the product and the process.

Next I asked about their interest in showing and talking about the drawings. Included in this discussion is the reaction they've received from others. What have people said about these drawings? Has public reaction to the work generally been favorable? Or have children encountered censure for depicting scenes of violence?

Do children have friends who do war drawings? Is there a bond or relationship that develops among youngsters who share this interest? Concerning the use of drawings as fantasy, do children identify with a specific person in their drawings?

And finally I inquired into the use of war drawings in play. The chapter begins by looking at intrinsic rewards of drawing: both doing and viewing. It moves to extrinsic rewards: showing and talking about the product, membership in a group, individual fantasy (or imagined membership in a group), and play with others.

Intrinsic Aspects - Doing and Viewing

What is Done With Finished Drawings

In the preceding chapter, Teddy is reported as saying that he does not make judgments about the quality of his drawings. When they are finished, he throws them away. By doing so, he shows that he values the process but not the product. This approach to drawings may be more common than my study indicates. But without a product being kept, it is even more difficult for teachers and others to notice children who have war drawings. Buddy on the other hand, sees some of his drawings as being better than others. His better ones he puts up on his bedroom wall. And while he recognizes that his drawings could use further improvement, he suggested that he might frame some of his better efforts and hold a yard sale. These two examples show the connection between judgments about quality and the plans children have for their drawings when finished. Drawings may be thrown away, stored, displayed, given away, traded or sold.

The most common display area for war drawings is the walls of the child's bedroom. Raymond, Josh, Elliot and

Buddy all reported having work on their walls. When displayed there, the drawings serve to take ownership of the room by externalizing the child's interests and identity. A.J., Chad and Scooter have drawings on the refrigerator. The kitchen is a more public place. Drawings here are seen by the whole family. Here the drawings are celebrated as accomplishments by a family member. Stephen and Todd have drawings on the walls of their dining rooms--again a relatively public place.

Where drawings are displayed, is apt to result from a decision jointly made by child and parent. And parents also play a role in keeping the drawings. It was Teddy's mom who rescued a drawing for my visit. Raymond's mom got him a file folder to keep his drawings. T.J. said his completed drawings are just left around somewhere; he credited his mother with putting the drawings in a portfolio. Portfolios come in many forms. The collection of drawings may be kept in a file folder, cardboard box, or even a gym bag. And they are kept for a variety of reasons. Eric is typical of many in that he likes to spend time looking at past successes. He enjoys the feelings of productivity and accomplishment that come from getting out his portfolio. John adds another satisfaction. He likes to remember what would happen next in the action unfolding on the page. John likes to re-visit the narrative. Nine-year-old Chad is saving his drawings to show

his children. When he gets older he will be able to show the war drawings to his kids and "think how silly they are."

Several mentioned evaluating their work in relation to giving it as a gift. Eric retains his better drawings in a folder. Those he doesn't like as much are expendable. These he will sometimes give to his brothers. T.J. gave one of his better drawings to his step-sister. And Jimmy actually began war drawing with the idea of giving drawings to his teacher. Jimmy hoped she might send them to her two sons serving in the Gulf War.

It was unclear from my conversation with youngsters, whether or not the drawings were produced as gifts, or only became gifts later on. But exchanges of drawings seem fairly common. Several drawings by other children--often older brothers--were present in the portfolios I reviewed. Brad's friend trades drawings with him, and even gives Brad toys in exchange for drawings.

Product and Process

With a discussion about displaying, giving, and trading drawings, the emphasis is on valuing the product. In an effort to learn whether children generally value the product more than the process, I asked children a very direct question. I asked if it was fun for them to actually make the picture, or whether they liked the finished drawing better. This is a difficult question to answer. Each answer has its own rewards.

Only three chose the product over the process. All three were younger children, and their work was displayed in the home. Possibly neither of these factors contributes to some kind of explanation, but it is worthwhile knowing this in the event that further investigation of this issue is undertaken. Most found the process to be more rewarding. These children are not enduring an unpleasant experience in the expectation that they will be rewarded with a satisfying result. Making the drawing, despite the struggles some experience with representation, is fun to do. For Teddy of course, there is only process. But Raymond also told me about a kind of drawing he does, which he later discards. He referred to these as "moving pictures." Raymond will sometimes lightly draw a plane on the page. Then he will re-draw it, advancing the plane. He continues this process, drawing each successive plane darker. He accompanies these drawings with vocal sounds--the sound of a machine gun for example. The drawings get all messed up in the process of making them and are usually thrown away. In his portfolio consisting of about 35 drawings, no drawings of this kind had been retained.

Others gave reasons for preferring the process to the product. Chad likes the appearance of his drawings in the beginning stages. At that point the few completed objects on the page seem so detailed. As the drawing progresses and the space is filled, individual objects no longer appear to be

as detailed. Scooter made a similar observation, and I reported this earlier in regard to deciding when the drawing is finished. Brad too finds the process satisfying. He is a little disappointed when he can't think of any further additions to make to the drawing.

Extrinsic Aspects--Public Response and Group Membership
Showing and Talking

Apart from Teddy, all the children said they like to show their drawings to others. Some hastened to add that this did not mean they liked showing their drawings to "just anybody." There were some restrictions, and these revealed the children's vulnerability. Several were concerned about ridicule from peers. Raymond would not show his drawings to a bully who might make fun of them. Chad will show his drawings to his family and to one trusted friend who is "like a brother." Chad knows this particular friend won't make negative judgments. But he won't risk showing the drawings to a wider circle of casual friends. And Buddy won't show his drawings to those of his friends who are especially competitive about drawing. These friends will sometimes claim their drawings are better than Buddy's. But Buddy thinks they are equally good. Those boasts make Buddy angry. Josh is also careful about whom he allows to see his drawings. He is concerned about other children who copy his pictures. Josh doesn't mind if his good friends learn from him how to draw a certain thing, but he doesn't like it when

those he doesn't consider his friends copy his work. John likes to show his drawings to friends such as Raymond, friends who have a keen interest. John knows that his parents hate war. Though his parents are understanding and supportive, and though they compliment him on his drawings, John wonders how much they really like his drawings when they have such strong feelings against war.

Some of this vulnerability was also evident in children's responses to the question of whether or not they like to talk about their drawings. With close friends like John and Raymond, John said they are sometimes so eager to tell each other what's happening in their drawings and who is going to win, that they interrupt each other. They discuss what will happen next: whether a missile will miss its target and whether one side or another will jam signals. Nate and T.J. are quite willing to talk about their drawings. Most others are willing to answer questions but would not initiate a dialogue. This is probably less threatening. As Chad observed, the people who ask questions are probably ones who like the drawings. Two said they don't like to talk about their drawings. Despite saying this, in the interviews both A.J. and Teddy seemed quite open and comfortable in talking with me about their drawings. Maybe I seemed genuinely interested, not only in their drawings but in them as well. Then again, perhaps they are just generous hosts.

Comments Received on Their Drawings

Perhaps because they show their drawings to a select audience, there was little evidence of disapproval reported. When I asked what sorts of comments people have made about their drawings, children reported receiving compliments. Raymond's friends think his drawings are "cool." Eric's carefully chosen viewing public thinks his work is "neat" and "bad" (meant as a compliment). Friends show their approval in other ways too. Friends ask Brad for drawings, prompting him to boast "I can draw anything that flies..." And compliments come from parents, grandparents, teachers, and other important persons.

Sometimes children report receiving advice. Buddy said that people suggest other things he might want to add to his pictures. He appreciated the suggestion made by his mother that he add a castle to his drawing of a knight. Generally Nate receives compliments on his drawings. But there are some in his viewing audience who don't like war. Their comments to him included the suggestion, "Maybe you should make a few peace drawings." This disapproval is subtle, and I didn't sense that Nate was in any way offended by the suggestion. Josh told me that most of his classmates admire his drawings. The few who say they don't like them are probably just jealous of his ability and the attention he receives. Josh is very confident.

The War Drawings of Friends

Only three youngsters do not have at least one friend who does war drawings. Two of those mentioned friends who draw related subjects such as Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. Of those who have friends who make war drawings, I received a range of answers to the question of how these drawings are similar to, or different from their own.

Josh answered the question in an evaluative way. Sometimes his friends' drawings are better, and sometimes they are not as good as his own. More commonly, respondents talked about differences in general areas of interest and source, and differences in how individual objects are drawn. Chad described a friend as "a master of Nintendo" computer games. This friend's drawings are based on computer games. Eric's drawings are mostly of Second World War aircraft, whereas his friends draw modern jets. Nate's current drawings are about the Korean War. He has a friend who is interested in the Civil War. And Scooter prefers to draw air war, whereas a friend of his likes to draw ground war.

These may be more obvious differences. But children also seem keenly aware of differences in the way objects are drawn. Todd's planes are not as long and narrow as those drawn by a friend. Jimmy and Todd are friends. Jimmy gave an apt description of the way Todd draws men. "He puts a circle for their heads and makes a square body, squares for the arm I think--I'm not sure. It's been a long time since I saw

his men." A look at Todd's drawing (figure 45) shows that Jimmy has been a careful observer of Todd's way of drawing figures. And these are very different from Jimmy's own way of drawing (figure 48). Jimmy reports this as a difference, but he does not evaluate Todd's drawing in comparison with his own. John notices small differences in the way he and Raymond choose to mount missiles on the wings of their aircraft.

Related to this are differences in scale and complexity. Elliot has a friend who draws close-up views of war, in contrast to his more distant views. Eric also mentioned originality. He said his friends pretty much stick to the facts when they draw aircraft. "They draw them how they are." Eric however, adds extra guns.

There was little mention made of similarities. Children talked more about how they learned from one another; and they talked about collaboration on drawings. Brad feels an obligation to advise others on their drawings of aircraft. Such expertise should be shared. He explained, for example, that planes retract their wheels in flight. To prove his point that there are some who don't know this, he showed me a friend's drawing where the wheels had been left extended. Chad acknowledged that he has gained some of his ideas about war drawing by seeing the drawings of others. Perhaps sensitive to the stigma sometimes attached to copying, Chad added that even if someone attempts to copy your drawings,

their's will never be the same as yours. John said that he and Raymond don't copy each other's drawings, but they do notice each other's designs and learn. John pointed to a particular building which he "got from Raymond."

Collaborative drawings were mentioned by several. Figure 35 shows a drawing which Stephen did with the help of a friend. When youngsters draw together, they must certainly be aware of similarities and differences in the way they draw particular objects. There seems to be a keen awareness overall, on the part of children when it comes to differences in their drawings. And at the same time they teach and learn from one another.

Identification with Figures in the Drawing

Children feel a kinship with others who draw about war. The excited conversations of Raymond and John demonstrate this. But do they identify with the figures in their drawings? Are the children in their drawings?

Most said no, they do not imagine themselves in the drawing. Many of the drawings don't even show people and some just have stick figures. If they imagine themselves in the drawing at all, they are in relatively safe positions. Joe and John sometimes imagine they are generals planning the war. Brad once did a drawing of the view he would have if he were a pilot looking out of the cockpit of a plane. And Josh picked his favorite spacecraft (figure 34)--one which is untouched in the fighting--as the place he would

be. Children are normally not in their war drawings. And when they are, they are unseen and safe. Elliot was quite emphatic, he is "never, ever, ever" in his war drawings.

John's earlier drawings (figure 17) placed him in the role of general, planning the war. His more recent drawings (figure 26) cast him as an observer. To him it is like watching television. When we watch a television program we can feel excited or a little frightened, without feeling that we are actually in the picture.

War Drawings Used for Play

For most of the children, drawing about war does not lead directly to play. Scooter draws war and he plays war, but he sees no direct connection between the two. There are several children who do make drawings which lead to play. T.J. and his brother draw mutants, and then pretend to be mutants. They pretend to fight together as the good guys, against evil opponents.

On one occasion, Joe and his friends made a book with words and pictures. He and his four friends then acted it out. There was discussion as to what should or should not be included, and Joe drew most of the pictures.

These few examples show that in a limited way, drawings can suggest ideas which serve as a starting point for active play.

CHAPTER XII

ARTIST

Introduction

In the preceding chapter I ended with a very brief look at drawings which serve as a stimulus for play. These are considered to be war drawings by their makers. In this chapter I begin with an examination of war play. Some of this involves drawing too, but the children do not refer to it as such. In the minds of the children it is play. Sometimes the drawing takes the form of a competitive war game. Sometimes it is a prop used in the larger context of active play. And much of what is discussed here does not involve drawing at all. By asking about the different ways in which children play war, we may find connections which will aid in understanding war drawing. In asking these questions, other things are revealed as well. The relationships children have with their peers can be seen in the extent and manner in which they play together. We learn something about the "artist."

Next I asked questions which were intended to reflect on the issue of gender identity. These questions grew out of the theory discussed in chapter II. What notions do these children have about "gender-appropriate" behavior?

Moving further from the specific topic of war drawing, what other interests do these children have that would describe their collective character? One approach to the question is to ask about school. What do they like and dislike about it? When children talk about the subjects they take at school we learn something about their interests. But talking about school invites discussion of much more. There are relationships with others. The school environment brings them into contact with a much wider group of people than just their immediate friends. And it presents them with a much wider range of activities and responsibilities than drawing and play.

Still another way of learning about children is to discuss their drawings with them. Reviewing whatever they may have in the way of a portfolio provides an opportunity to learn about other interests they have, as well as to learn something of their evolving interest in drawing about war. Further, the review process has revealed something of the extent to which the youngsters are aware of their growth as learners. This investigation prepared the ground for the final questions in this section. I asked if they see their drawings as art, and I asked if they think of themselves as artists.

This chapter takes a number of snapshots of the children. It looks at their play, relationships with other children, issues of gender identity, performance in school,

interests revealed through their portfolios, perceptions about their growth in drawing, and whether or not they see themselves as artists. By taking these multiple snapshots a picture begins to emerge of the "artist"--the child who makes war drawings.

War Play and War Games

All of the children play war in some fashion or other. And most play in more than one way. In this section I discuss play involving small-scale toys, active play, and war games.

Small-Scale Toys

Almost everyone mentioned having small-scale war toys such as G.I. Joe action figures and vehicles. I will provide more detailed information about this in the next chapter. Here my interest is more in how they are used. How do children set them in action? How are they deployed and how are they destroyed? Buddy and a friend each have an assigned base for their soldiers. After setting everything up, they shoot rubber bands to try to knock over each other's toy action figures. The person who has the most men remaining is the winner. If one boy moves too close, hoping to improve his aim, disputes arise about who is winning or what are the rules of the game.

Playing by himself, Brad drops bombs from his A-10 tank killer on a toy tank. Then to show it has blown up he kicks the tank. Stephen and a friend played with their Civil War

soldiers one day. They did not play against each other. Both had a small group of Union and Confederate soldiers. Some toy figures were placed on a chair or table in order to snipe at others on the floor. Stephen once traced a line through the air from the rifle of one soldier to an opposing soldier, not unlike the dotted lines of bullets in his drawings. Both boys made sounds: neighing, bugle calls, rifle shots, "oof" (when someone falls down). Both used disguised voices to speak or shout for the soldiers.

Sometimes Stephen would hold one soldier in his hand and poke another with its rifle so it would fall down; in this way he indicated it had been hit by bullets from that gun. They spoke of good guys, bad guys, and bases. Sometimes two soldiers would engage in hand to hand combat and fall from great heights (the table top). Sometimes Stephen would toss a soldier in the air indicating that he had been blown up. Few soldiers stayed dead for any length of time. As the boys were not in direct competition with each other there were no arguments. They played happily together and then broke for Popsicles.

Scenes like this are repeated with some variation in homes all over. Sometimes Stephen has made props or landscapes for these wars. He has painted boards with green and blue poster paint to create a landscape of grass and lakes. He has made papier mache hills and toothpick fences. This blurs distinctions between drawing and

three-dimensional construction. And it blurs distinctions between play and drawing.

Active Play

More active play about war takes numerous forms as well. On the way to school, Elliot and a friend pretend they are flying in jets. They do this by extending their arms as wings and imitating the sounds of jets. There are certain spots on the route which are designated as their bases. They pick up sticks to be used as missiles. And they fly over Saddam Hussein where they release their missiles. John and a friend like to imagine they are high-ranking officers planning a dangerous mission to rescue hostages. To aid them in this affair they make a map with town, forest, road, and the locations of tanks marked on it. The positions of friendly and hostile troops are also indicated on the map, as are the places they must hit. Having planned the mission, the boys act out the drama. Though John's map is a kind of drawing, he doesn't consider it a proper war drawing. Its use is to facilitate active play.

Perhaps more familiar are the competitive war games Scooter described. He and his friends pick teams and play with toy guns or they simply extend their index finger to make their hand into the shape of a gun. Scooter confessed there are arguments about who is dead. After all, it isn't very much fun to be dead. I recently observed Stephen play this kind of game with 6 or 7 friends. Again there were

arguments about who shot whom--"I got you Charles." There were arguments about who was on who's team. And when one boy got on his bike there were disagreements as to whether or not this was cheating. Disgruntled players threatened "I quit, I'm not going to play." This was inevitably followed by negotiated changes to the rules--"there's no teams, nobody's on a team." The play is free-wheeling and ranges over a wide area with frequent and sometimes heated debate. As with most war drawing, action seems to be the main purpose.

Stephen made props to support his play involving small-scale toys. He also made props to support his active play. On one occasion Stephen interrupted war play with his brother in order to construct a gun he called "definite kill gamma launcher." The object resembles a grenade launcher and was made of a mouthwash bottle, a cardboard roll, and a mint package.

Games

Several children described board games they played. Teddy listed some commercially produced games that he plays with friends: Supremacy, Screaming Eagle, and Battleship. But others made their own games. While using a computer catalogue in the library, John discovered "war gaming." He was immediately interested in learning more about this subject so he located and checked out a book. Using what he

learned from the book, John drew a landscape on gridded paper and made his own war game.

Stephen's older brother Jonathon, invites him to play a war game which is in some ways similar to Teddy's drawings. Jonathon plans a naval battle between two countries. He draws ships, fortifications, and armies on both sides, with island obstacles between. One player closes his eyes and draws a line from his own ship (castle or army) towards the opposition. When he hits something, his opponent tells him to stop. They assess the damage according to pre-established rules. A portion of an island may be erased and replaced with rock fragments. Or a ship may be scribbled over with fire. Players take turns, relying upon strategy and kinaesthetic sense, until one side is wiped out. Each weapon has listed by it the number of times it can fire and the number of hits required to neutralize it. A follow-up drawing is done on the back of the page showing all that remains after the wreckage is cleared away. Stephen plays the game but it is not he who does the preliminary or the follow-up drawing.

It isn't my intention to catalogue play with toys, active play, or more formal games made and played by children. My objective has been to suggest that war drawing does not exist in isolation. The boundaries between drawing and play may become blurred or lost entirely at times.

Gender Identity

Relationships with Friends

Much of the preceding discussion tells something about the relationships these children have with other children. When I asked each one if they preferred to play with others or by themselves, most said "play with others." Buddy observed that it is boring to be by yourself. Not one preferred to be alone. But several said they like to be with friends at times and they like to be alone at times. The children are sociable and yet are able to enjoy their own company.

Nine of the youngsters said they have only boys as friends. Eight said they have one or more girls as friends. Where the youngsters talked about their friendships, it was possible to get a better picture of the nature of those relationships. There are two girls with whom T.J. enjoys playful conversation. Joe said he talks with girls but they don't really play together. Chad told me about a girl he likes. He considers himself a pretty good swimmer so he tried to impress her with his ability to swim the length of the pool underwater. Chad said "she thinks I'm pretty nice."

Perceptions About the Spontaneous Drawings of Girls

When I asked the boys in my study if girls ever draw about war, most said no, or at least they couldn't recall ever seeing it. Josh replied that he doesn't think most girls draw. At this point his younger sister who had been in

the room quietly drawing, walked over and poked his arm to remind him that she draws, and also to show him her current drawing. Stephen said he knows that girls do war drawings but he has never seen it. Only Joe claimed to have seen girls draw war "or something that makes war, like an American flag."

If girls don't draw war, what do they draw? Jimmy doesn't know, he just knows it isn't war. Elliot and Eric also couldn't recall. Josh suggested that girls make "girl pictures." Brad used almost the same words. These responses seem to illustrate the "blind spot" that cognitive developmentalists talk about. In their gender role stereotyping children tend not to see things that don't fit their schema. When war drawing is seen as a thing that boys do, boys would tend not to notice when girls draw about war. And when boys are so interested in the activities of other boys, they tend not to notice when girls participate in some of those same activities--in this case spontaneous drawing. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that Josh overlooked his sister who was drawing in the same room.

Another explanation based on observations made by the Wilsons (1982a.) is that many more boys than girls are high producers of spontaneous drawing. This, they maintain, is due to the male-oriented nature of popular media. Television is directed toward, consumed, and finally modelled by boys.

If the Wilsons are right, these boys don't have a "blind spot," there just isn't much to see.

I cannot speculate on which explanation more adequately accounts for the fact that some boys don't know what it is girls like to draw. But not all were unable to say. Some boys did notice and recall specific drawings done by girls. Buddy's sister likes to draw Mickey Mouse. Teddy noticed girls drawing funny faces. Some girls in T.J.'s class were drawing geometric designs. Other youngsters in the study said that girls draw: hearts, rainbows, houses, horses, and baby dolls. John noticed a girl drawing an airplane but it was a domestic rather than a military plane. And Stephen said "they usually draw animals. Not like tigers and lions, but dogs and cats and stuff."

Chad misinterpreted the question. When I asked what girls draw if not war, Chad thought I was asking how girls depict the theme of violence. He suggested that they would draw domestic disputes instead. He also predicted that girls who act mean will draw physical violence between men and women. Girls who are nice will draw men and women resolving their differences by peaceful "talking it over." Whether or not one can tell who is mean or nice by looking at their pictures, is a separate issue. But Chad's thoughts about the differences in how boys and girls traditionally portray violence is supported by the research of Sylvia Feinburg (1979). She asked lower elementary aged boys and girls to

draw two pictures: one about helping and one about fighting. She found that 20 percent of the boys chose war as a means of portraying fighting as compared with only 4 percent of girls. With boys, fighting tended to be depersonalized. Weapons were used and bodily harm resulted. Girls on the other hand tended to personalize the fighting. They focused on the issue of getting along with people they know and care about.

The comments I received concerning what it is girls draw, range from a lack of any awareness to keen insight and observation. All of the boys noticed or assumed that girls tend to draw other kinds of things. Some of them implying "gender appropriateness" by describing those things as "girl pictures."

Likes and Dislikes About School

School plays an important part in the life of children. Through their experiences at school they come to a greater understanding of who they are. Their self-image is shaped not just by family and close friends, but by a wider community of teachers and classmates. And they have more formal exposure to subject areas. It seemed necessary then in my efforts to describe these children who do war drawings, to ask about their experiences in school.

When I asked what they like about school, Nate replied that he liked to get all his work done. Jimmy mentioned nice teachers and nice friends. But he also added "gym" to the

list. Everyone else responded with the names of certain subjects. When I asked Raymond what he likes about school he responded "Nothing--just kidding. I like recess. I like spelling because I got straight 4's in spelling. I like when we write stories if we write on a certain topic or if she says you can pick your own topic. But usually we don't do that..." Recess and gym were each mentioned by 10 children. But Raymond is the only one who mentioned spelling. The other favorite was art, being mentioned 11 times. Six children also said they like math. Other subject areas received only 1 or 2 votes each.

When asked what they dislike about school, 4 youngsters either said they like everything or couldn't think of anything they didn't like. Non-subject dislikes included homework and detentions. But as with the question of likes, most children identified subject areas. Three said they don't like math. And 3 don't like reading. Raymond qualified this. "Well I like reading just a book. But usually she'll give us a book and she'll give us a group of questions: a lot of vocabulary we've got to look up. And that's the worst one. Because I like reading a book of my pick..." All other subjects mentioned, were mentioned only by 1 or 2 children. No child named more than three subjects as disliked.

Combining 10 votes for recess and 10 for gym, it is clear that these are active children. They also like art. Many like math. But a smaller number also expressly said

they don't like math. It is possible of course that my being an adult and my being from a university, might have influenced them to present a more favorable view of school. But I believe in listening to their discussion that these children felt comfortable enough to tell me what they really thought. And it seems apparent from their answers that on the whole these children consider themselves successful in school; they are positive about the experience.

Portfolio

I outlined the framework for the portfolio review in chapter VI. I will not repeat that information in detail here. When I asked children and their parents if they could show me a collection of drawings done by the child, some had kept little or nothing at all. Others had kept a few school projects. And others had portfolios consisting only of spontaneous drawings.

Two youngsters did not have a portfolio. In contrast with this, Stephen's drawings have been kept from age 1½ till present (age 9). His portfolio has perhaps 70 drawings. I would like to remove these extremes from my statistics. I will address Stephen's development later. Of the remaining 14 portfolios, Raymond's covers a 6-year period. Chad's drawings represent only one month. In many cases there were drawings elsewhere in the home, but children and/or parents were too busy to search for them. The average portfolio represented a span of 1.7 years. Similarly the portfolios

ranged from as many as 44 drawings to as few as 5. There was an average of 17 drawings in each portfolio.

I asked the children to tell me how many of the drawings in their portfolios were about war and how many were not. Again this is not a "clean" survey in that some children showed me only their war drawings, though they told me they work in other genres. Of the total 227 drawings I was shown, slightly more than half (120) were about war (as each young person defined it). Jimmy was the only youngster who didn't have other kinds of drawings besides ones about war.

Definitions

Asking the children to tell me which of their drawings are and are not about war, at times initiated a discussion of what constitutes war drawing. Some defined war more narrowly than others. For some there had to be fighting in the picture. For others it was enough that there be the potential for it. A.J., for example, drew one of his dogs heavily armed but not fighting. To Chris this is not a war drawing. T.J. disagrees. His mutants aren't fighting either, but they are war drawings because these warriors fight in T.J.'s imagination and in his play. Nate applied the narrow definition to vehicles. One of his drawings is of an Enforcer helicopter. It is "heavily armed and battle ready" but it is not a war drawing.

There are times when an observer would be unable to tell. Eric showed me 35 drawings, all relatively similar views of aircraft. But only half are war drawings. This is because in Eric's imagination these are flying in battle; the others are not on a combat mission.

John had a problem with classifying one drawing, not over the definition of war but of drawing. He concluded it was not a war drawing but war play; it was a drawn map used in play about war.

Other Genres

It is sufficient perhaps to conclude that on the whole, children define war drawing rather narrowly. And that there is not consensus among them on how it should be defined. This leads rather naturally to discussion of other genres. Some of those are very close to war drawing. The currently popular Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles is a subject mentioned by several children. Raymond considers this street fighting. Brad also referred to it as a subject other than war, though he enlisted one of the Turtles in the fight against Saddam Hussein (figure 62). Related to this are drawings about terrorists versus police. Again this is not war. Despite the fact that John's police and terrorists battle with sophisticated weaponry--uzzis, night vision goggles, and so forth--this is still not war.

Other subjects as well could be mistaken for war drawings. Josh drew a burning plane. Fire fighters are

attempting to extinguish the blaze. Josh regards this as a peace drawing because an effort is being made to prevent further destruction.

Action, danger and adventure characterize many of the drawings these children do: there are race cars, mountain climbers, space aliens, futuristic trains, skateboarders and so forth. The influence of popular culture is evident in video game drawings, cartoons of "punks," rock bands, movie characters.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt to survey and categorize other genres. But it was apparent that war drawing, while being the dominant genre of most of the children in this study, was not the sole interest of most.

Change and Development

In the portfolio review I asked children to arrange drawings in the order in which they had been done. While I have no way of knowing if children got it entirely right, few expressed any confusion about the order. Relying upon memory and clues in the drawings themselves, the children sometimes talked to me about how they managed this task. Josh arranged his 44 drawings by memory. Some he recalled doing while travelling on vacation, linking the drawings to events in his life. Some of his drawings represent "phases"--at times he would develop an idea or image, then repeat it making changes. Eventually he would tire of it or wish to try something else. One such phase was Rube

Goldberg-type machines, fully automated factories which produce goods like cider.

Besides these connections with life events and connections by phases, there were other clues that helped Josh and others arrange their drawings in the order in which they had been done. We laid the pictures on a table if there was room. We spread them on the floor if there wasn't. And we walked among them as we talked.

For relative newcomers to spontaneous drawing such as Jimmy, the issue of change or development may be difficult to address, having only a short period of drawing activity to reflect upon. And for those without a portfolio or who have a rather small group of drawings to use as reference, I asked them to remember as best they could what their previous drawings were like. I asked them to use their memory of these works in order to make comparisons, describe changes and so forth. Despite these limitations every youngster had something to say on the topic.

Changing Subject Matter

Several recognized shifting interests in particular historical periods. John and Stephen both spoke of a declining interest in Medieval warfare. Castle sieges and fire breathing dragons seem to have lost their appeal. And several spoke of a waning interest in futuristic warfare. Where once Nate drew Star Trek battles, his wars are now set in more contemporary times. His warriors have exchanged

their Klingon cruisers for Korean tanks and submarines. And John has traded in his armored knights for Iraqi MIGs and U.S. Stealths. While the presence of the Gulf War may have contributed to the greater interest in modern warfare, it is more likely that we can account for these shifts in terms of the larger shift towards realism reported by developmentalists (Lowenfeld and Brittain, 1987) in their efforts to document changes that occur in the drawings of many Western children--changes which seem to accompany their gaining greater experience with the world as they grow older.

Drawing Individual Objects

Most were aware or became aware through the review process, of changes in the way they draw individual objects. For some it was a matter of applying their expanding knowledge of the way things "work." Nate's bullets now travel in a straight path unless they are laser-guided, in which case it is alright if they follow a curved path. Stephen also talked about his bullets, "Something that I still do is, I used to draw lines where the gunshots were to where it's hitting, to show you where the bullets travelled. I still do that. I'm not sure why....Oh, one other thing. My bullets used to, when they would shoot they would curve up sometimes a little. And now they don't do that...Back when I wasn't as good as I am, I used to make it so it would always hit its target." But now Stephen won't allow his bullets to

curve. This results in some misses. Stephen explained "because I used to not really know, well I knew this but I never thought it really happened that people missed their targets very much, so I used to always make it hit its target."

Knowledge and perception come together in views of certain objects. Elliot used to draw aircraft from a top view. More recently he learned a new way of drawing the wings. This new way is foreshortening. It enables Elliot to draw aircraft from a side view, a presentation he prefers.

Elliot didn't tell me where he learned this new way of drawing airplanes but he showed me the drawing of a tank which an adult artist had sketched for him. Elliot has copied this tank and now has "a new way" of drawing profile views of tanks. Generally children's drawings of individual objects become more complex and differentiated. Nate said "I used to draw like kindergartners do. Now I draw like first-graders do." When I asked him what the difference was, he gave me an example. Drawing with his finger he showed me how kindergartners draw people, as stick figures. Nate's people (figure 43) are made of circles, they possess volume. Stephen didn't used to put noses on the people he drew. Now those earlier drawings appear "weird" to him. His people now come equipped with noses and facial expressions as well, at least they do when they are drawn large enough to show these (figure 38). Similar points were made in regards to the

drawing of vehicles. Scooter remembered the way he drew tanks 4 years earlier. A tank consisted of circles for wheels, a box on top for the body and a stick as the barrel. His present tanks are much more intricate, some of them are even armed with missiles.

Both Josh and Raymond made the observation that overall their drawings had become more detailed. This complexity was described by Chad. "Mostly the ones I did a long time ago had two helicopters and one airplane and two tanks and no people out of things. But now I have people out of stuff, like parachuting down and so it's more different, and have more action...." Not only have the individual objects become more complex and differentiated, the whole page has become filled. There is a wider range of things shown and more of them. The sum total for Chad is "more action."

Children also made comments about their increasing technical control. Several noted their drawings are "neater" and "less messy." Straight lines seems a particular measure of greater skill. Jimmy made mention of his "Garfield measure thing" in noting that with the aid of this ruler he draws better horizon lines. Buddy noticed that his line quality has changed: In earlier drawings he used heavy black lines whereas his present drawings use thinner, lighter lines. Observing him draw, it was apparent that Buddy was making use of varying line strengths, at times going over a contour several times to make it darker, and at other

times tipping the pencil in order to draw with the broad edge to create soft lines. Some of these he softened further by rubbing them with his finger.

T.J. observed that he no longer uses color. Josh noted that he has begun to use color. Looking at their portfolios with them, both were correct in their observations. Differing reports such as these carry an important message. There is not a single path to progress. Neither is there a single purpose in using media. T.J. did not offer any discussion of this point but Josh did. Josh liked the contribution of color in making his tanks "more real." But coloring drawings was not automatic. Josh gave several reasons for not coloring certain drawings. Sometimes he simply doesn't have the extra time it takes to color. And sometimes he avoids coloring because fine details of the preliminary pencil drawing might be obliterated by the color medium when applied over top.

General Comments on the Portfolio Review Process

A.J. summed up his review of the portfolio by saying "I'm doing better I think, now." There seemed to be a general feeling among the children that they were indeed improving. For the most part children told me that spreading out the drawings as we did was a new experience for them. Of those two who had previously spread out drawings, their purpose in doing so had been somewhat different. Eric gets his drawings out once in a while when he is bored and

doesn't feel like drawing. He likes to see how good these past drawings are. Raymond is more evaluative. He and a friend look at each other's drawings for the purpose of selecting the best of each year for inclusion in a "championship" folder. But selecting the best is not the same thing as looking over several years of work with the objective of noticing development and change.

Children were generally aware of changes in the way they drew individual objects. But even some of these were discovered, or at least re-discovered as we looked at the portfolio. Josh had not realized until we looked at the drawings together in this way that his work had become "neater." Nor had he known that he had so many drawings. Some children have especially good feelings about their drawings. Josh said, "For some reason after I draw, I just want to sit there and look at them forever. And I wish they were real 'cause I think they're so neat." While making a drawing, Josh is so preoccupied with the decisions and task demands of drawing that he is unable to simply bask in the glory of his success. But afterward this is possible. Not all children were this enthused by the process of reviewing the portfolio. Nate saw limited value in doing it. He doesn't think he learned anything apart from being reminded of certain drawings he had forgotten.

For some children more than others the portfolio review was a learning experience as they discovered things about

themselves and recognized their growing skill level in drawing. And it was a time for satisfaction as they re-visited past successes and felt a sense of accomplishment for the quality and number of drawings they had accumulated.

In keeping with the focus of this study, my objective in conducting the portfolio review was to learn what sorts of discoveries children would make, largely on their own as a result of looking at their past production. My role as researcher was to learn from children rather than to teach them. Were I, or someone else to take a more active role in a portfolio review, pointing out certain things and rearranging the drawings to facilitate discoveries, the outcome would of course be different.

Developing Interests

Does war drawing spring into existence one day without word or warning, or can we look into the earlier drawings of a child and find certain themes or interests which lead to the adoption of war as a means of extending those interests? As the drawings in the portfolios represented an average of only 1.7 years, it is difficult to gain much of a sense of the thematic roots or origins of the genre of war drawing by looking at these collections. Fortunately I have a portfolio from Stephen which does cover a wide enough period of his life. There are examples of his earliest named scribbles at age 1½. And there are drawings representing each year up to and including this, his ninth year. While this is a look at

the evolving interests of only one child, it may nevertheless give some indication of how others who draw about war have come to choose this genre.

In order to study the portfolio, I wrote Stephen's titles or the verbal descriptions he gave concerning the contents. What this cataloging revealed was a very early interest in themes of power, danger, and excitement. Among the more benign titles for these earliest named scribbles are "old man saying 'ooh, ah" and "a big frog and turtle." Other titles however, include "daddy shark, mommy shark, baby shark, tunnel where shark lives, Stephen swimming away from shark." Another drawing done when he was 2 years old is "policeman in a spaceship after a bad guy." There are thoughts of family and also of danger, thoughts of good guys, bad guys, and pursuit.

Stephen's drawings became recognizable as a 4-year-old. And there are further benign images. "Rainbow giraffe" is a smiling and fanciful creature. Stephen also drew "Santa Claus" and "Pasha" the family dog. But investigations of power, danger, and adventure continued with drawings of monsters and dinosaurs. "First he's a dinosaur man and he can turn into any dinosaur he wants--first he's a meat eater." The human figures became more varied: There were pirates, cowboys, Indians, and cavemen. The influence of popular culture is very apparent. As early as age 2 Stephen

drew figures from a television cartoon series He-Man. Titles such as: "then He-man was flying up in the air with a vine to save someone" and "Skeletor with a gun that shot Teela," indicate his interest in these themes of good and evil, of rescue and violence.

By age 5 Stephen became interested in warfare more than the exploits of superheroes and super villains. Here he drew a fortress and a castle. Still he continued to draw themes from other aspects of his life. "Nibbles in cage with designs" is a drawing about the family hamster. "California raisin" is another image from popular culture. "Alien with fly bites on his face" can only be described as bizarre.

Stephen's interest in warriors and wars of other periods of history, and his interest in other cultures seemed to grow considerably when he was 6. Titles include: "Hannibal," "Trojan horse," "giant near a castle, holding a captive princess while being attacked by knights," "pirates" and "Ninjas."

And today Stephen's interests continue to change. In his own assessment he is less interested in historical battles than he once was. Modern warfare seems to have taken on greater interest though he still visits the past and the future. And along with his increasing interest in modern war, Stephen draws helicopters, jets, ships, tanks. Stephen draws more machinery of war than he did in the past.

The years from age 6 to 9 have been given only brief attention in this already brief history. This is because I have reviewed the drawings of many other children of this age group. Collectively they make a more complete picture of the genre of war drawing. What seems significant is that war drawing is an interest that evolved rather than began abruptly. And it is an interest which was not explored to the exclusion of other themes. Stephen continued to draw holiday pictures, family, pets, the humorous and the bizarre. But the theme of conflict and competition was there with policemen and bad guys. It continued through cartoon superheroes and villains, through monsters and dinosaurs, into what the children themselves define as war drawings. Single figures are replaced by large numbers of organized warriors. And the unreality of supernatural powers gives way to tactical strength and a passion for facts about real, present day weapons.

I cannot claim that Stephen's development in those early years is "typical" of children who come to war drawing. But it provides one individual history which may be shared by others.

Artist

In using the structure of: product, process, use, artist, and culture, I am simply using a structure that would be applicable to the study of many forms of artistic

production. I am not implying that I consider these children in my study to be artists. My interest is in learning how the children perceive themselves and their drawings. Do they consider themselves to be artists?

Their answers to the question not only revealed a range of response from a quick "no" to a qualified "uh, huh," but many of the youngsters also gave me their perceptions of what "artist" means. The majority said they are not artists and gave reasons. Those few who considered themselves to be artists seemed to feel less inclined to give reasons for taking that designation to themselves.

Ever the philosopher, Chad equated artist with perfection. And since nobody is perfect, he concluded "I don't think anybody's an artist." But he added reassuringly, "You still can be close to perfect, you can at least try to accomplish, to be close." So Chad doesn't consider himself, or anybody else for that matter, to be an artist.

Josh said, "I'd like to be an artist when I grow up." Implied in his statement is that only adults can be artists, and therefore children cannot be considered artists. Calling upon an institutional definition, Raymond said he is not an artist because he doesn't have "art hanging in a museum or somewhere." Several spoke of art in terms of special skill or quantity of production. For Scooter, an artist is "somebody that just does a lot of drawings." And though he

himself has a lot of drawings, artists apparently do more. Possibly the word "just" also suggests that artists don't have other interests. Stephen thinks he draws well but not well enough to be a "good artist." Here he seems to equate artist and good. The phrase "bad artist" would be a contradiction in terms. John suggested that an artist has amazing abilities in graphic representation. He implied that it would be vain or boastful of him to claim to be an artist. "I think my drawings are good for a kid my age and stuff, but they're between medium and really good. But I don't think I'm Mr. Artist Man, that I can draw a plane that looks so real it was real and something."

Eric recognized that the community must validate a person's claim to be an artist. "Well I can't really prove that [I am an artist], because when I look at my drawings I really like them. But some people might not like them." Joe implied a solution when he said "Yeah, I'm a good artist. Probably not the best kid artist but I'm pretty good." If there can be two standards, adult artist and kid artist, then it is alright for children to call themselves artists. John developed his explanation further agreeing with Joe that two standards exist. "For kids our age, artist means somebody who likes to draw pictures and draws pictures." Brad added the notion of intent to the defining characteristics of artist. "If I'm just drawing 'cause I

want to get away from everybody, I don't think I'm an artist. But when I'm doing it like this--I was improving on it [a drawing] to show you--but then I consider myself an artist." T.J. separated maker from object when he said "I think my drawings are art, but I'm not like really an artist I'd say."

In summary, the children collectively described artists as adults who produce a large amount of skillful representational drawing. They exhibit their drawings in museums and are accepted by others in the community to be artists. Artists seriously pursue their craft. If we can accept two standards, adult and child, then a child may claim to be an artist. If the child pursues drawing seriously, working to improve drawings, then that child may also claim to be an artist. And finally, a child can make art without being an artist.

In asking youngsters if they consider themselves artists, it also seemed worthwhile to ask if others had ever referred to them in that way. Jimmy thinks of himself as an artist. And although no one has ever called him that, people have told him his pictures are really good. Teachers at his school are especially complimentary. "All the teachers in that hallway love my pictures." Four others also reported receiving support and encouragement from family or teachers;

this contributed to their thinking about their drawings as art and themselves as artists.

Sometimes children may be referred to as an artist by others and yet not claim the title for themselves. At other times children may think of themselves as artists without being expressly called that by others. But important in all of this is that children develop an awareness of themselves and their special interests and skills as they are recognized by adults and other children. Through many such contacts they come to form an idea of what it is to be an artist.

CHAPTER XIII

CULTURE

Introduction

In earlier chapters I looked at the product. Examining the drawings permitted me to find categories which seemed to describe general approaches to war drawing. And I introduced specific representatives of each category. The next topic had to do with process. Included was a discussion of how the drawings are made. Considered here were issues pertaining to getting started, developing and concluding a drawing. Next was use. What do children do with their drawings when they are finished? This led to an investigation of the maker. Who are these youngsters who do war drawings? In the topic of artist we learned something about their play, their perceptions about gender roles, their thoughts about school and whether or not they view themselves as artists.

This brings us to an even wider topic--culture. What values and knowledge are acquired in their experiences in culture which encourage or affect their war drawing? Values of competition and cooperation may be gained through involvement in sports. Values of power and mastery may be promoted by using technology. And how is it that children

learn about war? Do they learn about war through popular culture such as toys and comic books, or have they gained this knowledge by reading newspapers and talking with adults who are war veterans? Finally I asked the children to evaluate war and tell me about their career plans.

Values

Values and knowledge cannot be clinically separated of course. But for purposes of discussion it is sometimes useful to consider them independently. Values are broader. It is possible to identify certain values which are prominent themes in war drawing and find other areas of children's lives where these values are proclaimed and practiced. War drawings, especially those which involve action, are about competition and cooperation. One "team"--children sometimes used this word--is engaged in a fierce competition with another. And members of a military unit must cooperate if they hope to prevail. Team sports are not much different. It would be unnecessary for me to argue this point further; analogies between war and sports are hardly new.

Another cluster of values which is more evident in drawings of individual warriors and in the machinery of war is that of power and mastery. When children draw helicopters that can fly faster, carry more weapons and have impenetrable defenses, they show that they value the potency of technological superiority. Such values can also be found

in other areas of the children's lives. When they learn how to use a power drill or a computer they are developing similar kinds of mastery. They are entering the adult world.

There are undoubtedly others, but these two value clusters are prominent and warrant investigation.

Competition/Cooperation

When I asked children if they like to play sports, all replied that they do. Their answers are reinforced by an earlier question about school where the most common "likes" about school were gym and recess. The children perceive themselves to be active and to be interested in athletic competition. There was an abundance of visual evidence concerning their interest in sports. T.J.'s walls have posters of sports figures: Bo Jackson, Joe Montana and others. And T.J. was wearing a Raiders football jersey when I visited. When I arrived for my second visit with Joe, he was somewhat out of breath from playing basketball with his dad. Todd was playing baseball with his sister outside their home when I arrived. Other supporting statements were made in informal conversation and in answer to other questions during the interview. A.J. told me about the homerun he got earlier that day. And Teddy told me he wants to be a professional football player when he is an adult.

Most volunteered one or more sports that were their favorites. Baseball topped the list. While some of the younger children aren't old enough to play in organized

league competition, they nevertheless like to play baseball or variations of it such as T-ball. Football and basketball were the next most frequently mentioned sports.

While all like to play sports, I would guess that not all are necessarily skilled athletes. A few of the boys are rather small for their age or are somewhat chubby. But their skill level is not the issue. What counts is that they hold certain values.

In trying to learn how competitive they are, I asked if winning is important or if they just like to play the game. Only Raymond said without hesitation that he likes to win. But he added that he is a gracious winner. He doesn't brag about winning but he does like to be first. Joe didn't exactly say he likes to win but he does sometimes fantasize about being a professional football player who intercepts the football and runs with it. He dreams about individual success in the team effort to win. Though my question was phrased as an "either/or," 6 youngsters gave answers I would judge to mean "both." John, for example, said that he enjoys basketball. He plays for the satisfactions of playing but he also likes to win. This adds to the enjoyment. Scooter said that he enjoys the game. Under cross examination from his mother who was listening to the interview, Scooter good-naturedly conceded that when a championship was at stake it was pretty nice to win. Ten said they just like to play sports. It may be that winning is more important to

coaches and parents than to the children themselves. Buddy told me that he quit playing football because "the coaches yelled at us for nothing." Referring to their action drawings, most seem to value action more than outcome. Not many wars on paper are waged till a winner is declared.

Power and Mastery

Children are prepared for adult life by being given small-scale versions of the technology that adults use. It seems a question worth asking, Do children who like to draw tanks and combat aircraft also enjoy using the tools and technology that adults around them use? Do they achieve a sense of power and mastery by using this equipment?

Traditional tools--those more associated with gender--were not much mentioned. Carpentry tools were most often talked about here. Several of the young people in my study are cub scouts. One of their activities as cub scouts was to make a pinewood derby racer with the help of a parent. A.J. and his mother made one of these small-scale cars from a block of wood, and their racer won the competition. A.J. brought out the carpentry tools his mom had bought him. Brad also showed me a stool he had nailed together from scrap lumber. And Elliot and his father are making a jet out of wood. But on the whole such traditional tool using wasn't important to most of the children I spoke with.

Newer "tools" were mentioned--ones not nearly as associated with gender. Teddy likes to use the stereo; John,

the computer. Raymond uses a photocopier which is part of the business equipment his mom has in their home. The extent to which children gain satisfaction in using a machine is sometimes suggested by the language they use in talking about it. John likes to use a tape recorder and listen to music. But Teddy likes to work the controls of a stereo. It would appear that for John the enjoyment of music is at least as important as the satisfaction of using technology. For Teddy it seems the satisfactions of using technology are greater. But there are more obvious examples. John likes to pick locks. He sees it is a challenging mechanical puzzle. There are no other rewards for him than the feeling of competence he gains through outsmarting the machine.

While there are examples like A.J.'s pride in his carpentry tools, Teddy's working the controls of the stereo and John's picking locks, I did not find a particular love of tools among the children I interviewed. Virtually all said they like team sports but fewer indicated any real interest in technology. Perhaps this will develop as they grow older. And perhaps in this post-industrial age, using a Nintendo provides all the feelings of mastery that are needed.

Learning About War

Toys

In asking youngsters to name their favorite toys, everyone included war toys in their answer. And while this

was asked in a context of questions about war, it is still noteworthy that almost no other kinds of toys were mentioned. Notable exceptions included T.J.'s stuffed animals and chemistry set, and Scooter's model airplanes which range from rubber band-powered gliders to motorized planes attached to control cables. Since it was earlier decided that Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle action figures are not war toys, this too must be mentioned. Three youngsters like to play with these.

The most often mentioned war toys were G.I. Joe action figures and vehicles. There are over 30 different figures, each having special equipment and capabilities. They have names like Rock-Viper, Ambush, Annihilator, Recoil, and Stalker. The vehicles are many and varied. There are relatively small vehicles like the 8 in x 3½ in x 7½ in G.I. Joe Pulverizer. This vehicle holds one figure and is a mobile assault vehicle. Much more elaborate is the 28 in x 21 in x 14 in G.I. Joe General. It is advertised as a mobile land based headquarters. It boasts a helicopter, mortar cannon, 8 machine gun stations, and more.

Other small-scale war toys were mentioned as well such as the war vehicles of Mega Force. Children needed no encouragement from me to get out some of these toys. Raymond showed me a toy soldier in a prone position. It is mechanized. When turned on, the soldier creeps forward with

its gun firing. Raymond told me that at night the light from the firing gun is particularly neat.

Some war toys are constructed from movable plastic blocks called Lego. Sometimes these popular toys are "redesigned." John got a Lego helicopter with a meal purchased at a fast food restaurant. With his other Lego pieces he was able to modify it. John added guns, rocket launchers and so forth. Stephen frequently plays with Lego, inventing his own war vehicles. Brad makes aircraft out of Lego and then draws from these models.

Supporting a different kind of play are life-sized guns. Several youngsters told me they have "fake guns." These range from more traditional cap guns and water pistols, to more futuristic guns having electronic sound effects.

Toys are apparently important to the children with whom I spoke. Much of the knowledge they have about the implements of war had been learned by examining and playing with these toys.

Clothing

Chad has clothing which reflects his interest in war. He has black baggy pants that soldiers might wear for night missions "to sneak around." He also has a green sweatshirt for daytime camouflage. He described two of his shirts: one has a picture of an eagle with a parachute in the background, another has a bulldog dressed in an army uniform

and posing in front of the American flag. He has also purchased badges which have to do with wars in which the U.S. has been involved. In contrast with Chad, John doesn't have clothing which represents the military.

Thirteen have war clothing; four do not. Camouflage clothing is popular. Joe has a complete camouflage outfit, from pants to hat. He was wearing the shirt when I visited. Also popular are shirts with pictures and slogans. Raymond showed me one which says "Operation Desert Shield." On it is a picture of an American G.I., two jets and a ship. They are placed over a simple map of the Persian Gulf. His other sweatshirt bears the words "Operation Desert Storm." This has two soldiers on it, a male and a female. Less common are items like Nate's camouflage slippers or Brad's pajamas which have pictures of combat jets on them.

Clothing extends interest in war beyond drawing. Clothing is generally more public as well. It announces identification with a particular group. And it is one more way in which children gain knowledge about the military. A further point is that it signals parent approval or at least acceptance of this interest. Eric's mother made him a sweatshirt with his name spelled out in naval flags. Stephen saved his allowance for weeks and I consented to drive him to an Army Navy store where he purchased an army helmet. John's parents do not consent to his wearing military clothing.

Books

To what extent do children use books in order to learn about war? A.J. likes some picture books but books about war seem unimportant to him at present. A.J. is the exception in the group. All the others spoke of favorite books about the military and about combat. Further indicating the importance of particular books, many young people remembered the titles. These are mostly factual books about the objects of war. A book that is special to Todd is one loaned to him by an older brother. It's a book about tanks. Elliot gets books about jets from the library. He photocopies his favorite pictures. Brad looks for books about aircraft carriers. And Joe talked about a book which shows military uniforms from various countries. He recalls that it took him a week to look at all the pictures in this thick book.

Less commonly mentioned were books about the action of war. Teddy was reading a book about the Battle of Britain. Eric talked about a number of these, one being about the battle for Iwo Jima. Books with few pictures hold the least appeal. Raymond owns and enjoys a book about escapes during World War II. Raymond also went to both the encyclopedia and the dictionary to look up "guns." It was in the encyclopedia that he learned that machine guns can shoot from 400 to 1600 rounds per minute. Adventure picture books such as comics had a rather small following. Only 3 said they have issues of war adventures. The comics have names like Nam, Rambo,

Sergeant Rock, and of course G.I. Joe. A few youngsters mentioned other kinds of comics. They mostly involved superheroes and western adventures.

Most often the books are borrowed from a school or public library. A smaller number are owned by the child or a family member. Of these an even smaller number are shared with friends. Overall, books appear to play an important part in the information children gain about war. Stephen makes weekly visits to the public library. He knows where books about war are to be found and he climbs on a stool to reach the higher ones. At any one time we have about 12 books at home with subjects ranging from warfare in Ancient Greece to warfare in modern times. Though Stephen seems more interested in the history of warfare, he is like the others in valuing illustrated books for information about armaments, fortifications, uniforms, and to a lesser extent accounts of particular battles.

Posters

Another means of getting information about war is through posters. When I asked Elliot if he had any posters about war, he pointed to pictures of jets he had cut from magazines and taped to his walls. Most others talked about commercially prepared posters which they had either bought or were given.

Following my first visit with Chad, his father gave him a poster which, by Chad's description, catalogued much of

the modern American military. Shown are: aircraft, ground vehicles, ships, and military leaders. Different from this encyclopedic poster are the more common promotional ones. Brad's grandfather is involved with aircraft. He gets front row seats for the whole family to see air shows. Brad likes to experience the roar and trembling of the ground as jets pass overhead. And his most prized poster is of the Thunderbirds aerial team, autographed by the pilots.

Seven youngsters have posters in their rooms. Aircraft are the most common subject. These may be souvenirs of visits to an air museum or air show, or they may simply have been purchased at a local store. Posters about aircraft seem more a part of popular culture than are books on the subject. They are generally larger, offer more dynamic poses and are meant to be displayed. Consequently they serve a more public function. For visitors to the child's room, the child's interests and identity are open to view.

Video Games

All of the interviewees had played video games of some kind. Raymond has a Nintendo. His favorite game for the Nintendo computer is called POW. In this game the player must break out of a prison camp and escape. Another game called Heavy Barrel challenges you to undertake a mission to destroy the enemy's artillery. Those youngsters who don't have their own games and equipment, usually have friends who do. Once Jimmy and his cousin went to a video arcade where

they played one particular game over and over until Jimmy's uncle ran out of quarters. In this game two players work together. Someone breaks you out of jail and you must defeat a large number of hostile soldiers. The game ends when you die.

Some games involve attack; others escape. Some are played by a single person, while others involve two players working together. Even when only one player is involved, other youngsters may watch, give suggestions, learn strategies. They take pride in their skill. They measure that skill by their ability to reach certain levels of difficulty. These war games have names like Wings of Fury, Guerrilla War and Top Gun. War games were mentioned most often. But as with toys, there are non-war games of daring adventure or contest. Nate likes a game about wrestling. These bare-chested warriors have names like Hulk Hogan and Randy Savage.

Video games seem to be important to the children. All have had some experience with them. In these games they become involved in the action of war. More than just learning about the appearances of the objects and people of war, they also learn about the action of war. Unlike drawing, the video game player is in the game. As the player, you drive the tank which must blast its way through enemy lines to rescue POWs. It is one against many, rather than two evenly matched teams. Perhaps because the

graphics are relatively simple, several children have done drawings based on video game formats. Stephen has a drawing in which there are a number of obstacles to be overcome in order to reach the prize at the end of the path. The lava pit in John's drawing (figure 17) and T.J.'s presentation of a final score in the Gulf War (figure 60 C.) are examples of drawings which seem influenced by qualities familiar to video games.

Video games have some qualities in common with war drawings and there are differences as well. But the information and satisfactions gained are part of the wider culture which provides a context for understanding war drawings and those who make them.

Television

In an effort to find out how influential television programming is on children's war drawing, I asked the children about their favorite television programs. I asked them in a separate question what they learned about war through watching news on television. The thrust of this present question is more about the kind of information they might gain about war as they watch regular programming.

In answering the question, most gave me titles of specific programs they watch. Several followed these titles by more general categories of programs: cartoons, comedy shows, science programs. Relatively few of the programs watched by the children on a regular basis involve war. By

far the most frequently mentioned programs are cartoons. There were some familiar titles: Bugs Bunny, Tom and Jerry, Chip 'n Dale. And there were relative newcomers to the comedy cartoon programs such as Tiny Toons and Ducktails. Adventure cartoons like Rescue Ranger were also listed. The most popular cartoons are The Simpsons and Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. Television sitcoms like The Cosby Show are regularly watched by several. Adventure stories such as Wings and Star Trek also received mention. A few children said they like Unsolved Mysteries--a docudrama about unsolved crimes. There was very little mention of programs about war. Nate had been watching MASH before his father decided this was perhaps not appropriate viewing material for a 7-year-old. Nevertheless this is where Nate learned about the Korean War.

Over the past ten months I made field notes on influences and experiences in Stephen's life which may contribute to his interest and involvement in war drawing. This included observations about his television viewing. While he only listed comedy programs as his favorites, he has watched programs about war. He saw one episode of a program called G.I. Diary. This show has actual footage shot during the Second World War. The program documents the wartime experiences of individual U.S. military personnel. After watching the diary of one U.S. flier, Stephen asked his mother where Pearl Harbor is. Another learning

experience gained from television came from the mini-series Ironclads. He had not previously known about these Civil War naval vessels. In the days following his viewing of the mini-series Stephen did several drawings of Ironclads. He also found library books on the subject. This led to a school project in which he drew more pictures and made a paper model of one of these ships.

These examples lead me to assume that although children made little mention of war in their lists of favorite programs, there is more exposure to, and learning about war through television than these lists would indicate. With movies available as videotapes, several children said they have learned about war in this way. Whether the videotapes are borrowed, rented or owned, children can watch movies like Top Gun on their television set at home. And when children mention being stimulated to make a war drawing or when they mention learning something about war while watching television, it is more often movies that they talk about rather than regularly scheduled television programs. A simple case in point is found in T.J.'s drawing (figure 60). It was in the movie Top Gun that he learned about mid-air refueling; this information plays an important role in his drawing of the Gulf War.

Museums and Military Bases

When children see a program about war on television, the decision to view may have been somewhat passive. Parents

may not be aware that children are watching this program; children may be watching simply because they couldn't be bothered changing the channel. But visiting a museum or a military base is not passive. It takes a determined effort to get there, one which normally involves the participation of parents.

Children sometimes used a broad definition of museum. John, for example, has a friend whose father owns a gun collection. John has looked at these guns in their locked case. He has also visited a historical museum where he saw a Civil War rifle. When we as a family visited the Ohio Historical Society, Stephen and his brothers ranged ahead of my wife and me. Apparently we travelled too slowly to suit them. When we reached the military section, Stephen accompanied us. He had already spent some time there and wished to share with us the things he particularly liked. One was a sword which had been used in the War of 1812. When Raymond visited the FBI Museum in Washington D.C., what impressed him the most were the guns that had been used by gangsters, and in particular, the demonstration firing of an automatic weapon.

Six of the children specifically mentioned having visited the Wright Patterson Air Force Museum in Dayton. This vast museum records the history of flight and it contains many military aircraft. Three of my subjects had also visited naval bases. Perhaps Nate's experience walking

about an aircraft carrier has influenced his drawing. One of his drawings (figure 32) is of a modern naval battle. Perhaps it also influenced his career goal which is to be the captain of a navy ship. He did say he was pretty impressed with the size of the carrier and how many sailors it has. On a trip to Florida, Scooter's family stopped in South Carolina to tour an aircraft carrier and a submarine. He said of the latter "you get claustrophobic in there." Following a visit to the naval shipyards at Virginia Beach, Buddy drew a picture of a ship to shore battle. His drawing of the ship had certain features he had noticed while touring a naval vessel.

Only 4 children said they had not visited a museum of some kind where objects of war were displayed. Such experiences, whether the viewing of a neighbor's gun collection or a tour of an aircraft carrier, contribute to the knowledge children have about war.

Newspapers and Television News

The Gulf War probably did not stimulate youngsters to make more frequent visits to museums but it likely affected the degree to which they attended to news coverage. It must be remembered that my questions about reading newspapers and watching television news were asked at a time when the public interest in news on the Gulf War was especially high.

Eleven said they pay attention to news in the newspaper. Some said they notice pictures. Some read

headlines. And some receive the news in a secondary manner: a parent reads the news and tells them the latest developments. These 11 are not regular readers of the newspaper, they sometimes look at the paper. What they normally notice is the front page. Teddy noticed the word "war" as a headline in the January 17, 1991 issue of the Columbus Dispatch. The newspaper headline was in 4 in high letters. This is a rather obvious example but when they give such examples, children provide evidence and further information about the kinds of things they pay attention to.

Pictures attract interest as well. A.J. knew about the oil spill which occurred in the Persian Gulf during the war. A.J. noticed the photograph of a dead shark, a victim of this environmental disaster. Technical illustrations carried in the newspaper were noticed by some. On one occasion I was reading the newspaper when Stephen happened by. He noticed a page with pictures of U.S. and Iraqi missiles which compared their capabilities. Stephen said "cool," and followed this affective response by examining the two. He finally picked the Al Hussein missile, saying he'd prefer to have that one because, as an offensive weapon it had a greater range. He also liked the fact that it was shown mounted on a truck. Brad also demonstrated an awareness of newspaper pictures. He had a newspaper page attached to the wall in his room. This page had pictures of military aircraft. Several children noticed editorial cartoons in the paper. Buddy did

a free-hand copy of one (figure 63). Others gave me verbal descriptions of editorial cartoons they had seen.

While most paid some attention to newspapers, this was not their preferred method of gaining information about the Gulf War. Again it is likely that youngsters were paying much more attention to television news coverage during the Gulf War when I asked these questions, than they would at other times. Some mentioned specific events which caught their attention. Josh learned how coalition forces were detonating hidden landmines. Buddy watched the surrender of Iraqi troops as they walked across the desert in single file, hands behind their heads. All of the youngsters said they saw news about war on television.

Relatives/Friends/Acquaintances in War

When I asked Nate if he knew anyone who had been in a war, he replied that he did--General Lee and General Grant. I rephrased the question. Most of the children have a relative, friend or acquaintance who has served in the military during a war. Joe's 94-year-old great grandfather had served in World War I. Five youngsters have grandfathers who served in World War II. And there were uncles, parents of friends and so forth who had been in these and other conflicts.

Knowing a veteran, doesn't always mean communicating with that person. Some children said these people haven't talked about their experiences. Teddy knows his grandpa was

on a ship in World War II but he and his grandpa have never talked about it. Stephen's grandfather was a navigator in World War II. Though he died many years before Stephen was born, Stephen asks questions about his grandfather's wartime experiences. Stephen once found his grandfather's service medals in a dusty box. He mounted them and took out library books to identify them, hoping to learn what they mean. Stephen also got a book on aircraft in order to find out what kind of plane his grandfather had flown. Such connections seem important to him.

Both of Josh's grandfathers had been in the Second World War. On a recent visit, Josh happened to show his grandpa a toy aircraft. Josh's grandpa had been on an aircraft carrier and was familiar with that kind of aircraft. A conversation followed about military aircraft of various kinds. Josh and his grandpa discovered a mutual interest. Todd's father has told him about the tanks he operated while stationed with American forces in Germany. And though his father's experiences did not include combat, Todd has learned something about tanks in this way.

But these two examples appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Most young people show they are interested by knowing things about relatives who served in a war, yet little direct communication has taken place. Children, it would seem, do not learn much of what they know about war through talking with war veterans.

Other Ways of Learning About War

So as to leave no stone unturned, I asked my interviewees if there were other sources from which they learned about war. Apparently the questions posed before this one had covered the field pretty well. Additions were few and could be fit into previous categories. Looking through my field notes on Stephen, I found a few others. Stephen watched the Independence Day parade which passes in front of our house. He took particular interest in the soldiers in full battle dress, faces blackened, branches attached to their helmets for camouflage. He paid close attention to their military equipment as well. As we were driving downtown one day, Stephen drew our attention to a billboard which had an American soldier on it. This outdoor advertising called for recruits and support for the Army Reserve.

These examples of exposure to information about war are ones which are intended for a general audience. There are also examples where Stephen has learned about war through information directed to children. These are aspects of popular culture. One day I noticed Stephen eating a type of jelly candy which comes in the shape of jets. The candy is called Thunder Jets. These aircraft are identified and diagramed on the silver package. These include the MIG-27 Flogger, Stealth Bomber, F-14 Tomcat, F-16 Fighting Falcon. One further example, again from popular culture directed

towards youth, Stephen buys something similar to baseball cards; these are Desert Storm cards. With the bubble gum comes pictures of General Powell, the AH-64 Apache Helicopter, a Syrian flag, the USS Eisenhower, an M-109 Howitzer, and so forth. On the back of each card is printed information about the picture. On the back of one card, "Bomb's-Eye-View" is written, "This image was taken from a videotape made during one of the many air-strike missions over Iraq. It shows a GBU-15 glide bomb reaching its target..."

Undoubtedly there are other ways children learn about war. This list is not meant to be exhaustive but rather to consider some of the more obvious ways children gain information about war.

Evaluation of Real War

Perhaps the most important question for adults who read this study is the one which asked children what they think about real war. Here more than anywhere else I think it is necessary for every child to be heard.

When I began each interview I told the children they need not answer any question they did not wish to. Eric said he could not answer this question. The other children did give me an answer. A complicating factor was that the Gulf War was then in progress. This proved somewhat of a distraction for several. A.J. did not tell me what he

thought about war, he told me instead what he thought about Saddam Hussein. Because this answer is somewhat off-target, I will discuss his answer in the next chapter where I deal with the Gulf War. Two youngsters told me what they thought about war, and also their thoughts about the Gulf War and Saddam Hussein. These I will deal with here.

Of the 15 who told me what they thought about war, Teddy gave a reply that seems ambiguous. He called war "nasty," and he also described it as "neat and awesome." It is difficult to know what to make of the answer. The remaining 14 were unmistakably clear in their answers. They said they don't like war. Five said that war is justifiable under certain circumstances. Seven said they like to play war, while at the same time rejecting the real thing.

Raymond began by saying he wouldn't be in a war, he just likes to play war with his friends. And he said that war would be necessary to defend your country but not for other reasons. Josh said "it's not real good. A lot of shooting--I don't like that. Only in pictures nobody gets killed, that's the good thing." Brad doesn't want to be in a real war. He wouldn't want to risk death. Brad wished we could avoid war. Elliot likes to draw war but doesn't like real war where people get killed. Chad advised that war is no game. It is no laughing matter. When war is over there is cause for celebration. Chad added that war is not two

countries fighting but thousands of people being killed. In Scooter's view real war is terrible. It's only good if one fights for freedom. Stephen likes drawing about war and he likes pictures and books on the subject. But he wouldn't want to be in a real war. Wars are a bad thing. War to achieve peace or to get a country back (referring to Kuwait) is nice. Buddy said very simply that war isn't good at all. Jimmy talked about war in general when he said that war is sad because some of our men get killed. He spoke with anger about the leader of Iraq when he said "I hope Saddam Hussein gets his you-know-what kicked." T.J. expressed similar sentiments in gentler language "I don't like it [war] but in this case with Saddam Hussein, I think they really need to get him out of there." Todd observed that both sides lose. War is only good if it is play. Nate described war as "real bloody and a lot of people lose their lives."

There are two youngsters we have yet to hear from. John said "I don't like it at all. It's terrible. I think it's fun to make up and things; I don't like it to be real." Joe described war as "very dangerous, violent." He continued "I don't believe in violence. It's funny, I like to draw war pictures but I don't believe in violence."

For anyone who wonders if war drawing makes these children insensitive to real human suffering, for anyone who wonders if children confuse reality and fantasy--I leave them with this testimony.

Career Goals

These children, for the most part, have given some thought to what they would like to do as a job when they become adults. Joe's first choice would be a policeman. His second choice would be a chemist (like his father). John named 5 careers, beginning with astronaut. Elliot would like to be a dirt bike racer. Nate aspires to be a naval ship captain. And T.J. plans to be a veterinarian.

Some of these interests seem related to war drawings; others appear to be quite distant. Three think they might pursue a career in art. Josh would like to be an architect for example. Another three mentioned a career in the military as their first choice. It is important to note however, that this does not contradict what they said about war. It would be a grave injustice to military personnel to suggest they "like" war. Chad wants to be in the army or navy. His dad thinks that would be wasting his life. But Chad believes that saving America or saving other people would not be wasting his life.

Similar kinds of experiences can be found in civilian life. Scooter would like to pilot his own plane. And Teddy wants to be a professional football player, despite the fact that "football players don't have a very good retirement plan." Adventure can also be found as a police officer or an FBI agent. An interest in adventure can lead in other

directions as well. Raymond has lately been doing more spontaneous writing of war stories than drawing. Some drawings are illustrations for his book, others are covers for his movie scripts. He plans to be an author when he is an adult.

Stephen's interest in weapons and warfare throughout history, has made him think he would like to be an archaeologist. Not long ago Stephen and his friends had backyard "dig." They unearthed a rusted object whose shape is somewhat like a gun stock. Convinced that he had found the remains of a Civil War rifle, Stephen set about trying to clean the rust from this object. He also got books from the library to identify the type of gun he had found. While I am convinced that the rusted metal is only a few years old, Stephen nevertheless took the enterprise seriously. For Stephen, as for many others, an interest in war drawing has some relationship to his career plans.

Not all of the jobs children picked can be somehow linked to their interest in war drawing. Todd will probably be a farmer and A.J. plans to be a doctor. Quite likely the career goals of youngsters will change many times as they gain more experience with the world. Nevertheless career choices reveal something about how they see themselves. They are also a reflection of their views about the nature and value of certain roles in society.

CHAPTER XIV
THE GULF WAR

Introduction

When I first began to map out chapters for this dissertation, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq had not taken place. I didn't anticipate writing a chapter of this kind as I prepared my interview questions. The invasion occurred on August 2, 1990. Operation Desert Shield began at that time in response to the aggression. Troops from a coalition of nations were sent to Saudi Arabia, first to protect that nation from further advances by the Iraqi military, and then to prepare for the liberation of Kuwait. The United States played the leading role in this military build-up and in the campaign which followed. It became clear, in light of these dramatic events, that I would have to ask the children I was planning to interview how these events have influenced them and their drawings, if indeed they had.

My interviews began on February 7, 1991 and concluded 7 weeks later on March 26. Operation Desert Storm--the offensive to liberate Kuwait--began on January 17, just a few weeks before my first scheduled interview. Desert Storm started with an air offensive. The ground campaign began on

February 24, as I was nearing the end of my first round of interviews with the children. The ground war lasted a brief 100 hours.

Since I interviewed most children twice, most were interviewed during Operation Desert Storm and again just after a truce had been declared on February 28. I neither hastened nor delayed my interview dates to take advantage of the international crisis. But the timing does give a particular character to the study.

As the war was fought in the Middle East, none of the children I interviewed were directly involved in the conflict. None were eye-witness to the kind of nightmarish scenes that Kuwaiti or even Iraqi children might have witnessed. Nor did any of the children suffer fears and anxieties of separation from parents. There were no children of armed services personnel involved in my study. Several of the children knew people who were in the U.S. military and who had been sent to the Persian Gulf, but none of these people were particularly close. Jimmy's teacher had two sons in the military, both stationed in Saudi Arabia. And though this influenced Jimmy to draw about war, I didn't sense any fear or anxiety for his own safety or even for their's.

This doesn't mean the war had no effect on the children I interviewed. It does however provide a necessary background to the discussion which follows. Because of the relative distance and detachment, the children in my study

felt and expressed some things typical of children in war zones but not others. This chapter reviews the effect of the war on one child who was not part of the regular study, a child who did not draw about war prior to the start of the Gulf War or after it. Then I examine the effect of the war on the others of my study who do spontaneous drawings about war, apart from any response to real war situations. With these youngsters, the Gulf War brought about certain changes to their drawings. I also make brief mention of those children in my study on whom the war had no apparent effect.

Effect of the War on One Child

Children's perceptions and feelings about war will, to some extent, reflect the responses of those around them. Younger children especially take their cues from the adults they trust. John has already told us his parents have strong feelings against war. When Operation Desert Storm began, John's 7-year-old sister understood something of the gravity of the situation. For her this was not just another newscast, this was a sober event which somehow affected her. She watched the news on television and then did a drawing on her chalkboard. That drawing remained on her chalkboard for 6 weeks. She finally erased it on my second visit. Amy repeated the drawing on paper using colored pencils instead of chalk. In the days that followed, she did other drawings about the Gulf War. Together they reveal a coming to terms with this event and with the larger issues of violence. In

this brief series of 6 drawings, Amy began with the grim announcement of war and ended with a drawing which is much like the fantasy drawings of her brother.

Figure 51 is the first drawing Amy did. A news reporter interviews a person who says, "my dad's in the war." Above the speech balloon is an airplane dropping bombs (represented by squiggly lines). The interviewee's eyes spurt tears. In the upper left is an insert which shows someone scared of the war. On three sides of the television are speakers, the sound represented by radiating, curved lines. In the tears and frowning mouth of the interviewee, Amy may be projecting her own feelings of sadness and possibly fear. Amy showed an awareness of the feelings others have about war. Her drawing reflects the seriousness of the situation. Amy's is the first drawing we have seen thus far which shows these particular emotions.

Figure 52 bears the message "kids this isint funy [sic]." At the top are four stick figures. Amy accidentally drew the head in the wrong location on one and corrected it. Amy explained that the soldiers are lost in a forest where no one will find them and they will be safe. It would be difficult to say if the drawing was prompted by concerns for her own safety or whether Amy was concerned for the safety of the soldiers. On the one hand we know that the war was very far away. But even some adults feared Iraqi terrorist activity might occur in the U.S.; huge security plans were

implemented at airports, for the Superbowl, and at other locations and events. It would not be surprising if a 7-year-old were fearful.

Figure 53 explores the weapons of war. No humans are shown. The airplane drops bombs attempting to hit a gun below. Perhaps this is a representation of the air campaign against Iraqi positions on the ground. A hatch opens in the plane and ball-shaped bombs rain down on a pistol which has fire issuing from its barrel. In the upper right is a sun. Below is grass. Amy said "I forgot to put just sand."

Figure 54 is Amy's favorite drawing. Earlier she told me not to look at it because it was "too gross." But later she wanted me to see it. The drawing shows a confrontation between Iraqi and U.S. troops. On the left is a line of Iraqi troops; on the right, American. There is a casualty; lying between them is a stabbed soldier. The soldiers have frowns but they don't cry. Only one Iraqi on the left is not frowning--Amy may have simply made a mistake. Amy issued weapons to each soldier, alternating knife and gun. The Iraqi line is shorter than the American; one of the Iraqis has died. Amy wanted "us"--America to win. Americans have gold helmets and star badges, and they have silver uniforms. The Iraqis use these two colors in reverse order. The Iraqis are also distinguished by their darker complexions. In the upper left is an observer, a male civilian who watches from a house and weeps. Again the emotion is most evident. A

civilian cries and the soldiers frown. War is indeed an unhappy business.

Figure 55 explores not just the weapons but their destructive capability. With its symbols, the drawing appears as coded as a hieroglyph. In the lower left a small gun shoots dash line bullets. Above, a larger gun shoots pea-shaped bullets. To the right is a knife, its bulbous blade pressed against a circle representing people's bellies. And further to the right is a bow and arrow, also aimed at a belly. This seems a distilled version of the previous drawing. The soldiers are reduced to weapons and the stabbed victim becomes a rounded belly. The drawing appears to investigate the nature of violence through symbols representing weapons and human vulnerability.

Figure 56 is the last drawing about war that Amy did. At that point she seemed to have come to terms with the Gulf War. In this drawing she has adopted many of the symbols used by her brother John. Comparing this drawing with figure 17, we see the rounded hills, dot armies, individual stick figure casualties, Y-shaped jets and larger bombers. There is even John's lava pit. Amy has added a few of her own landscape ideas. The scene is flanked by waterfalls with a log and a house on the left and right. Presiding over the scene is a bespectacled and beneficent sun. There are no tears in this picture. For Amy it would appear the issues

have been resolved. She began with "war" and she ended with whimsy.

I hope it is now understood why I chose not to include Amy in the regular study. Had there been no Gulf War, there would likely have been no war drawings done by Amy. Her drawings began suddenly with the announcement of war. And they have their own evolution. Certain affective qualities are unique in her work. The drawings ended when the fears, anxieties, as well as the intellectual problems had been resolved. This evolution is very important and needs to be seriously considered. But it is not the focus of this study.

Effect Of The War On Those Who Do Spontaneous War Drawings

On some of the youngsters in the study, the war had no noticeable effect. Eric continued to draw World War II aircraft. Teddy knew about the Gulf War but he made no reference to it in his conversation. Nor did his drawing deal with the conflict in the Middle East.

With those youngsters who did deal with the conflict, the most basic recognition of it was that drawings which used to involve the U.S. against some unknown foe, became a war between the U.S. and Iraq. The faceless and nameless enemy gained an identity. Scooter said, "instead of just any person fighting the U.S., I would have Iraq and put their tanks on it."

To pursue the discussion further, it is necessary to recall the motives for war drawing cited in chapter IV.

Originally I wrote about these expecting to employ them as contrasts--showing what fantasy war drawing is not. But they proved even more useful in gaining a better understanding of the effects of the Gulf War.

Fear

Amy's drawings revealed a concern for the welfare of others and perhaps for herself. When soldiers hide in the forest (figure 52) and are safe, Amy likely gained some comfort from making such a drawing. I found no examples of drawings equivalent to that of figure 1 in which an Israeli child used drawing as a kind of magic to ward off danger. But then there was comparatively little fear shown by the youngsters in my study.

Coping

As none of the children suffered any direct, personal loss or separation as a result of the war, there was no recovery needed. I found no examples of coping through drawing, nor any occasion where one might be expected.

Excitement

We saw earlier in chapter IV that when children are distant from the fighting and have experienced no separation from their caregivers, they tend to feel safe. And when they feel safe, their thoughts and feelings turn to curiosity or even excitement about the war. They want to know more about the important events everyone is talking about. And they want to know how these events may affect their lives. How

far away is Iraq? How big is it? What is it like there? When the war began parents and educators all over America used maps and globes to help youngsters locate Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq. Stephen's 13-year-old brother drew a map of the Middle East and taped it to the refrigerator.

Chad said that before the war began he hadn't heard of Iraq. Now he has drawn a map of it (figure 14). Brad likewise drew a map of the area (figure 15). These maps are rather fictional but based on what these children know. They help the child to gain a sense of familiarity and perhaps even a measure of control over such major yet distant events.

The landscapes which children drew for their wars may not be as particularized as those of children who have experienced war (figure 9) but they were more particularized than before. Joe added a cactus to his drawing (figure 16). There is a palm tree in Amy's (figure 52). Todd included a camel in his drawing (figure 50); a soldier, comfortably nestled between the humps of a bacterian camel, shoots at a jet which is in pursuit of another aircraft. While Todd may not realize that bacterian camels are found in the Mongolian Desert rather than the Middle East, he has made an effort to locate his war in a particular region of the world. In figure 57, Raymond moved Rambo from the jungles of Vietnam to the Middle East and Operation Desert Storm. His mission

still involves the rescue of American POWs, but Rambo faces a newer, more immediate danger.

Besides a general interest in the landscape of the region, children were also interested in knowing specifics about the military capability of the enemy, and the equipment and tactics which may be used against them. John said that previously his war drawings would not have included chemical weapons stores or oil tanks being blown up.

In figure 47, Brad has drawn an Iraqi warplane on the right. Pursuing it is a U.S. jet. In the lower right a Scud missile has just been launched to intercept the U.S. plane. And on the lower left is a U.S. soldier hurling a dagger at the Scud in an effort to blow it up. Again there is a combination of fact and fiction. Prior to the Gulf War it is doubtful that most American children knew about Scud missiles. And though Brad's launcher may resemble a Patriot anti-missile battery more than a Scud launcher, he clearly has been paying attention to the armaments of the Gulf War.

Figure 59 is another drawing by Brad. Here he revealed a knowledge of the tactics of the Gulf War. Early in the conflict Iraqi forces built a defensive line by digging a protective wall of earth around their tanks. The U.S. used reconnaissance to locate and attack these positions from the air. Brad shows an Iraqi tank dug in. The U.S. soldier on the right is in radio communication with the pilot of a U.S. aircraft and is telling the pilot that the target is within

range to be bombed. To the left is another U.S. soldier with weapon trained on the tank.

In a shift from fantasy, T.J. extended his repertoire to include the Gulf War (figure 60). Where formerly he had just drawn mutants, he began to draw the events of the current war as well. Where Brad had previously just drawn military aircraft, his planes now went to war. John reported that his production of drawings increased a little with the start of the Gulf War. Apparently some children were stimulated by the occurrence of war to begin war drawing; some to increase their involvement in war drawing; and still others to shift from fantasy to the present, real war.

Outcomes take on a greater importance when the subject is a current war. In drawing his futuristic air battles (figure 34), Josh had a favorite team. But he added "when I draw war scenes I don't really make anybody win, I just make it in action. Whatever the person looking at it wants to think, whoever wants to win, they can." In Stephen's historical battle (figure 29) between U.S. cavalry and Indians he predicted a victory for the Indians. Stephen said the Indians will win because they are nice "they only kill animals for food." When drawing about the Gulf War, a stronger stance was taken by many. Amy wanted the U.S. to win (figure 54) and she gave numerical superiority to the American troops to insure they would. In a drawing not reproduced in this study, Scooter gave U.S. forces another

kind of advantage, technological superiority. He equipped the Iraqis with antiquated weaponry. U.S. forces had modern artillery while Iraqi troops had "pirate cannons"--weapons from the 17th and 18th centuries.

Aggression

Excitement and aggression are related. But in aggression I looked for evidence of anger. These drawings seem more focused on Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

Figure 60. Earlier I quoted T.J. as saying of Hussein, "I really think they need to get him out of there." In a series of three drawings T.J. showed how this might happen. The drawings are full of action and predict an early victory--one gained with little cost in lives and equipment for the U.S. T.J. rendered the action in a quick sketch, quite different from his more carefully developed drawings of posed mutants (figure 23). His purposes and the methods he chose to accomplish them were evidently different.

In part A., a refueling plane arrives in the upper left. American aircraft have "U.S." on their tails. American soldiers are identified by having this written above them. Only one Iraqi plane in the upper center has not been destroyed; a bomb above is just moments from destroying it too. In the lower right a communications tower is toppling, having been hit by mortar fire. The tower is about to fall on Saddam Hussein. A U.S. soldier leaps out of the path of the falling tower. But Saddam Hussein watches it

fall on him and says "da" rather stupidly. Space does not allow a full reporting of all the action in this picture but of particular interest are the fist fights and gun battles which take place on the tops of the aircraft. Iraqis have boarded the planes and are being systematically thrown off by U.S. soldiers. Several have fallen into the rotor of a helicopter below. The Iraqis are losing everywhere. They even shoot their comrades by mistake. The refueling planes also take part in the offensive action by dropping their buckets on the heads of Iraqi soldiers.

Part B. T.J. had learned that coalition aircraft bombed Saddam Hussein's palace. T.J. imagined the palace as the Gothic-looking structure on the right. He had also learned that U.S. ground crews wrote messages on bombs and missiles as they loaded them onto aircraft in preparation for bombing missions. A bomb in the upper left has inscribed on it the word "bye." And an Iraqi in a tank below says "help."

In part C. we are given a final tally of the damage and fatalities. On the left, U.S. planes, soldiers and one tank are displayed. The only "casualty" is that a refueling plane lost its bucket in action. Quite a different result was predicted for the Iraqis. On the right we see Saddam's damaged palace, Saddam himself lying dead, and a number of dead Iraqi soldiers along with the misshapen forms of Iraqi planes and tanks. A check through parts A. and B. show the

accounting of damage to be accurate. T.J. predicted a lop-sided victory for the U.S.

Though Saddam Hussein is killed in part A. (at the beginning of T.J.'s war), T.J. realizes this would not in itself likely end the war. But without Saddam's leadership the Iraqi forces wouldn't know what to do and the U.S. would ultimately win. Part B. is the middle of the war. Part C. shows how it ends. When I visited T.J. after the cease-fire had been declared he said he was surprised to see the war end with Saddam Hussein still president of Iraq.

As we have seen, T.J. verbally criticized Saddam and drew a picture in which he is killed. Two youngsters verbally criticized the Iraqi leader but made no reference to him in their drawings. And one criticized him in his drawing but not verbally. In asking children what they think about war, I had quoted Jimmy as saying, "I hope Saddam Hussein gets his you-know-what kicked." In my interview with Jimmy this was the only time he gave any indication of negative feeling. Throughout the conversation he talked about how nice his teachers are and how much he appreciates his friend Todd. Jimmy seems to be a good-natured youngster who laughs often. A.J. also used strong language, perhaps because he seemed to have the closest connection of any to someone in the Gulf War. A brother of A.J.'s friend had gone to the Persian Gulf. Before leaving he gave A.J. a pack of baseball cards "just in case he died." A.J. said, "Saddam

should probably get his head blown off." In his drawings about war however, there are no people. His most action-packed drawing is a highly imaginative war between cats and dogs.

Figure 61. Brad and his friend hate Saddam, so he enlisted television cartoon "bad boy" Bart Simpson to taunt the Iraqi leader. Bart shocks adults by saying rude things. In Brad's drawing, Bart becomes a tough-looking commando with pointed teeth and serious weapons. He says "eat my shorts Saddom [sic]."

Figure 62. The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles are also popular cartoon characters whom Brad felt could be called upon to take on Iraq's commander-in-chief. This drawing has the flags of Iraq and the U.S., an automatic weapon, a soldier firing a gun, and one of the Turtles armed with marshal arts weapons. The caption reads "kill Sadom Hosan!!! [sic]"

Figure 63. Another form of aggression involves derision. Buddy copied an editorial cartoon from the newspaper. In this drawing Saddam shakes his fist in angry denial that he has been harmed. Looking like Swiss cheese, it is evident that he did not emerge from the war unscathed. The cartoon exposes the political posturing of Saddam Hussein and invites readers to laugh as a release for pent-up fears and anger. Children experienced anxieties

about the war. It should not be surprising to find those anxieties turned to aggression in some of their drawings.

Legacy

This is an uncommon motivation for drawing, even in times of great danger and distress. None of the children in my study did drawings as a way of leaving a part of themselves behind should they meet a sudden and untimely death.

Gender Identification

Figure 57. Perhaps those drawings which present a particular hero figure are those which most apparently involve gender identification. When Raymond drew Rambo he presented a macho figure who is courageous and invincible. There must be some comfort in having such an American hero doing battle with the enemy. Of course Rambo is a movie figure and not a real soldier, but the idealized warrior is one which in some degree at least, Raymond admires.

CHAPTER XV
IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This study began with two essential questions: The first was to learn the distinguishing characteristics of the genre of war drawing. The second was to gain some understanding of the individuals who work in this genre. To answer these questions I employed a structure which began with an examination of the drawings--the product. Having become acquainted with particular drawings and having learned something of the general characteristics of war drawings, I moved back from the object through a series of investigations. The first of these was an inquiry into the process by which these objects are made. Then the use to which these drawings are put. Moving still further from the object, I continued the investigation by looking at its maker--the "artist." And finally I looked at the wider context of culture which supports this activity.

In chapter II, I talked about the various groups who might benefit from the study, beginning with the children themselves. The groups include: parents, educators, special interest lobby groups, and researchers. There are

differences in the perspectives of each of these. Each has particular things to gain from the study. But there are even larger areas of overlap. Parents and educators, for example, may both have questions about the value of war drawing. Does it promote anti-social behavior? Is there learning taking place or is it primarily an affective, cathartic experience in which children relieve themselves of anxieties and frustrations? The answers to these and other important questions will to a large measure, determine the kind and extent of their response. Rather than deal with the implications for each group independently then, I will talk about the study using a more holistic approach. And I will draw out from the discussion implications for each group, as these are suggested by the general findings.

Awareness

The Product and What It Signifies

There are what might be called sub-genres within war drawing. The maps and plans seem to have more to do with strategy. They provide a connection with war play, or they provide a context for action drawings. Vehicles and warriors are linked by their imaginative engineering for power, speed and absolute invincibility. Action drawings seem to be the most common. These engage youngsters in complex interaction of vehicles and warriors. There is careful construction and excited destruction, at times handled as two distinct stages and at other times alternating between the two.

Not all youngsters consider the moral issues related to war while doing a war drawing. Most seem to value action for its own sake. But of those who do, there are issues of good versus bad, or loyalty to one's country. There are relatively equally matched opponents, a sense of contest and "fair fight." Unlike drawings done by children in war-torn countries, there were not civilians preyed upon by ruthless armies.

Whether wars take place in the past or the future, in some other country or in another galaxy, children are motivated to learn about and imagine the appearance of such places. The challenges of representing objects like tanks and phenomena such as explosions, and of representing movement and depth in a picture, are ones which make great demands on the children's resources. They require perception, planning, motor skills, and determination.

There is learning and growth which takes place in these widely diverse areas. War drawing should be recognized for the value it has for children who engage in this activity.

The Children Who Make War Drawings

In setting out to do this study, I had some initial difficulty finding subjects. Art educators to whom I appealed for assistance, were often unaware of youngsters in their classes who do spontaneous drawing. Either there was little opportunity for children to do this kind of drawing in the classroom, or it was happening but went unnoticed.

The study did not attempt to determine just how widespread the phenomenon of war drawing is, but most of the children involved in my study have one or more friends who do war drawings. They often do their spontaneous drawings at school though seldom in art class. This suggests that war drawing is relatively common--yet largely unnoticed by teachers. One of the things my study can accomplish is to simply raise the level of awareness of this activity.

Parents may be more aware of their children's spontaneous war drawing, but judging by their comments they have a different need for this information. They often don't know what to make of it. For them, raising awareness means to recognize this to be a widespread and completely normal behavior.

And all--parents, teachers, and researchers alike--will benefit by understanding the rule-governed nature of war drawing. War drawing has its own structure, and is related to issues in the life of the child and in society at large.

Having raised awareness that war drawing is "out there," this study will inform readers as to what war drawing is about. Through drawing, children express what they know, what they think, and what they feel. We have seen many of the things that children know. They know some rather obscure facts about the number and placement of jet engines on Stealth aircraft. And they know some more important

things such as the fact that America is, or has just been at war with Iraq. We have seen some of the things that children think. They think about the causes of war. They have some notion about how war is waged. And children expressed some very strong feelings about war. Those feelings ranged from sadness about the hurt and suffering of real war, to excitement about the challenges of war in play and drawing.

Undoubtedly for many of us, the question of what these children think about real war is a central issue. Much has been written about the dangers of allowing children to fantasize about war. I cannot say how other children feel about war but it is abundantly clear that the children I interviewed made a sharp distinction between real war and fantasies played out on paper. On the basis of these children's statements, I would conclude that Singer (1975) is right when he suggests that those who are most likely to be a danger to themselves and to others, are those who do not make use of their imagination. Those who are likely to take direct and overtly violent action, may do so because they are unable to rehearse the events in their minds (and on paper). They are unable to anticipate the destructive consequences of their actions. Whereas people with well-developed imaginations are able to set goals and defer gratification in order to reach those goals. As I dealt with this matter in chapter VI, I will not dwell on this topic here. I would urge members of groups who lobby against

certain toys and television programming dealing with war, to see that the children in my study at least, have not been made into insensitive brutes by their interest in war drawing. Chad described his war drawings as "a lot of violence." And yet he said of real war "I think it's no game...I think about war as not two countries fighting, I think of it as something where maybe thousands and thousands, or maybe nobody will come back." These children do not confuse fantasy and reality. They may, as Singer suggests, have an even greater ability to distinguish between the two.

Children Teaching Children

Earlier I spoke of the learning and growth that takes place through engaging in war drawing. I would like to continue that discussion here. Though it is certainly not a "discovery" never before reported, an important theme which emerges from the study is one which has particular implications for educators. The study reveals something of the extent to which children teach and learn from each other. Elliot talked about learning from a friend how to draw foreshortened aircraft wings. Those of course were not his words for it, but he was taught by another youngster how to draw wings so the plane could be shown from the side instead of from above as he had previously done. In addition to learning how to draw particular objects, children also offer advice on strategies for drawing. Buddy was told by a

friend that he would solve the problems he was having with proportions in drawing the human figure if he were to begin with the head and work his way down. The advice worked. And Buddy freely dispenses his own advice: Drawings are generally more successful if you take your time and draw neatly. And you should only add the details at the end.

Besides learning ways to draw certain objects, and strategies which seem to result in more successful drawings, children also motivate one another to draw. Drawing is not necessarily a solitary activity. When children see their friends draw, they are often stimulated to draw too. At times they will even collaborate on a drawing.

Sometimes the teaching and learning occurs by example. A number of children had in their collections one or more drawings given to them by a friend or an older brother. And there are times when they will draw directly on each other's picture. Scooter was sitting in church when he did his drawing of paratroopers (figure 25). When a friend seated next to him noticed he was having difficulty drawing the arms of his figures, the friend asked, "Want me to show you how to draw an arm?" Scooter promptly passed the drawing to his friend who then set to work sketching the muscled arms of the paratrooper. Acknowledging the contribution, Scooter wrote both his and the name of his friend on the drawing when it was done.

At other times the teaching and learning can be evaluative. Youngsters compliment one another. And in one case at least, the child and friend choose one another's best drawings to be recognized by placement in a special folder which contains the outstanding drawing of each year.

Educators can be reminded that children learn from each other. Art education--or at least drawing skills and criticism--is not confined to the classroom. Learning is taking place. Yet because it is not learning which is officially "sanctioned" by educational institutions, and because it is not "school art," this kind of learning is sometimes thought to be unimportant. At the very least it doesn't get the recognition it deserves.

For researchers it is worth investigating this "local knowledge." It is possible that children learn and communicate techniques which are better suited to their learning styles than are the methods used by adult artists --methods which eschew copying, and instead uphold the virtue of drawing directly from nature, methods which proclaim the sanctity of individual style.

Support

Thus far I have argued that war drawing should not be opposed. I outlined the wide ranging challenges confronted by the child, and the learning and growth which occurs in doing spontaneous drawing about war. I have provided evidence that an interest in drawing about war is not

evidence of social or psychological maladjustment. Using statements by the subjects themselves, I have suggested that the young people do not confuse fantasy and reality. On the contrary, these youngsters may have an even greater ability to distinguish between the two. I talked briefly about the teaching and learning which takes place as children share information on drawing. And I have shown something of the social relationships which are involved in war drawing. Far from being an antisocial activity, children teach and learn from one another. They demonstrate techniques, collaborate on drawings, give drawings to friends, offer advice, and compliment one another. And they explore societal expectations related to gender. In their drawings they reflect upon values of cooperation and competition, of competence and mastery.

I would suggest that we move beyond passive acceptance of war drawing to a level of support and involvement. We have seen that war drawing takes place in the cracks and gaps between formal, structured activities. And it sometimes happens during periods of low stimulation. The youngster may draw in school when the math assignment has been completed. Or the drawing might occur while the child is riding in the car during a long trip. Understanding adults will recognize that drawing can be a satisfying and productive activity, one well suited to filling in some of those times. It is an

activity suited to the wide open spaces of children's lives as well.

Understanding adults will provide materials and places to work. Pencils, erasers, rulers, and an abundant supply of white paper--these seem to be the preferred materials. It is also helpful to have colored construction paper, colored markers, colored pencils, scissors, and tape on hand for children who might prefer to use these. As to paper size, we have seen that children freely tape pieces of paper together in order to enlarge the drawing surface.

Drawing will of course, take place in a wide variety of conventional and unconventional places. Over the past year I have noticed Stephen draw with his finger in the water vapor on a window. He made a drawing of a tank using the graphics program on our computer. Stephen has drawn military vehicles on his school file folder. And he has drawn directly on newspaper photos of soldiers, adding such things as scars, bullets, spiders, speech balloons, and so forth. I do not mean to suggest that drawing can only take place on pristine sheets of typing paper. But keeping a supply on hand will certainly support the child's interest in spontaneous drawing.

I would urge parents and all those who work with children to provide a wealth of visual resources for children so that they are able to feed their interests. Elliot's mom brings home magazines. Elliot is free to look

through them, cut out pictures of aircraft or anything else that interests him, and tape them on his bedroom wall. Not only does this provide a stimulating visual environment, but it allows Elliot to declare an identity and know that his identity is one the family accepts. This doesn't mean that care-givers, whether parents or teachers, should abdicate responsibility for helping the child to choose suitable materials. Nate's father doesn't allow him to watch MASH on television if "it gets too serious." Parents are in the best position to know their children and to determine if some materials might be too graphic in their portrayal of war. While arguing for an exposure to wider and more varied materials supporting the child's interests, I would add that each person entrusted with the care and education of the child must make careful decisions in this regard.

Ethnographic research methods have lessons for us. They point out the value of letting children be the experts. When children bring home armloads of books on a subject, if they notice something in a museum, or if they learn something from the youngster next door, let them tell you about it. Sometimes children will use the notion of a guessing game to invite adults into their activities. As Josh was beginning his observational drawing, he asked his mother if she could guess what it was he was drawing. Stephen had a library book with illustrations of military uniforms from NATO and WARSAW Pact countries. He would ask me to name a country. Then he

would proceed to find the military uniforms of that country and show them to me.

In conducting the study, I found that most of the children with whom I spoke like to show their drawings. Fewer of them however, said they like to initiate conversation about them. Here I would suggest adults take initiative in asking to see the drawings; and even to put them up on walls, bulletin boards, refrigerators, and other places of honor. In school there might be a special bulletin board reserved for spontaneous drawings. Noting the sensitivity some have about the possibility of negative comments though, I would suggest the drawings be displayed in a "safe" environment, one free from competition and unconstructive negative judgments.

Active Involvement

The portfolio review was a particularly rewarding experience for some. Several said they liked the feeling of accomplishment when they surveyed their production of drawings from a period of several months or even years. They discovered changes. And some recognized these changes to include an increasing skill in drawing. Adults can encourage children to store their drawings in a safe place. This can be as easy as slipping them into an empty cereal box. It can of course, be more elaborate; drawings can be dated and kept in a file folder. Not everything needs to be kept. Youngsters often do make judgments as to which are their

better drawings. When they cull their less successful efforts, and when the portfolio is well organized and maintained, the child will probably be more likely to review its contents.

One parent who watched the review process remarked that it was one she would like to repeat. The educational value of self-assessment cannot be overstated. If children are to recognize their growth as learners, and appreciate something of their changing interests and ideas, it is essential that they keep a supply of drawings, arrange them in chronological order, and view them together as a group. Here adults may simply encourage the process by inviting the child to show them the contents of the portfolio. Or they may choose to ask some of the questions I have used in conducting the portfolio review.

Parents may, depending on their own comfort with projects, decide to collaborate on a drawing. As an artist, researcher, and parent, I had to resolve this issue for myself. To what extent should I become actively involved with Stephen's war drawing, and his related interests and activities? There were times when Stephen asked me to do a drawing with him, or rather for him. On occasion I did. At other times I compromised, suggesting that Stephen draw a stick figure in the proportions and pose that suited him. Then I filled out the figure. This did not result in the kind of dependence I feared might happen. He did not give up

drawing in favor of delegating that job to me. And hopefully Stephen learned about drawing in the same way that many children in the study did, by observing and copying the drawings of others.

There are other related activities that adults and youngsters can do together. Jimmy's father worked with him to assemble a model of an A-10 Thunderbolt. Watching Stephen use his allowance to buy models of military equipment and personnel when he could have bought similar toys needing no assembly, made me wonder why. My speculation is, that like drawing, there is a patient process of discovery which can only come from the piece-by-piece construction of an object. And along with the knowledge gained in this way, there is also a sense of ownership and mastery that comes with making something yourself. The child comes into an intimate acquaintance with the object. The child becomes an expert.

As to extending and broadening Stephen's interest in war drawing, there were again many decisions to make. We decided as a family to visit a Civil War re-enactment at Fort Chase, the site of a prisoner-of-war camp in Columbus. Men and women dressed in period costume conversed with one another and conducted their affairs as people might have on a typical day in the Civil War era at Camp Chase. While we were there, Confederate prisoners staged a prison break. There was enough action to satisfy and delight Stephen. Later there was a procession to the nearby cemetery for a

memorial ceremony. As the soldiers marched, Stephen fell into step behind, umbrella over his shoulder as a pretend rifle. Such experiences extend an interest in war, placing particular wars in historical contexts. As I talked with children and also their parents, I found other examples in which parents took an active role in extending their children's interests in war: a visit to an aircraft carrier, making a shirt with the child's name spelled out in naval flags, and so forth.

Just as war interests can be extended, so can other essential and related aspects. Interests in drawing can be extended by visits to an art gallery or attending a talk by an illustrator of books. Interests in the moral and philosophical issues of war, political events, issues related to gender, and others can be extended where the children show an interest in opportunities for excursions, discussions, and so forth.

The discussion thus far has centered on the role which parents can play. Teachers can participate in this process of broadening student's awareness of the world around them. I will not repeat the discussion already provided in chapter VI in which I discuss in greater detail the implications this study has for education. I will simply repeat my basic points that such keen interests and motivation to learn can become entry points for discussion. And further, this does not mean that war must be glamorized. Multiple perspectives

on any topic, including war, empower people to see their opportunity and responsibility to form opinions and to act on them.

Implications and Extensions for Research

Methods

Considering the narrative nature of many of the drawings underscores the importance of interviewing the children who produced them. Much of what may be understood about the work is made more accessible by asking children to talk about their drawings. Drawing is exceedingly difficult. With some children especially, their ideas race ahead of their ability to represent them in a manner which would be understood by a wider audience. The portfolio review was an important extension of the interview process. The drawings provided a point of reference, enabling children to recall and to talk more comfortably about their ideas, skills, and development.

Observation also reveals a great deal of information. Whether observing children as they interact with parents and siblings in the home, or watching them at work on a drawing, much can be gained that would not be easily accessed by other, more formal research methods. The more extensive observation I was able to do with Stephen also points out the kind of information that slips through the cracks. With his television viewing, for example. By attending to the programs he watched and by keeping field notes, I was able

to gain a more complete understanding of the information and influences he came into contact with over the space of ten months. By watching one child I was able to see the connectedness of some of those influences, connections which might not have surfaced if I were to rely solely upon interviews for my information.

Content

This study examined war drawing as a case. It builds on previous research such as the Feinburg study (1975). The study supports much of what Feinburg reported, yet there are some differences. A clear understanding of this or any other case can only be gained as researchers return to it, each bringing a somewhat different perspective.

What are some of those other perspectives? A longitudinal study would be fascinating. I have looked at Stephen's early drawings in order to find indications of his interest in war. There I found themes which have developed into the drawings he does today. But it was not possible to do this with all of the youngsters in my study. And neither, of course, have I been able to determine what follows. How does war drawing finally make its exit? Very recently Stephen has taken an interest in drawing baseball. Perhaps the action of war evolves into a more socially acceptable yet similar form of competition and cooperation. Feinburg's Douglas turned from drawings about war to ones about sport. But just as likely there are multiple points of entry and

multiple points of departure. Raymond has been doing more writing of stories as his writing skills develop. Much of his drawing is becoming illustration for his written narratives. For Raymond, spontaneous drawing of any kind may eventually disappear from his activities. Then again, it may take an entirely different form, serving different needs and interests. At present I can only speculate about such matters. Returning to visit the children in 5, 10, or even 15 years would provide a unique perspective on the development of these young people and their involvement in drawing.

A historical perspective would offer something to our understanding as well. Feinburg (1975) touches upon this in describing 19th century drawings of speeding carriages and burning houses. These perhaps provided some of the same excitement for the children who drew them, that war drawings do for the youngsters of the 20th century. How have notions about warfare changed from one generation to another and from one century to the next? Related to the historical perspective is a cross-cultural one. Cross-cultural studies are touched upon in chapter IV, the leading difference being that these drawings were done by children who have experienced war directly. Where children only fantasize about war, how do cultural differences find expression? Dennis (1966) noted a wide variance in the incidence of spontaneous war drawings in countries like Taiwan and Japan.

Keeping in mind that the text was written 25 years ago, the author noted that examples of spontaneous drawings of modern warfare were difficult to find in Japan where there seemed to be a taboo against such interests. But in Taiwan where the people were encouraged to arm themselves, the highest incidence of drawings of modern soldiers (16 percent) was found. Statistics such as this only reveal a small portion of the cultural picture. Such data only whet an appetite for further investigation into war drawings and the children who make them.

Still other extensions lead to work in other media. I briefly mentioned Stephen's three-dimensional constructions. These range from his simply finding a rock which was shaped like a gun, to some rather complex constructions in Lego and found objects.

Writing and story-telling would appear to have much in common with spontaneous drawing. Goodenough-Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) described aggression in the stories of the young. These stories often involve biting and devouring. Young children might tell a story about being bitten by a wolf for instance. Concerning children about the age of 5 or older, they write "fighting and shooting, and the use of weapons are mentioned more frequently ... especially by the boys who show great interest in the various techniques of battle and destruction" p. 177. Raymond writes about Rambo-type heroes who undertake daring missions and overcome

great adversity. His drawing and his writing are very much alike. But what of the other sub-genres? Are there children whose stories, whether written or oral, would parallel drawings of the vehicles of war, or plans and strategies of war?

Other genres might also be studied. The genre of drawing horses has been investigated by several researchers; so has the genre of superheroes. Further studies within and among genres could prove fertile ground for investigation.

In this study I have tried to show that there is much more to war drawing than a "fireworks display." It gives us a particular way of coming to understand the children who find this meaningful and satisfying. This research into the seldom explored territory of spontaneous drawing also serves as an invitation to others who might wish to search out some of its paths.

FIGURE 14. Gulf War map, drawn by Chad

FIGURE 16. American base, drawn by Joe

FIGURE 17. Aerial view of dot armies, drawn by John

FIGURE 18. Second World War plane, drawn by Eric

FIGURE 19. American tank, drawn by Josh

FIGURE 20. American combat helicopter, drawn by A.J.

FIGURE 21. Armored assault vehicle, drawn by Buddy

FIGURE 23. Mutants, drawn by T.J.

FIGURE 24. Knight, drawn by Buddy

FIGURE 25. American paratroopers, drawn by Scooter

FIGURE 26. Gulf War action, drawn by John

FIGURE 27. Tank, helicopter and "bigfoot," drawn by Todd

FIGURE 28. Rambo in Vietnam, drawn by Raymond

FIGURE 29. Indians and Cavalry, drawn by Stephen

FIGURE 30. Gulf War, drawn by Jimmy

FIGURE 31. MASH helicopter, drawn by Nate

FIGURE 32. Underwater battle, drawn by Nate

FIGURE 33. Dogs and cats, drawn by A.J.

FIGURE 34. Futuristic war, drawn by Josh

FIGURE 35. Americans attack a Soviet ship, drawn by Stephen

FIGURE 36. Gulf War channel battle, drawn by Chad

FIGURE 37. Gulf War at a U.S. base, drawn by Chad

FIGURE 38 A. Gulf War action (before), drawn by Stephen

FIGURE 38 B. Gulf War action (after)

FIGURE 39. Continuation (2 of 7 pages), drawn by Elliot

FIGURE 40 A. Continuation (the complete drawing), by Teddy

FIGURE 40 B. Continuation drawing (detail)

FIGURE 41. American and Japanese naval battle, drawn by Teddy

FIGURE 42. Air war, drawn by Scooter

FIGURE 43. Continuation drawing, by Nate

FIGURE 44. Enemy camps separated by force field, drawn by Joe

FIGURE 45. Ground to air battle, drawn by Todd

FIGURE 46. Gulf War air battle, drawn by T.J.

FIGURE 47. Gulf War ground to air battle, drawn by Brad

FIGURE 48. Gulf War with running soldier, drawn by Jimmy

FIGURE 49. Camp defenses, drawn by Chad

FIGURE 50. Gulf War with camel, drawn by Todd

FIGURE 51. Televised announcement of the Gulf War, drawn by Amy

FIGURE 52. Gulf War soldiers hiding in a forest, drawn by Amy

FIGURE 53. Gulf War air to ground battle, drawn by Amy

FIGURE 54. Gulf War with casualty, drawn by Amy

FIGURE 55. Weapons and bellies

FIGURE 56. Landscape with planes and soldiers

FIGURE 57. Operation Desert Storm with Rambo, drawn by Raymond

FIGURE 58. Observational drawing (unfinished), by John

FIGURE 59. Gulf War bombing mission, drawn by Brad

FIGURE 60 A. Gulf War (middle of the war), drawn by T.J.

FIGURE 60 B. Gulf War (end of the war)

FIGURE 60 C. Gulf War (accounting of damage and casualties)

FIGURE 61. Bart Simpson challenges Saddam, drawn by Brad

FIGURE 62. Ninja Turtle challenges Saddam, drawn by Brad

FIGURE 63. Editorial cartoon of Saddam, drawn by Buddy

APPENDIX A
HANDBILL CALLING FOR REFERRALS

A T T E N T I O N T E A C H E R S
O F E L E M E N T A R Y S C H O O L S T U D E N T S
I N T H E C O L U M B U S A R E A

* DO YOU KNOW ANY CHILDREN WHO DO WAR DRAWINGS?

I am researching this topic in my dissertation(O.S.U.), and I would like to interview children who work spontaneously in this genre. If you know a child who might be willing to show me his/her drawings and talk with me about them, I would appreciate hearing from you. I would then contact the child's parent(s) and ask if I might visit them and their child at their home to explain my project.

The research will continue through June '91.

If you are able to help, please call me (Bob Dalton) at home 481-3153, or leave a message at the Art Education office at 292-7183.

Thankyou kindly for your assistance.

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE LETTER TO PARENTS OF REFERRED CHILDREN

Department of Art Education

340 Hopkins Hall
128 North Oval Mall
Columbus, OH 43210-1363
Phone 614-292-7183

date:

Dear Parent/Guardian:

My name is Bob Dalton. I am a graduate student at The Ohio State University. Under the supervision of Professor Kenneth Marantz in the Department of Art Education, I am conducting research on children's drawings. My purpose is to learn more about these drawings and the young people who make them. At the present time I am doing a study on children's war drawings. Many children do war drawings and this kind of behavior is completely normal.

I have asked teachers in this district to help me locate young people who do war drawings. Teacher's name from child's school suggested that child's name might be interested on participating in my study. Sometimes a recommendation is made because the young person has done a spontaneous war drawing in class. At other times the teacher may give me a recommendation based on other knowledge of the student. The student may seem interested in adventure. The student also may seem particularly imaginative, or may seem to enjoy drawing. As teacher's name gave me child's name, I wanted to write and ask if child's name does at times do war drawings, and if so, would you consent to my interviewing him/her. The study would involve my interviewing child's name in your home. I would also want to photograph some of his/her drawings, and watch him/her work on a drawing.

I will call you in the next few days to explain my study more fully and to ask if you would consent to my interviewing child's name. I look forward to speaking with you.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX C
TELEPHONE FOLLOW-UP TO LETTER

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE STUDY
AND THE ROLE OF SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS/GUARDIANS

The Ohio State University requires that researchers give participants and their parents/guardians, a written summary of the project and the role subjects will be asked to play in the study.

I am interested in learning about war drawings and the young people who do them. Let me assure you to begin with that war drawing is a completely normal activity for children. I hope to interview approximately ten young people in an effort to find out such things as where they get their ideas, why they choose this particular topic, and how they make their drawings.

If you give your consent, and if your child agrees to be interviewed, I would ask you and your child to sign a consent form. I would also ask you to sign a copy of this introduction, indicating that you have received this information. Parents/guardians are welcome to listen to the interview, but it is the child who will be asked the questions. I anticipate that it will require two visits for me to complete the questioning. Each interview will last approximately one hour and would be at your home, at times convenient to you.

The first interview could be conducted directly following your reading of this summary. I would audiotape the interview with your child. When I leave I will ask if I might borrow several of your child's drawings in order that I might photograph them. When I return for my second visit I will return the drawings and ask further questions. Then I would ask your child to work on a drawing while I observe and take notes.

It is possible but not likely that I will have to visit or call once more to complete the questioning. At the conclusion of each visit I would like to offer your child a small honorarium of five dollars as my way of saying thanks for participating in this study and for allowing me to reproduce the drawings in my dissertation.

When I report my findings and reproduce your child's drawings in this study, I will not use his real name. It is common in such studies to use assumed names for participants.

When the research is complete, I would be happy to visit briefly with you to explain my findings. I would tell you what I learned generally about war drawings and the children who do them. I would also tell you things that may be unique about your child's drawings or his responses to the interview questions.

Many children enjoy a chance to talk about their drawings, and many parents are interested in learning more about their children's drawings.

Do you have questions I can answer for you about any aspect of the study?

Signed: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Instructions for Subjects

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me. As you know, I am interested in looking at the war drawings you do. I'd like to ask some questions which will help me to understand your pictures, how you make them, where you get your ideas and so forth. I think you'll find most of the questions pretty easy. If you don't understand a question, tell me. I'll try to make the question clearer. If there are any questions you don't want to answer, just tell me and we'll go on to the next one.

Introduction

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What grade are you in at school?
4. In which city or town were you born?
5. Who are the other members of your family?
6. Which family members are older than you, and which are younger?

Product

1. What is this picture about? [If the interviewee uses the word war (or combat, battle, story) then use that word throughout the questioning]. Is there fighting in this picture? Who is fighting? Is there anyone in this picture who is not a fighter? What are they doing?
2. How would you describe the people in this picture? [If the interviewee refers to the people as good guys and bad guys, use those terms throughout]. What makes them good or bad? How did this war begin?
3. At what point of the war is this picture? Is war about to start, has it just begun, is this about the middle, is this near the end, or is the war over? Could someone tell this just by looking at the picture?
4. How does the war end? Do you know who will win? Could someone tell this by looking at the picture?

5. Are people killed or injured in the war drawing? Do you feel sorry for these people?
6. When does this war take place? Does it take place in our time, does it happen a long time ago, or does it happen some time in the future?
7. Where does the war take place? Does it happen on land, sea or air; does it take place in a particular country; or is it on some other planet?
8. Do you have a certain way of drawing people (explosions, trees, guns ...)? [The objects referred to are ones found in the drawing]
9. Are things moving in your picture? How do you make things look like they're moving?
10. Are some parts of the war farther from us, and some parts nearer? Which are farther? How do you show that things are farther away?
11. Is there a particular part of this picture that is most important? Why is this the most important part?
12. Is this the whole war you've shown in the picture, or are there other things (soldiers, planes, ships ...) outside the picture that we can't see? [These objects are ones suggested by the existence of identical or similar objects in the drawing].
13. Is this a good size of paper for your drawing? What would you do if you had a larger piece of paper, how would your picture be different?
14. I notice you used pencil (markers, crayons, poster paint ...) to do the drawing. Why did you decide to use pencil? What do you like about using pencils for war drawings? Are there things you don't like about pencils?
15. Do you sometimes draw with other things like crayons, markers, poster paint? What do you like about each of these?

Process

1. Is there a certain time of the day when you prefer to draw? Where do you usually do your drawing?
2. Where do you get your ideas for drawings?
3. When you start a drawing, do you think about other drawings you've already done? Does that help you decide what to do in this drawing?
4. Before you start a drawing, do you have an idea in mind of what the finished drawing will look like? Do your ideas change when you draw?
5. What part of the picture do you usually do first?
6. How do you feel when you are drawing?
7. Are you sometimes worried about getting your paper messy when you're working on it?
8. Do you generally start a drawing and work on it until it is done, or do some of your drawings take a few days to finish?
9. How do you decide when a drawing is finished?
10. Are some of your drawings better than others? What makes one better than another?

Use

1. What do you do with your drawings when you're finished making them?
2. Is it fun for you to make the picture, or do you do it mostly because you like the drawing when it is finished?
3. Do you like to show your drawings to people? Who do you show them to? Do you like to talk about your drawings too, or do you just like to show them?
4. What kinds of things do people say about your war drawings?
5. Do you have friends who do war drawings? Are their drawings just like yours, or are they different?
6. Do you ever pretend that you are one of the people in your drawing? Which person do you like to be?
7. Do you ever use war drawings in your play?

Artist

1. Do you ever play war?
2. When you play, do you like to play by yourself or do you usually play with friends?
3. Who are your best friends? Are they boys or girls?
4. Do girls (boys) do war drawings? [If the interviewee is a boy, ask about girls. If the interviewee is a girl, ask about boys] If they don't draw about war, what do do they draw?
5. What do you like about school? What do you dislike about school? Which school subjects are your most favorite, and which are your least favorite?
6. Do you consider yourself an artist? Do others ever say you are an artist?

Culture

1. Do you like to play sports? If so, which ones do like to play the most? When you play sports, is winning important to you, or do you just like to play?
2. Do you like to use tools and machines? Which tools and machines have you used?
3. What are your favorite toys? Do any of these involve soldiers (castles, fighter aircraft, guns...)? [These objects are ones found in the drawings] How do you play with these?
4. Do you have any clothing that is either like clothing worn by soldiers, or has pictures of things related to war on it?
5. Are there books about war that you like to look at? Are these story books or comics? Do you prefer books with facts about war instead of stories? Do you or your family own these books, or do you get them somewhere else like the library?
6. Do you have any posters about war?
7. Are there any video games you like to play? Which ones?
8. What are your favorite television shows?

9. Have you ever been to a museum or some place that had actual weapons used in war?
10. Have you ever visited a military base?
11. Do you read about war in newspapers, or see and hear about war on television?
12. Do you know anyone who has been in a real war? Have you talked to this person? What kinds of things did this person tell you about war?
13. Is there any other way you learned about war?
14. What do you think about real war, is it a good thing or is it a bad thing?
15. What kind of job would you like to have when you're an adult?

Portfolio

1. Are you able to arrange your drawings in order of those you did a long time ago, to those you've done just a short time ago? Can you arrange your drawings for me in the order in which you did them?
2. Are there any here that are not about war? Which ones are those?
3. Are there differences between those first drawings and the last ones? How have the drawings changed? Did you already know your drawings had changed this way, or did you learn that just now by looking at them all together?
4. Has the war between the U.S. and Iraq in the Persian Gulf influenced your drawings? How has it influenced them?

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