"I Can Draw a Happy Face for You": Coping Strategies of Homeless Children.

This qualitative study examined the ways in which homeless children cope with their environment. Preliminary data were gathered by observing homeless children at a homeless shelter day care center in a medium-sized midwestern city. As many as 12 children, aged 2 to 6 years, were observed in the day care setting on three different weekday mornings. On three subsequent visits to the shelter, individual homeless children were asked to draw pictures and create stories about those pictures. Observation notes were examined for communicative behavior patterns. Results indicate that homeless children of preschool age coped with their environment by nonverbally expressing anger and by sharing with and caring for other children at the day care center. The children's drawing and interview sessions were transcribed and examined for recurring coping strategies. Three of the children expressed an unusual pattern of repetition in their drawings, and indications of sharing and caring were also evident. Eight sample drawings are included. (MM)
"I Can Draw a Happy Face for You"

Coping Strategies of Homeless Children

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Running Head: HOMELESS CHILDREN
Abstract

This qualitative study was conducted to examine how homeless children cope with their environment. Preliminary data was gathered by observing homeless children at a shelter daycare. Subsequent data was gathered by inviting individual homeless children to draw pictures and create stories about those pictures. The results indicated that homeless children of preschool age often develop particular coping strategies to deal with their dysfunctional lives. They have learned to control their lives by keeping their emotions in check. Their drawings display a need to hold on to what is familiar in their ever-changing surroundings. These findings suggest that homeless children are indeed affected by the misfortune of their parents.
"I Can Draw a Happy Face for You"

Coping Strategies of Homeless Children

Not since the Great Depression have so many American families been living in poverty. In 1986, House subcommittee investigators reported seeing "hundreds of families and children living on the streets" (Karlen, 1986, p. 2). Washington, D.C. homeless advocate Mitch Snyder said: "I have yet to go into a good-sized abandoned building that did not have someone living in it, including families... Nobody knows how many, because nobody looks" (Snyder, in Karlen, 1986, p. 2).

While no one knows precisely how many people are affected by this national tragedy, what is known is that families with children comprise the fastest growing segment of the homeless population (Waxman & Reyes, 1989). According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, children and their families currently account for 38 per cent of all homeless people in the country (p. 89). Statistics from the nation's capital reveal that homelessness among children in Washington, D.C. has increased by a factor of five in recent years (Reed & Sautter, 1990).

For children, homelessness involves much more than the absence of a permanent place to live. Homelessness affects a child's health, nutrition, development,
psychological growth and educational advancement.

It is not simply poverty that causes these problems for homeless children. Molnar, Rath and Klein (1990) note that it is "the constellation of factors that accompany homelessness" (p. 11); poor prenatal care, unhealthy shelter environments, overcrowded living conditions and exposure to filth and violence that cause homeless children to exhibit health and developmental difficulties far greater than the population at large—greater even when compared to poor but housed children.

While studying homeless children in New York City, Skelton (1990) found that the life of a preschool homeless child was often spent in an "uprooted transitional state" in which the child knew nothing but "the most temporary and precarious of arrangements... This inconsistency occurs at a time when continuity of experience and predictable routine are crucial to the child's developing a working set of expectations about his environment, and an attendant sense of control" (p. 6).

Despite the growing number of children counted among the homeless, the majority of the studies examining the homeless population have concentrated on
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the physical and emotional health problems of the adults. Only recently have researchers begun to evaluate the impact this tragedy has on the children involved.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In addition to the two studies cited above, two other studies elaborated further on the anxieties of homeless children. These studies were conducted in Massachusetts by Bassuk and her colleagues (Bassuk, Rubin & Lauriat, 1986). In their first analysis, these researchers assessed the impact of homelessness on 80 families living at 14 Massachusetts family shelters. Bassuk conducted a follow-up study (Bassuk & Rosenburg, 1988) that compared child and family outcomes in a group of 49 families living in six Boston shelters with a group of 81 low-income housed families living in Boston. Bassuk, Rubin and Laurait (1986) found considerable mental distress among the school-aged children they tested. Using the Childrens' Depression Inventory and the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale, they found that half of the older children required further psychiatric evaluation.

In the subsequent study (Bassuk & Rosenburg, 1988),
the mean total score of the homeless children who completed the Children's Depression Inventory was 10.3 compared to 8.3 for the housed children--9 being the cut off point for recommendation of psychiatric evaluation. On the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale, 31 per cent of the homeless children tested--compared to 9 per cent of housed children--had a T-score of 60 or higher, indicating the need for psychiatric referral and evaluation.

Further study, conducted by Fox and her colleagues (Fox, Barrnett, Davies, & Bird, 1990) to determine the extent of emotional or behavioral disturbances in homeless children, involved interviews with 50 parent-child pairs in New York City. The results of this study indicated that nearly all of the children they tested showed some difficulties with 38 percent exhibiting serious emotional and behavioral problems (Fox et al., 1990).

While the studies cited above found the actual occurrence of anxiety and frustration in homeless children, they never focused on how these children express their frustration with the predicament their families face. A more precise examination of the ways homeless children interpret and subsequently
communicate their circumstances would yield valuable insights into the effect homelessness has on developing youngsters.

The purpose of this study was to qualitatively examine the approach homeless children use in coping with their precarious environment.

In addition to observing these children communicating in their natural environment, their artwork and their related stories were also utilized to reveal their perceptions. Drawings were chosen because "art is the spontaneous expression of the child, meaning (is) communicated through gesture, lines, and color" (Skelton, 1990, p. 17). Also, children tend to find the wordless communication of art easier and less threatening-- especially when the researcher's topic is an intimate or difficult one. In fact, in his examination of children's drawings, Allan (1988) found that art expression offered a symbolic process that reached a greater emotional expression than words.

Because children more readily communicate using their own symbols, this study incorporated the theoretical framework of a metaphorical perspective.
METAPHORICAL THEORY

Art is a natural communication medium for most children. Through art the child may do the impossible. S/he may fulfil symbolically and metaphorically both positive wishes and negative impulses without fear of real consequence. S/he can control reality by creating her/his own story (Rubin, 1978).

Art metaphors constructed by the children are, of course, conceptual in nature—not unlike all metaphors. The children explain what they perceive through their art; how they persevere in the world, and how they relate to other people. A child's artistic conceptual system plays a central role in defining a youngster's everyday reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Thus, these drawn metaphors can be used as a principle vehicle to understand homeless children's impressions of their way of life.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The review of the literature suggests that homeless children are affected by their environment through various means. The question driving this research is how homeless children communicate through actions, drawings and stories the strategies they use to cope with the ongoing crisis facing the homeless family.
PROCEDURES

The data for this research was gathered at a homeless shelter in a medium-sized midwestern city. This shelter, primarily run by Catholic nuns, also houses a licensed daycare facility for the residents of the shelter as well as needy families in the community. The center charges no fee for participants; however, children must meet enrollment standards based on need and minimal child development requirements set by the state.

The daycare is generally staffed by an administrator, a teacher, and several regular volunteers --"Grandamas"--from the Foster Grandparent Program. The student to adult ratio is normally about three to one.

The administrator of the shelter daycare was anxious for us to observe and interview her students. She and the teacher made every effort to enlighten us about the individual children and their particular situations. In fact, the administrator readily offered to obtain parental signatures on the consent forms we needed for our research. In keeping with this spirit of cooperation, the teacher, who holds an advanced degree in early childhood education, consented to several hours
of informal interviews focusing on the children in her care. These interviews were taped, transcribed and became part of the researcher's field notes.

As many as twelve children, aged two to six years, were observed in the daycare setting on three different weekday mornings. The researchers were never formally introduced to the children and interacted with them only if a child approached them directly. However, the researchers were often addressed by name by the teacher and by the administrator.

Immediately following each visit, the observers recorded notes about the session. These notes contained specific observations and comments about the children's behavior on that particular day.

On three subsequent visits to the homeless shelter daycare, one researcher selected several children to join her, one at a time, in a room adjacent to the daycare. During these three visits, seven children, aged four and five years, participated, in drawing sessions, each just once. As a child entered the adjacent room with the interviewer, he/she was asked if he/she would like to "draw some pictures." Each child was then
seated at a large table with several sheets of blank white paper, a pencil, and a brown crayon.

Initially, the plan was to ask each child to draw a house, a tree, a person and their family doing something together (a kinetic family drawing) following the patterns set by Buck (1968) and Burns and Kaufman (1972). However, the interviewer found that the children often had their own agendas and drew what they wanted to draw. The researchers found that flexibility was essential in establishing a rapport with the children and in acquiring data from them.

As each child finished his/her drawing, the interviewer asked the child to tell her a story or answer various questions about his/her artwork. The questions were largely dictated by the drawings and often steered by the child's response, but they followed suggestions made by Buck (1968). For example: "Who's house is that?" "Is it a happy house?" "Where is your room in this house?"(Buck, 1968. p. 70.) All of the children's responses were recorded and transcribed.

Rationale for qualitative methodology

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) assert that qualitative studies provide a forum for those who society ignores. For this reason, qualitative methodology was purposely
chosen for this study to more humanistically explore and report the phenomena of homelessness from the perspective of those often affected yet most powerless: the children.

Qualitative methods also made it possible for the researchers to explore in depth, a sub-culture not readily obtainable by other research methods.

Rationale for procedure

The procedure of having children draw a house, a tree, and a person was established by Buck to "acquire diagnostically and prognostically significant data concerning a subject's total personality and the interaction of that personality with its environment, both specific and general" (1968, p.2).

While the procedure was not used specifically as a diagnostic tool in this research, it did establish an interview pattern for the researcher to solicit responses from the children. Research has found that children are not generally capable or anxious to relate life experience stories; they can, however, create artwork and related tales that communicate metaphorically what they are feeling. That is why this drawing session/interview procedure was chosen.
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Because the data for this research was gathered by two distinctive methods, observations and drawing/interview sessions, the analysis was also done in two stages. While similar coping strategies were uncovered, the methods used to obtain the data were so distinctive that separate analysis seemed necessary.

First, the detailed notes of the observations were examined for communicative behavior patterns. What became remarkably clear in these observations was that the majority of these children coped with their circumstances while maintaining an even tempered disposition. They adjusted to large and small variances in their lives with little apparent effort. What anger or discomfort they did express was often observed nonverbally as a silent rage or inner turmoil which seems to be an infinitely more mature expression than their years would explain. They also overwhelmingly displayed a propensity to share and care for the other children at the daycare. These two behaviors, silent rage and sharing/caring, became the primary focus of the first stage of the analysis.

Secondly, the children's drawing/interview session transcriptions were analyzed for reoccurring themes of
Three of the children who participated in the drawing session interviews expressed an unusual pattern of repetition in their drawings. It was also discovered that the sharing and caring themes uncovered in the observations, were evident in the drawing sessions as well. The second stage of the analysis centered on both this repetitiveness and the caring and sharing aspects recognized in the drawing sessions.
RESULTS

Observations

The three sets of participant observation notes coupled with the teacher interview, supplied the researchers with a record of the daily life and subsequent means of coping of homeless children. At first glance, the children did not appear to be any different from other youngsters their age. They arrived at the daycare in the early morning with sleep still on their faces. They awakened at their own pace and began to make decisions about what and with whom they would play. What made this environment different than the typical daycare setting was the overall lack of temper displays. These children appeared to be in relative control of their emotions—unlike most youngsters their age. Only once did the researchers observe a child expressing what might be referred to as a temper tantrum, an incident that will be discussed later.

Generally, the children at the shelter daycare played together harmoniously and obeyed the authorities without question.

One instance during our first observation aptly showed this concept. Two of the children were painting, four others were playing with water toys, two more were
on the floor by the doll house, and the rest were
drawing or playing with clay. The teacher very calmly
asked them all to join her at the table to make
pretzels. All of the children quietly stopped what they
were doing, replaced what they were playing with and
found a seat at the table. Each one waited patiently as
the teacher and one of the "Grandmas" measured the
ingredients. Then each child was given the chance to add
a spoonful or a cup of something to the batter and stir.
The children were obviously anxious for their turns but
each waited patiently. There were no fits or displays of
selfishness as each child readily gave up the spoon when
his/her turn was over [PO1...12]. (Note: Participant
observation number one, page 12.)

This well mannered behavior and control was
expressed even more profoundly when the children were
angry or disturbed by their environment. Under these
circumstances the children displayed an inner turmoil
the researchers labeled "silent rage." This silent rage
was explained by an episode witnessed by the researcher
during the third observation.

The first thing the children did every morning was to
eat breakfast together. One of the "Grandmas" (senior
volunteers) served cereal, milk and fruit or the like.
Most of the children eagerly participated in this breakfast. On this particular morning, one child (Sal) chose to ignore several requests by the Grandma to join the others for breakfast.

After about an hour, Sal suddenly realized that he was hungry. He told the teacher who reminded him that he had given up his chance to eat breakfast earlier when Grandma had called him to the table and he had not come. He was obviously disturbed by this situation. He puckered up his face and proceeded to emit a small whine. But instead of displaying a kinetic reaction, like stamping his feet or waving his arms, Sal proceeded to quietly lay face down on the floor motionless. He laid there quietly for several minutes until the teacher finally capitulated and decided to fix him something to eat [PO3...8].

These displays of silent rage were also manifested by the silent crying of the children. While children of this age often express their childhood obduracy with unrestrained wailing, the teacher remarked that these children often react quite differently. She said that on more than one occasion, when a child was brought to the shelter daycare for the first time, s/he was afraid to be left by her/his parents in a strange environment, not
unlike all children. But homeless children frequently coped with this emotional dilemma not by shrieking and kinetic displays but by standing still and crying silently. Referring to one youngster, the teacher said:

When she first came she cried all the time. It was real hard for her. She'd just stand... and she's a silent crier, that's the worst. Your heart just breaks... She would just stand there and she would cry and tears would just fill up in her little eyes and she would just get rigid [IN1...7-8]. (Note: Interview number one, pages 7 and 8.)

Another dramatic way these children cope with their lives is by overtly displaying a sincere generosity and concern for others. This was witnessed often during all of the participant observations, but never more poignantly than in one instance during the researcher's third visit. Two boys were seated on the rug in the middle of the floor. They were both busily building wheeled vehicles out of plastic pieces that fit together many different ways. Both boys had created unique
vehicles completely independent of each other. What Sal, age five, had created was very thin and long. It contained one set of wheels at the very beginning and one set at the very end. He called it a jet, although it more closely resembled a train. He was quite proud of his jet and he picked it up to show the teacher. She praised Sal for his creation and he proudly returned to the rug to play with this jet. As he rolled his long, thin vehicle along the rug, he had difficulty keeping the center of his jet from dragging on the carpet and tearing apart. He looked around and decided he could save his jet if he obtained the only other set of wheels -- but they were on the other boy’s creation. Joseph, also age five, had a vehicle that looked more like a jet. He too, was also running it along the rug. Sal proceeded to gently whine while claiming that he needed the other set of wheels to keep his jet together. After several minutes, Joseph relented and took off one of the wheels on his jet and gave it to Sal. This seemed to appease Sal at first but it soon became clear that the wheels only worked as a set. With Solomonic wisdom, Joseph also quickly realized that the wheel that he had kept was useless to him as well. Joseph hesitated momentarily before he took off the other half of the set
from his vehicle and gave it to Sal [PO3...4].

These children are not only gracious with their toys, but they are also willing to take care of each other as well. During one visit, the observer was sitting at a table along with several of the children who were making dinner for her out of clay. One of the children, Susan, age five, has a severe speech impediment. She proudly placed her "food" in front of the observer and called it a name the observer could not understand. Aware that she was not being understood, Susan repeated the name she had given her food several times, each time becoming more frustrated by the lack of understanding she read in the observer's face. The observer finally enlisted the help of Kate, another child, to interpret what Susan was trying to say. Kate listened intently as Susan spoke directly to her interpreter. Pleased, Kate turned to the observer and said, "Ice cream. She's made you ice cream." Susan then nodded and repeated her word once more, this time with a smile [PO3...7].

Drawing Sessions

While much was learned about homeless children's coping strategies during the observations, individual drawing sessions with the children revealed several
insights as well.

Two of the children interviewed maintained recurring themes through nearly all of their drawings. A summary of these two sessions follows.

**Repetitive Themes**

When Joseph was asked to draw a house, he initially responded, "I don't know how to draw one" [IN2...1]. With some coaxing from the interviewer, he then drew what he called a circle house (See Figure 1). His house was not complete, however, until Joseph added a happy face, legs, arms, and ears. Joseph's story about the house was that eight people were moving in tomorrow, but he could not remember their names [IN2...2].

Joseph's tree (See Figure 2) also contained a happy face as did both of his people (See Figure 3 and 4).

This "happy face" pattern ceased when he drew his family at the beach. All of the people in this drawing were just faceless heads and bodies lying on the beach surrounded by waves of water (See Figure 5).

Another child who displayed a pattern of repetition in her drawings was Mary. Mary told the interviewer, "I like to draw squares." Her "tree" was several squares stacked on top of one another (See Figure 6). Her person
had a square head and a mouth that was several squares inside each other with a pattern of perpetuity (See Figure 7). In her final drawing, she was asked to draw whatever she wanted; she drew two square towers (See Figure 8).

[Note: Audio records of Mary's drawing session were lost due to a tape recorder malfunction.]

Sharing and Caring

Another theme uncovered in the drawing sessions mirrored a coping strategy not unlike one that surfaced in the observations. Several of the children drew and related stories that expressed a remarkable attitude of generosity and empathy. For example, when Susan was asked who lived in the first house that she drew, she smiled and quickly answered, "You," meaning the interviewer [IN3...1].

When asked to draw a person, Joseph portrayed the closeness in his family by making his little sister the subject of his first person drawing. The interviewer then asked if he took care of his sister and he answered, "Yes." This question also triggered Joseph
into talking about his mother being sick and in the hospital [IN2...3].

When Joseph drew his tree, he added that the tree was in Houston. The interviewer questioned Joseph about Houston and Joseph responded by telling her that, "Soon as we get some money" his family would be moving to Houston [IN2...3]. Later in the session the interviewer again asked about Houston and Joseph again said the family would be moving "as soon as we get some money" [IN2...6]. The interviewer followed up by asking whether Joseph was saving his money to move and his response was, "Yeah" [IN2...6]. This example serves as an excellent illustration of how these children are actively engaged in the necessary sharing that surrounds a family in dire need.
DISCUSSION

The results of this study clearly demonstrate that although homeless preschool children appear outwardly unaffected by their environment, the stress of homelessness is suggested subtly in their communication patterns.

As observed, the most obvious way these children cope with their lives resembles what Skelton (1990) found when she observed children in a New York City homeless shelter. She observed children "behaving with a sense of responsibility and sensitivity to the needs of others beyond normal expectations" (p. 15). Similarly, the homeless children in this study expressed empathy and selflessness uncommon in children this age.

This study also found that homeless children possessed a remarkable ability to read cues that signalled needs and respond to these cues with appropriate behavior. This ability, no doubt, stems from that fact that these children have had to mature very quickly in an environment where they have had to cope with many situations beyond their understanding. Unlike other children, these children are growing up in a world not focused on them. Many of their childhood needs have not been attended to by their parents because the
parents are too busy attending to the basic needs of the family. The fundamental needs of the child have taken a back seat to family needs and the child's self-focus has been diverted. These children have learned to watch and anticipate their parents' needs and the needs of their siblings. They have become skilled in recognizing the needs of others over themselves.

While this behavior appears to reflect maturity in four and five year-old homeless children, such selflessness is actually displacing a necessary step in their ego development process. To establish their identity, all children must engage in a period of egocentric behavior. They must be allowed to communicate their needs freely in order to develop self awareness. By suppressing these needs, these young homeless children may develop questions regarding their personalities that will remain unanswered.

By controlling their rage these children are also suppressing the normal exigence to express anger. This manifestation represents a strategy where these children prohibit themselves from overtly expressing turmoil and frustration. But they are still children, and like all children they are struggling to articulate their needs. By not fully communicating these needs, these children
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will no doubt retain a portion of their frustration perhaps to be revealed either internally or externally throughout their lives.

The affinity children have for repetitive themes was noticed first by Allan (1988) in his studies of children's drawings. Allan studied children's art using serial drawing, a process he developed where the children drew every week in the presence of a counselor. Allan found that "quite often in serial drawing, a child will pick up one symbolic theme and use it throughout many of the drawings" (p. 22).

Joseph's "happy face" theme was described to Allan in a telephone interview in November, 1991. Allan found Joseph's repetitive theme interesting and said:

What we seem to be seeing is the theory of compensation... What he wants and needs is happiness so that is what he draws... but when it comes to his family somehow he can't let himself draw happiness because the family situation probably is not happy (J. Allan, personal communication, November 25, 1991).
Skelton (1991) also noticed this need for repetitiveness in her study of homeless children's art, but she believed this intensity of repetition may stem from the children's need for reliability. It seems not unlikely that children who have experienced frequent loss have a greater need to cling to that which is known; they may choose to work in a way that is familiar and comfortable. To risk trying new things or to abandon old modes of working may be perceived by the child as a loss of a much needed sense of predictability (p. 58).

It can be concluded then that the children who expressed repetitive themes in their drawings were communicating metaphorically the need to hold on to some symbol of security. To Joseph, that symbol was a happy face which communicated his desires infinitely more clearly than he could have articulated. Mary's squares are considerably more difficult to explain. Perhaps she felt confined by her environment and used her drawings to symbolically represent a defensive strategy. This child could just as easily have been achieving internal
satisfaction from experimenting with a new concept of diminishing squares. Allan (J. Allan, personal correspondence, March 3, 1992) suggested that Mary may be practicing the "inversion of energy" by being "pulled in, in an attempt to hold on to her feelings--to control her rage so she does not disintegrate." Either way, she latched onto a theme with which she felt comfortable, a comfort not readily available in her stressful life.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to answer the question about how homeless children cope with the stresses of their environment. While the sample size was small, the recurrence of certain behaviors and the resonance of those behaviors, coupled with others' observations, demonstrates the validity of the study. Admittedly, in order to uncover concepts viable to generalization, it would be preferrable to increase the sample size considerably.

In the process of gathering and analyzing the data for this study, the researcher learned much about conducting interviews with children. It became obvious that children are complex beings who suffer the consequences of homelessness in various ways. Unfortunately, they lack the ability to articulate their
stress or depression. Therefore, interviews with children need to be conducted in such a way that can easily be interpretive of what the children are feeling. The use of children's drawings proved to be useful in the interviewing process and was valuable in metaphorically interpreting a subject's inner turmoil.

While the drawing sessions proved valuable, it was unfortunate that the study lacked observations and drawing sessions with homeless children who were a bit older. Much more could have been learned by analyzing the drawings and stories of children from six to ten years. Older children would create more intricate pictures and story plots that might demonstrate even more clearly the stress that the family's situation places on the child.

While qualitative methodology proved effective in exploring the nature of the homeless culture, acquiring data using this method involved certain drawbacks. In this particular instance, researchers found themselves becoming emotionally involved and filled with compassion for the children living in this abject poverty and despair. It was not unusual for the researchers to
regularly examine their own personal and professional ethics with regard to this subject matter.

If, as Oscar Lewis has said, it becomes the responsibility of the qualitative researcher to "give voice to the people who are rarely heard" (Lewis, in Bogdan & Taylor, 1984, p. 7.), this study has fulfilled its obligation.

The heuristic value of this study leads one to question if a similar study conducted with economically stable preschool children would expose dramatically different results. This research also suggests a longitudinal study with these children--possibly following them in and out of homeless situations. Perhaps examining the same children in their family environments would yield still more insights into their communication strategies.

Finally, while the object of this study was simplistic, considering the scope of what these children are experiencing, the research reveals a paramount dilemma facing America today. Everyday, children are being emotionally affected by the woes of their parents. Who will answer the silent cries of these children? Will they ever draw happy faces simply because they are happy?
END NOTE

All the names in this study are fictitious. References to participant observations are coded by observation number and page number of transcribed notes. For example: [PO3...6] refers to participant observation number three from page six of the transcript. References to interviews are coded by interview number and page number of transcribed tapes. For example: [IN3...6] refers to interview number three from page six of the transcript. The only exception would be the transcript of the interview with Mary, which was lost due to a malfunctioning tape recorder.
Figure Captions

Figure 1. Joseph's drawing of his "circle house."

Figure 2. Joseph's drawing of a tree.

Figure 3. Joseph's first drawing of a person.

Figure 4. Joseph's companion to his first person.

Figure 5. Joseph's family doing something together.

Figure 6. Mary's drawing of a tree.

Figure 7. Mary's drawing of a person.

Figure 8. Mary was asked to draw whatever she wanted.
References


