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## Art Therapy with Adolescents: Identity Crisis and Creative Expression

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ART THERAPY WITH  
ADOLESCENTS---  
IDENTITY CRISIS AND  
CREATIVE EXPRESSION

Submitted in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
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## INTRODUCTION

Artwork is for adolescents, as it is for all other human beings at different stages of life, an experience of activity: of doing. As such, it is a microcosm of the efforts they are expending in other areas of their lives. The question of creating a personal identity looms large during adolescence and much energy is directed into attempts at resolution; this task overwhelmingly motivates thought and behavior. Artwork in the adolescent years is keenly reflective of this; however, more than a reflection, it is also an opportunity for at least partial resolution, an arena for the testing of alternatives. Identities can be tried on for size, fantasies released, solutions considered, competencies exhibited. Artwork can provide, for teenagers, a place where problem-solving around identity issues occurs on both conscious and unconscious levels.

My arrival at this way of viewing adolescent art and life has, incidentally, its own developmental history. For the past two and one half years I have worked almost exclusively with adolescents in a variety of clinical settings. While working as a youth counselor-school outreach worker at a community mental health center, I also served as the art specialist in the youth drop-in component of the program. For part of the same time, I was the student art therapist at a local alternative school.

The stimulation of working with teenagers in three very different capacities was extreme; adjusting to the demands of the various roles required me to "shift gears" mentally several times a day. Yet, reflecting on my observations and interactions with teenagers, I gradually came to realize a continuity in their personal, most deeply felt concerns which cut across program boundaries. To be honest, I never heard a teenager express his or her private dilemma in terms of an "identity problem". But I have seen and heard teenagers ask themselves, "Who am I?" I have seen the question acted out in behavior ranging from the painfully shy to the aggressive, even destructive. I have heard the question asked despairingly, timidly, bravely, quizzically. Very often it was silently, though eloquently voiced through the medium of artwork or other creative activity. It became apparent to me that the myriad tasks and trials of adolescence may be viewed as necessary accompaniments to the establishment of a sense of personal identity. It further occurred to me that artwork could and, indeed does, provide, in teenagers, an opportunity for self-reflection, and can ideally serve as a vehicle for increasing the insight and self-awareness so important for growth into adulthood. Thus, I felt that an analysis of the relation of adolescent art to identity establishment

was not only central to an understanding of adolescent art, but also of importance in using the art experience to assist adolescents in accomplishing psychic tasks which very clearly are their central concern.

There is one other thing. An essential part of human growth and maturing, far beyond adolescence, lies in the ability to remain open and flexible, to ask questions about who one is and what one stands for. The groundwork must be laid in adolescence. Creative activity such as art is excellent practice, but the process must continue far past it. A large part of the love and respect (and to be honest, the frustration and puzzlement) I have experienced toward adolescents is related to the courage and single mindedness with which they pursue the struggle for self-definition. That I have been present to share in this search - most especially through the powerful, condensed forms of art expression is, to me, a revelation and a gift.



STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This paper is an investigation into the artwork of adolescents, emphasizing the internal and external processes by which teenagers achieve creative expression. Central to this exploration is a concern with the relationship of adolescent art to the larger context of the adolescent's life. The artwork of teenagers will be examined as a reflection of their particular developmental stage. The most crucial task of adolescence, identity establishment, will constitute the main focus of the investigation.

I will explore how teenage art not only echoes the consuming developmental struggle for self-definition, but may serve as an aid in the resolution of identity conflicts and, so promote growth. This will be accomplished through discussion of identity as seen by various theorists, by looking at the artwork of teenagers, and by selected case history vignettes which will illustrate how, through my clinical experience, I have seen teenagers come to grips with this issue and attempt to resolve it. Specific facets which comprise identity in the individual such as values, ideology, body image, personal and object relationships will be explored. I will be looking at a combination of expressive functions - behavior and artwork for indications of where teenagers may stand along a

continuum of identity establishment. Rather than label these as "successes" or "failures" I will look at some factors which contribute to the adolescent's ability or inability to attempt identity consolidation at a particular state in his or her life, and how art acts as an expressive corollary to this.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The underlying theories in the approach outlined by this paper are culled from several different sources. Basic to these is a reliance on the psychoanalytic theory of art expression as interpreted by Naumberg,<sup>1</sup> who states that an individual, in doing artwork, draws upon his innermost resources. This leads to expression through the artwork of unconscious and conscious personality conflicts, as well as the expression of "specific insecurities or past trauma"<sup>1</sup> which may or may not be part of the individual's awareness.

Other sources, to be discussed later, include the developmental art theories of Lowenfeld, the cognitive theories of Arnheim, and the psychotherapeutic art approaches of Kramer and Ulman. My emphasis is twofold:

1. That art serves adolescents as a vehicle for symbolic speech, through which their unconscious concerns are released and,
  2. That art can serve a more concrete and conscious function as a reflection of the self and that self's capabilities and competencies.
- This approach is both intrapsychic and developmental in scope and is based upon a summary of what elements in adolescent

<sup>1</sup> Naumberg, Margaret. An Introduction to Art Therapy Studies of the Free Art Expression of Behavior  
Teachers College Press, New York, London: 1973

behavior and artwork, as seen through case material, are important in determining individual identity establishment.

### Method

Since art and behavior constitute the "steps" which graphically illustrate the teenagers progress on his identity journey, it is necessary to use a framework to organize this material. Rubin's Art Interview,<sup>2</sup> developed for use with adolescent therapy groups at the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center, provides such a structure.

Rubin suggests paying special attention to the "multiple messages" inherent in art sessions, and simplifies data gathering by analyzing the art interview in four different areas:

1. By examining the process of creating the work
2. By probing the child's associations to the work
3. By searching out the work's latent content and
4. By exploring the conscious and unconscious themes contained in the work.

I will then relate this information to the teenager's position on the "identity continuum" mentioned previously. This continuum is a theoretical construct which proposes that the process of establishing a sense of

<sup>2</sup>Rubin, Judith. A Diagnostic Art Interview. Art Psychotherapy 1973 April Vol. 1 (1) pp 31-43

personal identity occurs as the individual moves through successive stages in the following order:

1. isolation
2. symbiosis
3. identification with the aggressor
4. internalization, idealization
5. separation

6. individuation - beginning of true identity establishment. This derives from Erikson's Stage Theory<sup>3</sup> and is based directly on Loevinger's work in measuring ego development.<sup>4</sup> According to Loevinger, only a projective technique, one that requires an individual to "project" his own frame of reference into a required task - is adequate measure of ego development.<sup>5</sup> In this paper artwork is seen as a projective medium of images through which the adolescent artist reveals his idiosyncratic concepts of self and others. I have loosely adapted Erikson's and Loevinger's categories as a framework for considering broad levels of identity establishment; the comparison material is contained in the case histories detailing art process and product.

I am not attempting to formulate a hard and fast

<sup>3</sup> Erikson, Erik H. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. New York: 1963

<sup>4</sup> Loevinger, Jane. EGO DEVELOPMENT. Jossey-Bass, Inc. San Francisco. 1976

<sup>5</sup> Ibid (Loevinger)

system for the interpretation of specific pictorial factors as they relate to a rigid scale of identity measurement. Rather, I see art form and process as content, to be integrated with other data sources in describing how teenagers approach the identity question in their artwork. Through case histories, I will demonstrate how adolescent art is an expression of inner concerns and conflicts, and how it also shows specific ego functions such as coping patterns and defense mechanisms. This will be accomplished through the four part analysis of the artwork detailed above, and the comparison of this data to the successive identity stages. Conscious and unconscious concerns will appear in the themes of the work, in the art-making behavior, and in the product itself. The approach to the task and the process of creating will give clues to the coping mechanisms employed by the individual. The kinds of symbols and themes used as well as the teenager's self-awareness regarding his work will help define major defenses. Developmental level will be revealed through the formal, cognitive aspects of the work, as well as in the developmental aspects of the important conflicts and major defenses. The appropriateness and the efficiency of these elements, reflected in art and behavior will determine what general stage of identity consolidation each teenager has reached, or is in the process of striving towards.

IDENTITY

Before proceeding to link adolescent artwork with identity formation in adolescence, it is necessary to explore the concept of identity in some detail, and to arrive at working definitions for this paper. Erikson's theory of identity establishment in adolescence forms the central core of thought for this paper. The crucial task of adolescence, according to Erikson, occurs when the teenager must, during this stage, resolve the issue of "Who am I?" in the direction of either identity-establishment or of role diffusion.<sup>6</sup>

How well the individual has succeeded in mastering the tasks of previous developmental stages (as defined by Erikson) plays a part in how well the adolescent is able to negotiate this crisis.<sup>7</sup> The outcome further determines how the individual may cope with subsequent life crises.

Erikson proposed that the individual's active mastery of life tasks involves not only internal identifications, but also personal aptitudes and endowments, as well as actual opportunities offered the person in social roles.<sup>8</sup> The shift from internal determinates of behavior (instinct and repression) so important to Freudian theory, to a concern with environmental and social factors which

<sup>6</sup> Erikson, Erik H. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY  
W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. New York: 1963

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p.259

<sup>8</sup> Ibid p. 261

marks Erikson's work, is instrumental in establishing new concepts of ego, identity, and the self. In Erikson's writing, the concept of the self is tied rather closely to consciousness. Encompassing this is the identity concept which incorporates, within the individual, a sense of self-awareness in addition to unconscious determinants. There is a dual focus - the external as well as the internal, combining and interweaving to form patterns of behavior.

In looking at adolescence, Erikson pulls together elements from both levels and places them within a continuum of time. The adolescent years are a period of struggle and metamorphosis. The child's past formulations of assumed identities must be examined with an eye toward the near future of adulthood, with all its unknown problems and potentials.<sup>9</sup>

This transition is dependent on a delicate counterbalancing of elements. The clutter of childhood, the inequalities and superego demands, must be nudged over to make room for a rapidly expanding consciousness which clamors for new definitions of the "self" and the "other." This occurs for each person in the context of his society and culture. It is essential that the adolescent receive, during this time, much support for the necessary tasks of

<sup>9</sup> Erikson, Erik H. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY  
W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. New York: 1963



self-definition; this encouragement must come from those around him, not only peers but significant older "others" - teachers, parents, counselors and therapists.

In order to solidify a sense of self, the teenager must see positive evidence of his developing "personhood" reflected in the way his surrounding society deals with him.

The extent to which a person is able to balance these elements and make them work together in a kind of a pattern, is the extent to which he will develop a cohesive sense of identity. For Erikson<sup>10</sup> this consists of:

- a. A conscious sense of individual identity, which is grounded in unconscious workings, namely the striving for a continuity of personal character which is guided by the "silent doings of ego synthesis" intermeshing with
- b. A "maintenance of inner solidarity" with the societal ideals surrounding the individual. For Erikson, the process of identity establishment is located within the depths of the individual psyche, but also, importantly, within the concept of his communal culture as well.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Erikson, Erik H. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY  
W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. New York: 1963

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

What other aspects demand consideration here?

Webster's Dictionary states: Identity is:

- "1. The condition or fact of being the same in all qualities under consideration; sameness, one-ness
2. The condition or the fact of being some specific person or thing, individuality."

This definition relates identity to a sense of sameness and in the phrase, "being some specific person or thing..." implies a sense of continuity, a continuing to be over a period of time. This continuity is an important aspect of identity as defined for this paper. Continuity as an internal developmental factor, is however, distinct from stasis. Identity establishment in adolescence concerns some individual resolution of the continuity or change of personality aspects, principally in the self image and the view of the world around the self. Identity formation is not a totally stage defined task whose closure allows the young person to proceed to the next awaiting developmental task. In healthy development, mastery of tasks progresses in a gradual and overlapping manner. So it is with identity formation, which begins to crystallize as a process in adolescence, continuing throughout life.

11 Websters NEW WORLD DICTIONARY OF THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE.  
World Publishing Company. New York: 1962

The interplay of many factors contribute to this process, beginning in adolescence. With maturation come the adult biological drives, the acquisition of adult capabilities and skills. Cognitive and intellectual development occur rapidly during this time as well; the capacity to receive, analyze and assimilate information is greatly enhanced. The key word in characterizing adolescence might well be awareness. The changes occurring inside the teenager due to biological, intellectual and perceptual development quite simply force him to reexamine the self and redefine the parameters of that self's interaction with others. The heightened sensibilities of the individual teenager as well as his experiences with others, lead to intense self-absorption and self-reflection. The motivation for future growth centers first in the teenager's struggle to securely define a sense of who, indeed, he is.

On the proving-grounds of adolescence, (at least in our culture) who we ARE, to ourselves, as well as to others, is largely determined by what we DO. The most ideal outcome, of course, is the resulting sense of inner competence, a feeling that one is capable of adjusting to, or coping with, difficult situations while simultaneously maintaining the integrity of the self, not being overwhelmed by inner panic or external demands. A sense of self

is important for the attempted mastery of life tasks in adolescence--social, sexual, intellectual. At the same time, success, or failure in these endeavors feeds information back to the teenager----information that he or she incorporates into an internalised identity portrait.

It is far easier, as Erikson suggests<sup>12</sup> when writing of identity, to let the term speak for itself. Thus far, I have described it as an important process in adolescence and have discussed the elements which make up the process. A summary will point up the relevance of the discussion to the concerns of this paper.

Identity formation is a gradual, evolving process of development which, during adolescence, involves multi-leveled tasks. Erikson tells us that unconscious workings of the ego attempt during this time to integrate:

1. idiosyncratic libidinal and constitutional needs with
2. favored defenses and identifications and
3. successful sublimations and role patterns.<sup>13</sup>

In addition, the identity process concerns the individual's

<sup>12</sup> Erikson, Erik H. IDENTITY, YOUTH AND CRISIS.  
W. W. Norton and Company. New York: 1968

<sup>13</sup> Erikson, Erik H. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY.  
W. W. Norton and Company. New York: 1963  
pp 193-194

more conscious and felt needs towards self-definition, which first surface in adolescence. Movement towards the establishment of a healthy sense of self is an ongoing dynamic process which also involves the consolidation of these factors:

- A. Continuity - An internal concept of the self as consistent, remaining the same over a period of time and in a variety of situations
- B. Awareness - of how that self fits into the larger environmental and social concept and
- C. Flexibility- in how the individual copes with new situations and is able to see and use them as growth-enhancing opportunities.

The quality of flexibility draws together the elements of awareness and continuity. The ability to perceive oneself and one's subjective sense of integrity and stability leads to identity crystallization. When this occurs, this sense of security is so well established that the individual can afford to take risks, to be flexible, and open to change, both within and outside the self.

ART AND IDENTITY

Several writers have seen a direct relationship between adolescent identity and the process of creating artwork that may occur during this time. Lowenfeld believes that art programs for adolescents must, in order to meet developmental needs, provide teenagers the means for important tasks of self-identification.<sup>14</sup> Rather than emphasizing the assimilation of artistic formulas and the production of technically acceptable results, Lowenfeld espouses an effective approach focusing on the problems of teenagers as people. Their lives must be seen as a resource around which art programs should be built. According to Lowenfeld, only by touching the deepest concerns of teenagers, and encouraging their expressiveness and release of energy into productive outlets can an adolescent-oriented art program be seen as worthwhile in terms of their personal growth.<sup>15</sup>

This philosophy of learning by doing, with its implications for growth, which originated with Dewey and the progressive education movement extends beyond the field of art education into art therapy.

<sup>14</sup> Lowenfeld, Victor and Birttain, W. Lambert.  
CREATIVE AND MENTAL GROWTH. Macmillan Publishing  
Company, Inc. New York: pp 271-272

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 273

Ulman<sup>16</sup> believes that the artistic process can be an invaluable aid in personality organization because it calls on a wide range of human capacities. She has drawn a corollary between the process of creating art and the process of maturation in general; both demand the integration of contradictory elements: emotion and cognition, fantasy and reality, impulse and control, the conscious and the unconscious.

Developmentally, the adolescent stands confused between the id-dominated world of childhood and the world of adult ego-consolidation; being himself neither one nor the other. Since art can, as Ulman has stated, mediate between two conflicting internal demands, the need for emotional release and the need to discover order and impose organization, it can move teenagers toward a reconciliation of these elements. The teenager, in doing art, can be encouraged to delve into his own experience and order that experience according to his individual needs, wishes and capabilities.

Sorting through a mass of data - not only internal phenomena, but external experiences as well, the adolescent moves closer to bring order out of chaos.<sup>17</sup>

16 Ulman, Eleanor. Art Education for the Emotionally Disturbed. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ART THERAPY.

17 Ulman, Eleanor. Art Therapy; Problems of Definition ART THERAPY IN THEORY & PRACTICE. Schocken Books. New York: 1975 pp 7-9

In learning to differentiate, he takes the first step towards a separate personal identity. Ulman sees the art process as a problem-solving mechanism when she writes, ".....True mastery of life's tasks depends upon a disciplined freedom, whose model may be found in the artistic process."<sup>18</sup>

By implication, then, art may play a crucial role in adolescence when the individual must begin to come to terms with his own sense of self, of competence. The lessons he learns in art generalize to other areas of life, thereby aiding and enriching his collection of coping mechanisms.

Kramer expands on this theme, in a psychoanalytic vein.<sup>19</sup> Adolescent art is ideally seen as an adaptive defense mechanism of the still-developing ego; the release of creative energy gives satisfaction that in and of itself is stabilizing to the personality, as well as being ego-supportive. Primitive, potentially disruptive impulses are sublimated through art activity into creative, ego-enhancing achievement. Thus the process of creating expressive artwork can promote flexibility of the ego in

<sup>18</sup> Ulman, Eleanor. Art Education for the Emotionally Disturbed. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ART THERAPY.

<sup>19</sup> Kramer, Edith. ART AS THERAPY WITH CHILDREN. Schocken Books. New York: 1974. pp 157-158



mobilizing varied adaptive mechanisms against the onslaught of impulses. In psychoanalytic thinking, this ability to select among a range of potentially constructive behaviors, rather than being driven to choice by impulsivity, is the hallmark of maturity. Art promotes growth by allowing the struggle between id and ego to take place in a safe and symbolic arena. Resolution then allows energy to flow into the area of considering more conscious concerns such as formulations of the self and the others. The process of identity establishment may then begin in earnest.

Rudolph Arnheim also sees artistic activity as an opportunity for multi-leveled problem-solving. The "thinking in images"<sup>20</sup> which accompanies picture-making is, according to Arnheim, identical to other cognitive processes. Dramatic increases in cognitive ability have been noted as typical in adolescence and the capacity for conceptual and abstract thinking rises accordingly.

Much truly productive thinking can, during this age, actually take place in the realm of imagery, and find outward form through drawing and painting. Arnheim writes "....perceptual and pictorial shapes are not only

<sup>20</sup>Arnheim, Rudolf. VISUAL THINKING. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: 1969 page 263

translations of thought products but are the very flesh and blood of thinking itself..." He writes of pictures being more than just a reflection of inner struggles, and states that....."the fight is also waged within the art itself." The effort to visualize and thereby to define the powers which the person vaguely faces, and to discover the correct relations between them means more than rendering observations on paper. It means to work out the problem by making it portrayable."<sup>21</sup> If what Arnheim says is true, then it would follow that the adolescent's developmental need to think through crucial life-issues could provide a powerful incentive for using creative artwork as a tool for thinking, exploring and expressing. The completion of drawings or paintings could constitute, for an individual, the solution of a thought problem, and "... although there may be no words to tell about the finding..."<sup>22</sup> the act of accomplishment might well provide feedback in feelings of self-recognition and self-awareness so important in adolescence.

21 Arnheim, Rudolf. VISUAL THINKING. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California. 1969. page 267

22 Ibid. page 280

INTRODUCTION TO CASE MATERIAL

The following case histories will detail how art was utilized by teenagers in the expression and partial resolution of conscious and unconscious identity conflicts. The process of creating the art, the child's associations to it, the latent content, and conscious and unconscious themes all contribute to the overall picture of what level of identity consolidation has been achieved by each teenager. These levels range from isolation and symbiosis, identity consolidation through identification with the aggressor, (lower-levels) and internalization, idealization, (mid-levels) to separation and individuation (higher identity consolidation). The artwork and the process reflect the child's movement through these overlapping levels. Often the artwork is seen to act as an aid in facilitating the teenager's movement and growth.

The individual stories of this push towards growth and a solid sense of identity are varied.

In each case, art was used in very different ways to accomplish essentially similar tasks; these differences spring from the personalities, histories and capabilities of the teenagers involved.

The case history section is divided into two major parts, each part dealing with a separate clinical setting.

Each part consists of

1. An introductory section detailing the agency setting within which the case material was collected and
2. the individual case histories.

The introductory sections contain necessary details such as the "who, what, when, where and why" of clinical settings, and also describe in some depth how I came to evolve an art therapy approach for that specific adolescent population, and how that approach relates to the topic at hand - identity establishment in teenagers. The case history sections are presented client by client. Background information is given when available, and artwork is presented in chronological order.

The art process is recorded, with any associations to the work the teenager may have expressed. Then each work is briefly discussed; process is examined for evidence of coping mechanisms and conscious and unconscious concerns. The appearance of such concerns in themes of the work is noted; themes and symbols also are explored for clarification of the teenager's major defenses.

Specific ego functions, as well as the presence of inner concerns and conflicts are discussed as they appear in the art process and art product. Each case history ends

with a brief summary of these elements and how they help define what measure of identity establishment has been achieved by the individual teenager.

The cases which will be discussed are the following:

1. John - a 14 year old male, seemingly locked into premature identity foreclosure. His emulation of an idealized, single-faceted role model to the exclusion of other possibilities had made him rigid, inflexible, and afraid to attempt other options. At times, he was able to use art as a support in exploring other worthwhile aspects of himself. Art sessions gave him a mechanism whereby he could reach inside of himself, express creatively, and share those deeper levels with others. This was a totally new experience for him, leading to enhanced self-awareness and ego strength demonstrated by his gradually increasing ability to finish art tasks, take risks in self-disclosure and solicit feedback from others.

2. Mark was a somewhat isolated 14 year old boy, very gifted in art and music, who was making his first tentative steps towards identity exploration. His efforts were complicated by the part he played in an extremely symbiotic oedipal conflict with his parents. Exploration of real-life identity options was hampered also by his tendency to passively withdraw into a private fantasy

world when he was under stress. Much of the testing and struggling which should have taken place among his peers and in actual situations, was projected by him into a self-contained world of make believe where he could maintain power. His art often functioned to support this fragile defensive structure. Our art sessions together contained of necessity, a dual focus: allowing those defenses to exist and be expressed symbolically through artwork, but also, gently encouraging his growth into more adaptive defenses. This growth was eventually evidenced through both the art process and the themes and symbols of his art productions.

ART IN AN ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM

## Case History - John

For one and one half academic years, I worked as an Art Therapy Intern in the Junior High Alternative Education Program of Area IV, Montgomery County Public Schools, in Montgomery County, Maryland. This is a special program designed to meet the needs of 7th, 8th and 9th graders who are unable to function within the regular junior high school system. The program brochure defines its target population thus ... "The common bond among these students is some or all of the following: poor self-concept, poor social skills, low academic achievement, frequent truancy, behavioral problems in the classroom, home and community; identity, peer growth, and motivational conflicts... these students have special needs with a primary focus on emotional development."<sup>23</sup>

The objectives of the program are described in this manner... "AEP encourages the development of a more active and responsible role from students by increasing their awareness and understanding of themselves and others.

<sup>23</sup> Sernak, Joseph L. Area Iv Administrative Office.  
Montgomery County Public Schools, Junior High  
Alternative Education Program (AEP) 1976

It offers opportunities for the development of basic communication skills; values clarification and decision making; accepting responsibility for one's own behavior, as well as planning and organization of more productive and meaningful study, work and leisure activities..."<sup>24</sup>

The ultimate goal of the program is to mainstream each "problem" student into a regular full-time classroom situation..."while helping (him) to develop more inner control and self-awareness."<sup>25</sup>

As an Art Therapy intern, working in my first practicum, it was important for me to correlate my goals for the art sessions with the larger programmatic goals. The goals of self-control and self-awareness for each student might be achieved, I reasoned, through encouraging and reinforcing the expressive, creative aspects of their personalities. By facilitating the achievement sense of self-worth through completion of projects, by focusing on self-awareness through disclosure and sharing, I hoped to modulate their defenses and make the art sessions a time when they might get to know themselves and one another.

This plan took some detours. One of the reasons for this was the actual degree of disturbance within the

<sup>24</sup> Sernak, Joseph L. Area IV Administrative Office, Montgomery County Public Schools, Junior High Alternative Education Program (AEP)

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.



teenagers themselves. They were, by and large, teenagers who were connected by the most tenuous of threads to home, school and community. Their home situations often contained a history of psychological and/or physical battering. Academically they were on shaky ground, being on the brink of expulsion due to poor in-school performance. Many had juvenile police records for petty crimes such as vandalism and small scale shoplifting. They were bruised, lonely, disaffected teenagers, with rage never far from the smooth, cool surfaces they outwardly presented. Their confusion, frustration and anger impelled them to "act out" academically or socially which in turn caused them to be labeled as "problem kids" - and at that point they were channeled to last-ditch programs such as Alternative Education.

They were, as I saw them, "high-risk" adolescents. I felt the need to constantly reinforce and strengthen those thin threads binding them to the surrounding social fabric. In art sessions, I experimented for months with traditional free art activities as suggested by Kramer<sup>26</sup> providing simply the art materials, the time, my own person, and an accepting atmosphere conducive to expressiveness and release. The result was frustration and chaos. The

<sup>26</sup> Kramer, E. ART THERAPY IN A CHILDREN'S COMMUNITY.  
C. C. Thomas, pub. Springfield, Illinois 1958.

lack of structure, along with the "situational lure"<sup>27</sup> of the eminently destroyable art materials, made for a free-for-all of splattered paint, broken pencils, and crumpled pictures. This in turn made everyone - kids and staff - uneasy, being totally out of keeping with the program emphasis on behavior modification which placed great importance on control, tangible achievement, accomplishment, and reward. Artistic freedom overpowered these teenagers with low or nonexistent internal controls who, paradoxically, weren't in any way afforded the luxury of giving into even momentary craziness. This so called "craziness", wildness or impulsive behavior might have been better tolerated in "normal" or unlabeled teenagers. I began to think of ways in which I might use the art experience to "tie" the group together, to provide some sense of the "connectedness" of which I felt them, individually, to be in such desperate need. This move toward structure was also suggested by the program director. It was at this point that I began to explore themes in adolescent development, attempting to isolate specific tasks and issues which might serve as inspiration for focusing art activities and discussions.

27 Redl, Fritz, and Wiseman, David. The Delinquent Ego and its Techniques. CHILDREN WHO HATE. Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc. New York: p.186

This move from the free to the structured brought with it much personal indecision and flailing - about, trying to find a theoretical foothold. But it also brought me to a deeper understanding, through reading and observations, of what was actually happening with these students developmentally. Once I had established a solid context for their behavior I was able to narrow the focus down to issues which seemed to appear again and again. These ongoing concerns revolved primarily around the "self" and that "self's" interaction with others. Thus, I personally became aware of identity and the beginnings of identity establishment as a crucial, ever encompassing factor in adolescence. Something so central to their everyday lives deserved, I felt, not only release, but recognition.

I began to think of ways to translate what is regarded as primarily an unconscious, internal process (the process of identity establishment) into an integral component of art projects which by their very nature demand externalization. I developed, and culled from various sources, a number of activities and techniques targeting self-awareness and self-exploration, to be used as "suggestions" in response to the student's plaintive refrain, heard most often in the art sessions, "But what are we supposed to do?" In asking this question, I felt

that these particular teenagers were asking for structure and limits within which they could operate to produce artwork. I also felt very strongly that I could not undermine their intelligence and creativity by the kind of limit-setting that would involve the step-by-step teaching of an art or craft skill, with the end product being identical for every student. While it was true that these teenagers badly needed to feel the sense of accomplishment experienced on viewing an art or craft project that they had produced, they also clearly needed to do some work in the areas of self-discovery, self-awareness and self-disclosure. Most of these teenagers had, in some way, been psychically "wounded", and were, except under the most non-threatening of situations, not inclined to undergo the pain and risk involved in looking into themselves.

Keeping all this in mind, I put together some activities that I hoped, ideally, combined elements of self-awareness and self-disclosure, were structured enough to result in an acceptable piece of art (if the teenager wanted to invest creativity), were flexible enough to allow for endless and detailed variations (which they did), were open-ended enough to encourage personal interpretation, were specific enough to animate self disclosure, and were safe enough to allow for withdrawal or concealing, when that

was necessary. Some of these projects are described in the case history of John, who was a student in the program. Some others are listed below, along with the issues which may have been addressed in them, and which constituted the focus of the group discussions which came to be an integral part of the art sessions.

ACTIVITY: Paste up Autobiography<sup>28</sup>

METHOD: Participants were instructed to find pictures from magazines which represented how they felt about themselves and their life. These images were then used in a collage technique on paper to "make a statement" which would be a "summary" or autobiography of their life so far.

ISSUES: Self awareness, self disclosure, choice between possible alternatives, exploration of values, pictures chosen and their relationship to realistic or idealized self-images.

ACTIVITY: "What Could you Do If?"

METHOD: Leader read a story without an ending, which participants were asked to finish by doing a cartoon storyboard, showing a serial progression

<sup>28</sup>Denny, James in CREATIVE ART THERAPY.  
Robbins, Arthur, Ed. D.A.T.R. and Sibley, Linda Beth,  
M.P.S., A.T.R. Brunner Mazel Publisher. New York:  
1976. p. 214

of events. Story involved peer pressure, drinking, and personal safety.

ISSUES: Owning behavior, choosing alternatives, taking responsibility, creative problem-solving.

ACTIVITY: "How You See Yourself and How Others See You."  
(discussed in text of case history).

ACTIVITY: Put Yourself in the Picture<sup>29</sup>

METHOD: Participants divided in pairs, to take one another's pictures. Then individual used scissors to cut carefully around outline of his figure in photo, pasted the figure down on paper, and draw an environment around it. Participants were encouraged to be as creative as possible.

ISSUES: Body image, type of setting chosen - realistic, fantastic? How one interacts with world, self-image, social awareness.

ACTIVITY: Feeling Words

METHOD: Participants chose a "feeling word" (can be from list) and draw what it means to them. Other participants then guessed what word was being drawn or painted.

<sup>29</sup> This technique was originally developed by Robert Wolf. Presented informally at AATA Conference, Virginia Beach, VA October 1977

ISSUES: Emotional awareness, richness of affect, individual differences and similarities in interpreting feelings, universality of imagery to depict feeling.

CASE HISTORY - John

John came into the program in the middle of the academic year, the only student from his base school to attend. He was slender, of medium height, with dark eyes and a mop of curly black hair. He spoke with a very slight Spanish accent, having come to the United States as a small child from Portugal. In thinking back on what was most distinctive about John, the quality and the variety of his physical movement comes to mind. He was always, it seemed, in motion. His movement ranged from the natural athletic grace he displayed in sports activities to the anxious finger-popping, leg-jiggling behaviors he would manifest in situations where he was tense or threatened. This often happened when he was assigned a task or given instructions to do something he had never done before. Grimacing in fear, he would try to escape by withdrawing or by nervous clowning. Failing that, he would turn his attention reluctantly to the task, asking questions in a voice that was close to tears, trying desperately, (it seemed) to find out just what was being asked of him. This became apparent quite early as the manner in which he approached the group art sessions. His school records indicated that throughout six years of elementary school and two years of junior high,



John had managed to almost completely avoid art classes. The consistency and cleverness with which he had done this was truly outstanding; while his fellow schoolmates had struggled with crayons and scissors, John had roamed the halls, running errands or simply playing hookey. Thus he entered the program with little interest or experience in actually doing art; his skill level was far lower than his actual chronological age. It was obvious from our earliest encounters that creating art, for John, did not fit into his accepted repertoire of behaviors. He was not an artist or a scholar, of that he was certain. He was an athlete, a soccer player - and he was in fact quite gifted in this area, being the only teenaged member of a local men's soccer team. On the soccer field he was brilliant, confident and secure; but when faced with a less familiar situation, such as doing artwork, the shakiness of his self-concept would emerge..

The more mundane aspects of being a teenager would cause him great confusion. He was, among his age-mates, a loner, and this pattern had followed him through his previous schooling. His ethnicity and highly specialized athletic skills set him apart from his peers; but in an age group where athletic prowess is usually highly regarded, John was looked at by his peers as "different"

or "weird". He knew this, and constantly struggled with the question of whether or not it was important to him to be respected and well-liked, to be "one of the guys".

This internal conflict became obvious during one of our first art sessions together. We were working in small groups on Round Robin Drawings, a technique where each person in the group begins a drawing and then after five minutes, passes it to the person on the right; this person works on it for five minutes, then passes it on; this continues so that every person's drawing gets added to or worked on by every other person.

Things were going peacefully until one of the group members commented derisively on the figure that John had added to her picture. Into an idyllic scene of a house on a hill, surrounded by vast, sloping meadows of flowers, John had painted a huge, grinning human figure which dominated the picture. "It's a giant", he defended himself. "No it's not, you just can't draw - and now you've ruined my picture," angrily countered the girl who had begun the painting as she snatched it away.

John began to giggle and deny this, at the same time making nervous, idle brush strokes on the new picture in front of him. He dipped his brush into the red paint

and slowly lettered the words "LED ZEPPELIN" (The name of a popular rock group) over a portion of the new picture. He did this on the next picture and the next, each time making the letters larger, even writing it several times on some pictures. As he worked, he would call for individual group member's attention: "Hey, look what I'm doing to your picture." They responded with communal disgust and continued to work on their pictures, not accepting his clumsy invitation to interact with him. After about ten minutes of scrawling, he stopped, turned to me, and said in a dejected tone, "I'm really messing up everyone's pictures, huh?" I asked him if there was anything he'd like to add to someone's pictures but couldn't draw, that I might be able to help with. "No, thanks anyway." he replied. I made the observation that he seemed to want to write "LED ZEPPELIN" on people's pictures. "It's just something that people do," he stated, "they write it on walls, posters. Haven't you seen it?" I allowed that I had seen it, or things like it, and that a lot of people John's age like to grafitti walls and motebooks with names of favorite rock stars. He nodded as if to say that he, too an outside observer of his own peer group, had noticed this.

This entire incident was a demonstration of themes related to his sense of personal identity that would

appear again and again in art sessions with John. His fear of failure and inferiority in a new undertaking and his determination not to let the fear show, took forms such as the overcompensatory giant figure he added to the first picture. The figure also indicates, by its incongruous size and placement on the page, a certain amount of social immaturity and considerable egocentricity on his part. When his giant - a crude, unconsciously projected self-image - was criticized by his peers, his inferiority and isolation was, in a sense, emphasized.

It was then that he began writing the words on pictures. I realized that what I, (and other group members) had seen solely as an aggressive-destructive act on his part - the red paint scrawling of "LED ZEPPELIN" had begun as a partial act of reconciliation. John was apologizing for his previous childish additions to pictures, and was attempting to show that he was "cool" and "hip" - that he, too knew "what was happening" and could identify with the interests of his peers. When this overture was again rejected by the group, aggression overtook him and he began slashing at pictures in an orgy of symbolic destruction.

John was isolated from others, and unskilled in

any measures by which he might attempt to bridge that distance. Although his identity as a gifted athlete was precious to him, his barely awakened social awareness needled him with the recognition that just being a great soccer player was not enough. He was locked into an identity role with no flexibility; he had, at the age of 14, foreclosed on the opportunity to develop other aspects of himself.

This was made obvious in a picture John drew at this time, I had suggested, as a possible topic for pictures, "My Favorite Place" or "A Place Where I Would Like To Be." John responded by quickly choosing felt markers and by drawing, what was at that time for him, a relatively detailed picture of a soccer stadium. (Slide #1 - "Maracana"). He presented it in an aerial view because, he said, the stadium was so huge that the only way to see the whole thing at once was from the air. He drew in the field with its proper markings, colored the grass green, and added a soccer ball flying through the air. John said the name of the Stadium was Maracana and it was the largest soccer stadium in all of Portugal; he would like to be playing someday on that field.

The picture itself has a curious enclosed feel

to it. Surrounding John's representative symbols of his beloved sport - the soccer ball and the playing field - are the bleacher seats and walls of the massive stadium. In John's drawing, this resembles a wire fence or a cage completely encircling what is contained therein. There is no break in the fence, no way to get out. This entrapment is a visual corollary to the identity role of future "soccer superstar" in which John himself was trapped. His realization of his predicament surfaced unconsciously in his rendering of a "favorite Place." What he loved could also trap him, if he made no attempt to change.

But John did change, however gradually. Through required participation in the program's remedial tutoring, interpersonal groups, and equalizing sports activities (not soccer), John was being asked to confront his severe one-sidedness. He was given the supportive environment he needed to explore his other potentials.

A comparison of some of his earliest with his later work demonstrates the progress which took place. "Shit" (Slide #2) was John's offering when, one day shortly after his arrival in the program, I announced that the group members were free to do pictures of anything they wished. He watched other people settle down to work, trying his best to distract them by calling out. When he

received no response he began playing with the tempera paints in front of him, mixing and muddying colors until the boy who was sharing the paint tray protested at the mess. At that point John selected a piece of paper and printed in large letters the word "SHIT" using an appropriately "gushy" brown color he had concocted out of green and orange. He then wrote below that".. by John" and began showing it to people saying in a leering tone, "Hey, look at this!" When no one joined in, he put the paper back on the table, and mixing more brown paint, obscured his name. Again, in this picture, there is the story of John paradoxically trying to gain acceptance or at least acknowledgement by a destructively-tinged exhibitionism.

It was obvious that he had no idea of how to elicit desired accepting responses from others by modulating his behavior. It was almost as if his overwhelming anxiety to be accepted blocked any ability in social discrimination. This resulted, in his behavior and artwork, in a frantic confused kind of peer over-identification (as shown previously in the Round Robin Drawings) and also in (Slide #3) "Stoned Freak". This was a free picture which began, on the reverse side of the sheet, as a diagram of a soccer field. After working on the

soccer drawing for about two minutes, he turned the sheet over and drew the wild looking figure. As he drew it with his quick, tense strokes he commented to a nearby staff person, "This guy's pretty wild, right? Pretty wild looking." When the staff person agreed that the figure was indeed "pretty wild looking" John laughed, scribbling faster and, then, switching to a felt pen, wrote "Stoned Freak" over the figure. Then he rapidly drew in a guitar below the figure, as if to say that he knew that "Stoned Freak" was the name of a popular rock song about drugs. He even labeled the type of guitar he drew (a bass guitar). The "wild-looking" figure is a projected self-image, reflective of John's own internal disorganization. In this picture, however, the wild guy is fitted out with a guitar, and an excuse for his wildness (he's stoned), which makes him acceptable in teenage culture. This has an almost yearning quality to it.

This "wild" self-image with, however, an important difference, appeared again in a painting some time afterwards. (Slide #4). In this project, people were asked to paint a picture of a feeling or an emotion so that others could guess what feeling was depicted. John painted a swirling figure whose hands and feet are obscured in blobs of churning paint, then printed next to it "Hey he is"



leaving the rest of the sentence blank. The word he had chosen to paint was "crazy". His sense of being observed and evaluated negatively was clear. Yet, this picture showed that he was painfully, consciously aware of his separation from others - and, moreover, that he was willing to make an open issue of it.

At this point, John had been in the program for about five months. Gradually, he had come to relax in the supportive environment, and let down his defenses a little. Even though fine motor activities were difficult for him, he was making valiant efforts to constrain his nervous physical energy and complete art projects. He would question me in great detail about the purposes of certain art activities, and began to express interest if I mentioned a goal which included items like "learning about each other" or "getting to know ourselves better". He began to take an active role in the sharing time which was a regular part of the art sessions.

One of the projects I had selected specifically for its self-disclosure and sharing potential was "The Personal Coat of Arms". In this, each person draws, on individual sheets, a large shield which is divided into sections; in these sections, people draw pictures in response to questions such as these;

1. What is something you do really well?
2. What is something you need help from others to do?
3. What is my biggest failure so far?
4. What is my biggest success so far?
5. What do I like best about my (school, program)?
6. What do I want to be when I grow up?

John was excited and intrigued by this project, as shown by a quote from my case notes of that day..."John seems to need the opportunity to explain about himself to an uncritical, nonjudgemental group and I think today is the closest he's gotten...he made some significant disclosures today - besides the expected ones about his love of soccer and his intention to follow it up as a career. In "What do I need help from others to do?" John explained he left it blank because he couldn't figure out how to draw his needing help from others to introduce him to new interests besides soccer. Is he starting to let down the defenses which surround that one-sided identity as an athlete? Is he beginning to be willing to test himself in other areas, other realities? It is a tentative move on his part towards being able to trust others..

In "What do I like best about the program?" John drew a circle of chairs with a word "sssh!" in the middle. This, he said represented "group" (group therapy) which

is a daily part of the program. Rules in group were these: Everyone must be quiet and listen to whoever is speaking. Everyone has a right to express his own opinion; respect and participation were encouraged. The point being: Everyone gets a chance to express himself without the usual hassling. According to the program director and group therapy leader, John had benefitted from being in the group, where he was assured that others would listen and respond; he had become more assertive and self confident in expressing his thoughts and opinions. He enjoyed this experience, as reflected in his drawing.

John's movement from being trapped in an egocentric world of premature identity foreclosure to a more reality oriented plane was facilitated by activities which forced him to develop and use skills in introspection and communication with others. An art activity, done near the end of his participation in the program illustrates how he had gained not only in his ability to look into himself, but to also weigh that self-concept against the views of him which others might have.

(Slide #5) "How you see yourself and how others see you." For this activity, the group divided into pairs and using a strong light source, traced one another's silhouettes onto individual sheets of large paper. This

done, I then suggested they consider the area inside the silhouette as being "inside their own head" and the area outside the silhouette as being "where other people are, looking and maybe thinking about you." Inside the head they might put how they saw themselves, what kind of qualities they possessed, what their thoughts and interests were. Outside they might put how they thought other people saw them what others might have said about them, how they'd like to be seen.

John worked devotedly on his project, hardly talking to anyone, engrossed in cutting out pictures and phrases to be assembled into a collage. "Can I put anything I'm thinking side my head?" he asked several times. When I reassured him, he continued working with great interest. When time was up, he was eager to show off his project and talk about it; saying he wished there was more time for him to add more thoughts. He explained his picture thus: Inside the head: "Who's on first." referred to the program's sports activities (especially softball) which had, at first, with his narrow soccer background, been unfamiliar to him, and confusing. He had managed to learn the games and become good at them. The pictures of the athletes showed, he said, his love for soccer and how he tried to model his playing style after the player shown, his hero. Other references to soccer

are shown by the word "soccer" and a brief quote about the player shown, "He is one of the athletes who have it." "Death be not proud" referred to the recent death of his much-loved and respected grandfather in Portugal, with whom John had lived for several years as a child before coming to the United States. In reference to this statement, he said his grandfather's death made him both sad and angry and that he thought about it a lot. "What do you think?" was a phrase John was particularly proud of having included; he said it made him feel good to ask other people that question, and he liked it when other people asked him, "What do you think?" He reflected that it seemed to happen more often in the program than in other places. He went on to explain that the parts of his picture outside the head represented what other people would, hopefully, say to him. "Everybody thinks they're an expert." he said half-jokingly, pointing to the phrase "What the experts say." He thought it would be nice to have people congratulate him on his accomplishments - "Another Big Winner". "You've got style" and he said it meant a lot to him when this did in fact happen in the program. "To win - you do it better", were the voices, John said, of adults who wanted to help him and who often

reminded him of what he had to do in order to reach his goals. John's picture was a striking representation of a fragile ego attempting to establish and consolidate itself. His "idealized world within the soccer field" is still very much part of his internal life, along with hero worship of athletes and the masculine world they represent, yet this has begun to be leavened with reality. Inside John's head are references to the here and now. He grapples with the death of a father substitute (his grandfather) and feelings of loss and rage of which he is consciously aware. He can afford to poke a little fun at himself as in "Who's on first?" reminding others of his previous incompetence in playing softball, a shortcoming he had long since made up for. His ego has become strong enough to objectify his own experience, at least intermittently; almost secure in his new found strength, he can reflect on past failures and begin to put them in perspective. He is still concerned about the opinions of others, however, with a tendency to let outside evaluations play a too-large role in his own formulations of self-concept.

"What the experts say" has a half-mocking, half-serious tone; does he see everyone outside of himself an expert? His need for compliments, for nurturing, is marked; he must still please others to gain acceptance.

He shows a capacity for internalizing the expectations of older, wiser others by the admonition "To win - you do it better", this indicating superego development.

John shows that he is capable of, and eager to, perform and interact with others. Nowhere is this revealed more clearly than in his inclusion of the question "What do you think?" Here he exhibits his newly discovered highly valued abilities to be introspective, to share with others, and to receive sharing in return. John's self-concept and ways of conceptualizing his environment underwent significant changes as evidenced by his artwork. One need only compare two self portraits which John drew, one (Slide #6), done right after his entry into the program, and another (Slide #7) which was done a few weeks before school ended and he left the program, to note the changes. The first self-portrait is a scribbled mass of energetic lines; one can pick out the outlines of a head and arms, long powerful arms and a tiny body with short, almost amputated-looking legs. The face, where can be deciphered, wears a look of confusion and hostility; the features swirl together. There is some scribbling around the figure "zero" - "the fonz" seemingly with no relationship to anything. The effect is one of disorganization

and fragmentation, with an underlying sense of frustration and rage. The huge, hastily drawn arms are a feeble attempt to compensate for the figure's obvious smallness and inferiority. A grimacing face stares out from a tangle of scribbles; the figure itself floats in the air, not tied to a baseline, weightless as a balloon.

The second self portrait is quite a contrast to the first. While the method of rendering is still very immature, this figure, at least, has considerable weight and substance. He stands firmly on boundaries of the ground, is carefully dressed in pants and a matching striped jersey, and smiles from beneath a cloud of curly brown hair. Next to him, out of what looks like the stump of a cut-off tree, grow straight green shoots, branching out in flowers which resemble hearts. The sun shines and the sky is blue. The only jarring notes are the figure's intensely colored red arms ending in five fingers, each finger topped with a meticulously drawn fingernail; the hands, fingers, and arms are obviously important.

The second picture indicates a far more settled, satisfied self concept for John. The smiling self-contained John of the second picture, with both feet planted firmly on the ground, looks solid and capable next to the grimacing, floating, whirlwind John. The absurdly



outsized arms of the first self portrait give way, in the second, to arms, carefully drawn and in good proportion to the body, their bright red color shows a residue of overcompensatory feeling with which John himself continued to struggle in his own life. His need for power, control, and effectance which had found previous release in lonely, soccer-star fantasies, was in the process of being rechanneled into more reality based outlets.

The tree beside which the second John stands could almost represent his life - from his truncated infantile fantasies of glory (symbolized by the tree trunk), new hopeful opportunities for a sense of personal identity, for new ways of being and growing were emerging (symbolized by the green shoots and hearts). No longer the restless superstar anxiously collecting tokens of personal glory, John was beginning to be a team player. By pursuing the question of who he was, John came to be aware that, even in the heat of competition, his sense of selfhood need not be on the line.

ART IN A COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH YOUTH CENTER

Middle Earth is a "youth services center" located in Wheaton, Maryland. It operates both as a drop-in center for leisure activities, as well as providing counseling for individuals and families. On a busy intersection surrounded by shopping centers and gas stations, Middle Earth is situated in a spacious, solid-looking brick house. In the afternoons and evenings, in good weather, young people can be seen sitting on the front steps, working in the attached garage or greenhouse, or playing frisbee outside. Guitar music and conversation may drift from open windows; through the same windows, glimpses of posters and other artwork on walls may be seen. There is a loose "feel" to the place, a comfortable shabbiness, a relaxed ambiance, perhaps even a rather alarming essence of unsupervised play, depending on your point of view. Passing motorists crane their necks to look inside an open door or window. First time adult visitors to Middle Earth report a feeling akin to that described by explorers charting unknown (and possibly hostile) territory. Here is a building, and ostensibly an organization which has chosen to fit its program around that most mysterious, difficult, and elusive of creatures - the adolescent. This strikes some people as absolutely

subversive. "What really goes on in there?" is a question commonly asked of staff.

"What goes on in there?" is that, every night the Center is open, a "nuclear family" takes shape. Staff members in their early to mid-20's become "parents" to a group of teenagers of assorted ages. These teenagers are, mostly, between the ages of 13 - 17, and are attending one of the local public schools.

Their interest in the Center may be sparked by a particular program such as backpacking or rap groups, or by the opportunity to use the center facility for art and craft projects. No small part of Middle Earth's allure is its reputation for being a comfortable place to "hang out" in; a middle ground, as its name suggests, a haven of sorts from the expectations of parents and the demands of school.

The majority of the teenagers who come to the center are self-referred. A small number attend on the recommendation of therapists, juvenile aid, the courts or the police. They come seeking different things, and also the same things. For most of the teenagers who participate regularly, even nightly, it would be safe to say that Middle Earth provides an element of stability which is lacking in other areas of their lives. This is as much

a function of the staff participant interaction as it is of the programs offered. Thus, the family which assembles is a very real one in many ways, involving not only roles and personalities, but also the structure of the center itself. The opportunity to see and interact with kids in a milieu setting enriches staff ability to understand individual teenagers, to provide for their needs, supply consistency and continuity, and to devise what can be loosely termed as "treatment goals". This in turn enables the structure to change and grow, and to provide enhanced opportunities for teenagers to explore and work through personal or social issues in a semi-protected, supportive environment.

Art materials and creative activity have always been a part of the Center's drop-in offerings available to teenagers. The forms in which it is offered have, however, changed and expanded. In the past, some of these activities have encompassed the entire range of kitsch-craft, from rock painting to bread-dough flowers. I can recall that such projects were usually the result of intervention by a zealous well meaning counselor who had taken a few decoupage classes and thought of herself as "artistic". These diversions kept kids busy and gave them a project to show off and take home, but I could

never help thinking, when I first came to Middle Earth, that there was something insidious, possibly even destructive embodied in those identical projects. Having been trained as an artist, and just having begun training as an art therapist, the internalized voices of "freedom" and "self expression" nagged at me as I watched teenagers macrame...or make paper flowers....or stuff socks for rag dolls.

I was still a newcomer to the Center, and still, essentially, an observer. I wasn't sure of what I wanted to focus on in working with teenagers and art in this unstructured setting, but I knew what I didn't want to do. I needed to get a firmer grasp on how and why teenagers might turn to art expression, and to figure out how I might aid in that process.

I began simply by setting out art supplies in a room with plenty of tables for work space - watercolor paints, pastels, crayon, inks and paper, and by waiting, and watching, and by simply being there, week after week, in the same place, offering the same materials. Sometimes I gave informal mini-lessons on how to use different media, and demonstrated different techniques such as group drawings<sup>30</sup> or theme centered collages.<sup>31</sup> Some of those

<sup>30</sup>David, Shellie. CREATIVE ART THERAPY. Robbins and Sibley, eds. Brunner Mazel pub. 1976. p. 223

<sup>31</sup>Mann, Susan. Ibid. p. 225

who could not involve themselves personally with making art, seemed to like being around while other people painted or drew. Quite by accident, I discovered a powerful trust-building tool in portraiture. Often I would ask "spectators" if I might draw them; and they would initially demur, slightly chagrined but pleased - when I gently persisted, they would usually acquiesce. What followed invariably marked a turning point in our relationship and how much we were able to relate to, and trust in, one another. For them, the experience of having someone select them, spend time with them, and really make an effort to see and delineate their image, was important. In turn, their willingness to make themselves so open and vulnerable indicated a need on their part to be known, to be noticed, to be reflected back by another person. They needed to hear, in effect, "This is my impression of you." Without meaning to, I had touched on one of the most crucial identity issues of adolescence - self-concept and how the self is seen by others. The intensity, and the universality of this concern was borne out by the popularity of the portrait sessions.

As trust and familiarity grew, the use of art materials became far more spontaneous. The media became, in the truest sense, a vehicle of communication between the

teenagers and myself (even though the messages may also have been intended for someone else.) Some kids would come in just to dabble, doodle and talk; others would burst in, overflowing with an idea and eager for some guidance on how it might be brought to visual expression. Often, after an absence of a few days, I would walk into the art room to find new pictures taped to the walls, unsigned and untitled, mute and eloquent. All this went on side by side with the craft-type projects mentioned previously, brought in by other counselors. Sometimes I tried to counter this insistence on production by introducing a more "technological" medium such as printmaking, but these attempts were not notably successful in opening up new avenues of expressiveness. Meanwhile the unstructured atmosphere enabled me to watch and listen, and respond to the needs of individual teenagers. In the process I learned much about adolescence - and about art. It was in this setting that I first became aware of the valuable projective and reflective qualities of artwork with teenagers. It became fascinating to see how their way of working with art materials - media, work habits, attention span - would parallel their activity in Center involvements. Subject matter provided insights into both conscious and

unconscious concerns, adding a richer dimension to be considered when dealing with the teenager in other center contexts.

Through art, clues not available elsewhere in their behavior sometimes became manifest. In keeping with the informal "drop in" philosophy, this clue-gathering was never standardized into a specific format or checklist of behaviors to be used for evaluation. Instead, they took the form of perceptions from a very specific point of view which I was able to share with other staff and program consultants. What evolved from this was a way of looking at teenager's involvement with art and other creative activity, within the context of the Center's program and goals, which served to supplement the observations of the other staff in devising methods for dealing with the Center participants.

Rubin's art interview<sup>32</sup> provided a helpful model to me in formulating clinical perceptions and generally organizing my thoughts as I observed and interacted with teenagers in the drop-in center. Because involvement with art was not a requirement for attendance at the Center there was no set expectation that teenagers would or would not do art. I learned much just by watching their initial

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Rubin, Judith. A Diagnostic Art Interview.  
ART PSYCHOTHERAPY. April 1973 Vol. 1 (1)



reactions to the availability of the art materials. Did he cringe, classify art materials as "babyish" or "just for little kids", and refuse to have anything to do with them? Was the manner of approach tentative, choosing small paper, accompanied by joking or self-deprecating remarks or business-like and purposeful? Did he plunge into drawing or painting, quickly becoming absorbed in the process? Was a free, spontaneous kind of creative activity chosen over a more technique-oriented one such as printmaking? Was a craft such as copper enameling or leatherwork, with a ready formula and product, decided on instead? It occurred to me that the factor of choice was important - that an individual may have chosen to do art when inner needs converged with outside potentials (i.e., the availability of art materials) with the result that creative activity provided just the means needed for symbolic expression at that particular moment. Certain types of art activities seemed to be appealing at certain times. Some teenagers used one media almost exclusively, while others allowed themselves a free play between several modalities. Some who were skilled in a certain medium would foray out into less-known territory; some would not. In this area I was able to observe how a teenager's ability or inability to move between different

expressive modes might denote degrees of personality rigidity or flexibility. Over a period of weeks and months of dealing with individuals, patterns or habits would invariably appear.

The actual process of creating the artwork could also, I learned, serve as a source for data: What happened while the teenager was doing art? Did he sit, stand or move around? How did he interact with others? What did he speak about? What about his manner and style of working? Of course the artwork itself could be examined in various ways as suggested before - for themes, for unconscious or symbolic content - and in addition - as a vehicle for the teenager's self representation.

The artwork of adolescents contains indications of his attempts to resolve identity questions. How the adolescent manipulates objects in his environment to effect change, how capable he feels of doing that, how he manages to leave some impression of the self, how he regards that reflected self - these are all questions tackled more generally in his life but also quite specifically in creative action.

Through watching the performance of a creative "task", an observer may note how much primary process

how much primary process thinking is able to be harnessed and channeled by secondary process (reality-based) thinking into task completion. Evidence of the teenager's capability for sublimating energy and finding "equivalents for experience" through art may be noted. Resources of ego strength needed for sustained effort become apparent. Letting an art product and the process speak for themselves allows a comprehensive picture of the teenager's conflict areas, strengths, weaknesses, defenses and coping mechanisms to emerge.

Case History - Mark

As I came to know Mark, a 14 year old boy, through his attendance at the center over the course of a year, the shape of his personality assumed far deeper dimensions than those first indicated by the "all-round nice guy" demeanor of our earliest encounters. His serious, level gaze and self-possessed manner were, I realized only the top layers of a personality with far more subtleties, nuances and conflicts than one would ever guess from the finely crafted facade he presented socially. The first hints at what lay underneath that surface came in offhand references to his home life. One night shortly after he began coming to the Center, he casually commented to a staff member on the fight he had had with his father earlier that evening. Further questioning brought out the information that these fights happened nearly every night, usually precipitated by his father getting drunk and threatening to beat Mark. In speaking of these fights, Mark presented his role as one who acted in self-defense; the threats would usually escalate into a fistfight. As he spoke of these incidences, Mark's tone was curiously matter-of fact; at his most emotional, he denounced his father as a "son of a bitch" who "deserved whatever he got". The nice guy persona of Mark began to be tinged with

bitterness and anger.

The picture (Slide #8) entitled "Avenging Angel" was done by Mark about two months after he began coming to the center. The picture was done in the presence of a staff member, and immediately followed a conversation in which Mark had mentioned having another fight with his father earlier in the evening.

As he drew, he told a story about what was happening in the picture. The figure in the foreground, with hood and sword, has been on some sort of destructive rampage. He is a member of an elite and secret society which does "both good and evil". The masked figure behind and to the left is swinging a scythe, intending to cut the hooded destroyer in two. All around is evidence of mayhem and destruction; crosses burn, blood drips, even a far-off planet in the sky is shown disintegrating.

The picture is an unconscious description of Mark's feelings of rage and guilt towards his father. This rage, occasioned by his father's aggressive outbursts, and expressed by Mark counteraggressively, was bought only at the price of considerable unconscious guilt. The guilt, in turn, was a function of the strong oedipal triangle in Mark's family, which later became apparent, involving Mark, his father, and his mother. His

involvement with, and attempts to break free from, the triangle in order to establish independence and personal identity as separate from the family role were to make up a continuing theme in our art therapy work together. The guilt he felt surfaced in this picture through the ambivalence of the fantasy situation. Who is the Destroyer and who is the destroyed? Who is the avenging angel of the title? Is it the hooded foreground figure? (who is, after all, only one of many in a secret society which will carry on after his imminent demise - or is it the armored background figure? With intriguing accuracy, Mark portrayed the circular nature of the deeply destructive power struggle in which he and his parents were enmeshed. As a child he could not hope to take over his father's position without retaliation, yet his father's continued challenging left him no alternative but to engage in battle. The fantasy nature of the scene was an indication of how completely Mark needed to consciously defend against this frightening conflict. His matter of fact verbal associations, when contrasted with the hatred and aggression that literally shriek from this picture, reinforce the impression of his need to maintain considerable distance and control. This quality of guardedness, mentioned previously as part of his social "nice guy" facade proved

to be an ongoing dynamic in his art work as well.

Because of Mark's ability in art, his pictures (almost always done spontaneously) were very often a focus of attention in the Center. He would come in, play guitar and talk for a while, and then drift back to the art room to get paper and pencils for drawing. Sometimes he would go off alone to the library or some other quiet, private place. Other times he would draw with an "audience", basking in the attention his art products inevitably drew, and hooking people into discussions about what they "saw" in his pictures and why they liked or didn't like certain ones. At times like these, he was extremely warm and responsive, functioning comfortably in what was, for him, an accepted role as "artist".

Picture (Slide No. 9) was done jointly by Mark and myself during one of these informal drawing sessions. One evening, I was sitting in the art room with Mark and some other teenagers making casual conversation about the events of their day. I was doodling on the paper in front of me, as I often do. My doodle, which began in the corner of the paper turned into a sunhat, which then became attached to a figure wearing the hat, dressed in overalls, holding a water dipper and extending the left arm. At that point, I looked up to observe Mark watching

me draw, and I invited him to help me finish the picture. He went to work enthusiastically, adding hands and feet to the figure, and drawing them in fine detail. He sketched in the proper amount of toes for each foot, equipping the toes with long nails resembling claws. To the area right above the water dipper he added a cloud of bubbles and fizzy carbonation which seems to indicate that a very mysterious liquid is contained within the dipper. He completed the extended left arm by adding a wrist (wearing a charm bracelet) and a hand, with long-talon-like fingernails which points to the right side of the page. On the right side, he drew a far-off figure, raising its arm in an answering gesture. This figure wears an enveloping robe with a hood (very like the outfit worn by the Avenging Angel in previous picture,) and holds a lantern in its hand which casts light into the surrounding darkness. The figures stand on opposite cliffs, separated by distance and water. The moon is half-covered by shifting clouds and stars twinkle, small and cold-looking in the night sky.

Mark was very pleased with our joint picture and went around the Center showing it to other people. He seemed to feel that we had contributed equally to its execution, when it had in fact been his additions which



transformed it from a simple doodle to a detailed scene complete with distinctive mood.

It became clear, through the joint process of doing this picture, and in the resultant product, that Mark could allow through artwork a lowering of his defensive guardedness. The picture constituted a beautifully concise non-verbal communication of how Mark saw himself in relationship to me, and, by implication to other people. In the picture, I am a gentle looking creature with claws (capable of both hurting and helping) and holding a dipper of mysterious liquid, either to nurture or poison. He is that far-off robed figure, separated by water, yet holding out a lantern to illuminate the dusk, and to indicate his presence. The hooded, glittery-eyed cultist of the previous picture has become a pilgrim, a traveler, making a silent, almost wistful acknowledgement to another being. He is not sure how that being will respond.

The picture is a simultaneous statement of many of Mark's internal self-conflicts; his sense of isolation, his yearning for community; his fear in reaching out, and his resolution to show courage in doing it; as such it is a definition of the duality in his own personality - one who does evil, and one who searches for good.

As Mark spent more time in the Center, interacting with staff and his peers, other facets of his self-concept became manifest. One of his most cherished fantasies was that of forming a rock group; he would become an accomplished "flash" guitarist and would be the leader and primary focus of the group. As this fantasy gathered momentum, he became almost totally occupied with the idea. He saved money to buy equipment, poring over catalogues of guitars, amplifiers and microphones. He attempted to persuade the center manager into letting him use the basement of Middle Earth as a music studio. He talked of recording his group's music, and this idea led into an orgy of comparison shopping as he debated the merits of various tape recorders and sound mixers.

Many drawings appeared during this time which accurately describe the fantasy's germination and progression. The first drawing in the series (Slide #10) shows Mark standing alone on a stage, playing a guitar, in front of a sign bearing the Band's name, "DESTROYER".

Mark drew the picture one evening while conversing animatedly about his plans for the group, and it was one of several pictures done on this same theme. In the picture, a combination of elements point to his

continued concern over self-concept and interaction with others. In what is essentially an idealized self-portrait, Mark is alone, isolated from the implied audience by a stage, in much the same way the figures in the previous picture were separated by the cliffs and water. He is even set off from the other band members who are not shown. He is the Star, the center of attention. Although this element has an overcompensatory "feel", it is also a fairly accurate self recognition; for Mark is in fact highly gifted both intellectually and creatively.

The wish-fulfillment quality is most striking in the extent to which it is carried. In the picture, he is the best, most brilliant guitarist; his skill makes him special and isolates him, but is also a tool to bridge the gulf that separates him from others - he controls the distance.

Mark's fantasy of a group was encouraged by Gary, a 17 year old boy who was, like Mark, a regular participant of the Center. Gary was an intelligent, charismatic, somewhat manipulative young man who enjoyed tremendous popularity with other teenagers. He took Mark under his wing as a protégé, making him a member of Gary's peer group and including Mark in all of their activities. This sponsorship was repaid by Mark's spontaneous alteration of

his rock and roll fantasy to substitute Gary in the role of the lead singer and performer, rather than himself.

This change was documented by a whole new spate of drawings (assiduously collected by Gary, so there are none available) which depicted Gary performing with the Group "Destroyer", including a figure designated as Mark in the background. These pictures were given as gifts from Mark to Gary, and also hung all over the Center in proclamation of their new friendship.

In the pictures, Mark allowed Gary to be the center of attention, and placed himself in a subordinate, supportive role. In doing so, he displayed his need to identify with a powerful or dominant figure, which Gary undeniably was. Unable to identify with his father, and impelled by a developmental need to discover role-models outside his family and within his own peer group, Mark chose Gary. His choice was interesting in light of Gary's proclivity for relating to younger Center participants in a nurturing manner. By inviting Gary into his fantasy, Mark opened himself up to some measure of trust and involvement. This was, for Mark, a major achievement; a change that was effected first in the fantasy drawings became reality. Mark and Gary were spending a great deal

of time together with Gary's friends; often a whole group would go on trips to the beach, spend time at one another's houses, and hang out together on the street. The group drawings continued, with slight variations - the figures of other group members began to appear. Mark began designing a series of posters of album covers in rough sketches. One of them (Slide #11) entitled "Destroyer - On Tour"\* was, he explained a design for the group's first album. The idea of the group's recording an album was, of course, another part of Mark's fantasy, yet it signified an important difference in how Mark conceptualized his interaction with others. The album cover drawings celebrated his movement away from isolation to rewarding involvement with others. This involvement happened on two levels - the real life companionship of Gary and his friends, and the fantasy aspect, where Mark began to see himself as part of a close, functioning group, working together on a shared project. His fantasy of shared involvement in a rock n' roll group was, I feel, almost a rehearsal of sorts for Mark - he could, through playacting and drawing, safely let down his guard a little and test out and practice what closeness to others might feel like in real life.

\* The words on the picture "Destroyer Sucks" were written in by an anonymous visitor to the Center and were not part of the original drawing.

After about a month and a half of Mark and Gary being close, Gary suddenly "dropped" Mark. The circumstances surrounding this were never made clear, but the separation was obvious through the behavior of both. Gary withdrew into his own group, and Mark, first confused by this treachery, then became bitter and angry. He displayed his anger around the Center in a series of acting-out behaviors and petty destructive acts. Typical of these was the aggression he channeled into ruining a joint painting on which I and another staff person had been working. (Slide #12) While painting together, we were interrupted and had to leave the unfinished painting on the table; when we returned, we found the work "Destroyer" scrawled over the picture. When pressed, Mark admitted to having done it, but could not, even when it was suggested, associate the act to any feelings of anger and revenge he might currently be experiencing. "Destroyer" had struck - the name of his lost group was now stripped of any positive connotations and manifested itself in a way that reinforced the aggressive-destructive aspect. Mark was suffering feelings of loss, abandonment, bitterness and barely contained rage which he let us know indirectly through the communicative medium he knew best - artwork.

The next few months were a difficult time of dealing with Mark at the Center. His behavior vacillated between swaggering bravado and withdrawal. He tested center rules and taxed staff tempers to the limit, defying all punishments and probationary periods he was given. He did little artwork during this period; his energies were not in reflecting or communicating - instead, he seemed hell-bent in his determination to keep people angry and distant. Having permitted himself closeness, and then having been betrayed, he could not trust anyone - least of all, himself.

His need to identify with a peer group, aborted in its first attempt, found satisfaction as Mark was accepted as a fringe member of a group of "tough" adolescents. The chief commonality of these teenagers was, more than anything, a collective poor self-concept and, even within the group, a sense of individual isolation and cynicism. Mark's membership reinforced these feelings he held towards himself, and the companionship soon cost him the use of the center, when he was, with them, barred for drinking alcohol on the property.

At that point, it was decided by my clinical supervisor that we needed to make a last ditch effort to save Mark from the downhill attitudinal slide from which he was unwilling or unable to rescue himself. A meeting

with his parents would be requested to discuss Mark's past behavior in the center and to try to gain more complete background information on his family history. We would also inform Mark and his parents at this time that his admission into the center would be contingent on his meeting with me for six individual art sessions, one per week for a period of six weeks. In this way we hoped to steer him in the direction of positive involvement, and also to reinforce the creative communication of which he had previously shown himself capable in his art. If Mark was able, in our meetings, to trust me, to open up and speak, even symbolically through his art, of the frustrations and joys he encountered in his life, then perhaps communication with others might become less frightening and more rewarding.



The evening of the meeting, Mrs. P and Mark were dropped off at the center by Mr. P, who Mrs. P apologetically explained, had "some errands to take care of". Mrs. P's appearance and demeanor reminded one of a German grandmother; her short stature and ample proportions put me in mind of a maternal someone who might hand out cookies along with endearing phrases. I was surprised at how old she appeared. In our meeting, she began to talk almost immediately about the home situation and about how important it was for her son, Mark, to have a place where he could go to escape from his father's drinking and subsequent fight-picking. She presented herself as often playing the role of placator between them, and of being completely responsible for the parenting of Mark. Her husband, Mark's father, was characterized by her as having "emotional problems" which he acted out by alternating between rigidity, temper tantrums, attack or extreme withdrawal. He had been hospitalized at a psychiatric hospital two years previously for a period of several months. She spoke of his current employment, as an atomic physicist, describing him as a demanding, perfectionistic genius, with all the implications for emotional imbalance that such ability might imply. Her attitude was resigned as she talked about her husband's extreme behavior; she

stated that she had adjusted to it and was trying to cope in the best way she knew.

Her concern was for Mark's inability to respond to his father with anything other than counter-aggression. By coming to Middle Earth, she hoped that Mark would not be exposed to his father's threats, and might even begin to learn some ways of coping. It seemed to be most important to her that Mark be kept separated from his father, and preferably, out of the house. She also hoped that Mark would use Middle Earth as an opportunity to develop his interests and abilities in art and music. She spoke proudly of his efforts in these areas, and how she allowed him "special treatment" by letting him stay up late or neglect his chores when he was painting or drawing at home. She said she knew art was an expressive outlet for him and she encouraged him to do it.

At this point I said I had noticed the same thing with Mark in the Center; it seemed to me that Mark used art as a kind of language and that often it was possible to communicate with him through his artwork. Turning to Mark, I suggested that for his six-week series of required meeting, he and I might meet to do some art and talk. He agreed with only slight hesitation, as his mother verbally encouraged him. His attachment to her was

evident in how he looked to her for support while talking. For a mother and teenaged son, they seemed extraordinarily close; one often seemed to know what the other was thinking, and they would routinely finish sentences for one another.

As the meeting was drawing to a close, Mrs. P mentioned that she was leaving in a few months to go to Germany on a visit to her family, and would be gone for several months. Mark and his father, with an older brother, would be living together. She expressed some concern for what might happen while she was gone, and stressed to both me and Mark how important it was for him to maintain his center privileges during that time. Reeling from the impact of this understatement (in light of how she had just previously presented the near-homicidal rages of Mark's father) I managed to agree that, yes, she did have reason for concern and that Middle Earth might well be a place for Mark to "escape" to. With arrangements for Mark's entry into the center thus arranged, she left, shaking her head and laughing nervously to join her husband who had announced his arrival in the parking lot outside by blasting the automobile horn at one minute intervals.

She promised to contact us before leaving for Germany.

FIRST SESSION

Mark was initially very reluctant to get started. When I reminded him at 10 minutes of eight that our appointment was for 8, he was engrossed in a copper enameling project and did not immediately respond. I collected paints, paper and colored pencils, and at 8, suggested we get started. He stalled for 10 minutes protesting that he wasn't finished; when his protests brought no response, he gave in, and we went upstairs for the session.

"So what am I supposed to draw," he inquired in a tough-guy manner. I said that this was his time to use art in any way he wanted. He selected magic markers and began a drawing (Slide #13) - slow, small, meticulous, using a magazine illustration as his "inspiration" as he called it. In the beginning, he would draw a few lines and hold the picture up for my approval "How's this?" or "How does this look?"

As he settled into doing artwork, we both relaxed and conversation began to flow, about his day, and about why he had come up to the Center earlier than usual tonight. He said his mother and father were fighting as he left the house - "just a screaming fight, not a fistfight." As he talked about this, he was drawing long spikes around the

circumference of the circle, these spikes echoed the stylized rays of a sun he'd drawn within the circle, this sun was setting over water. He then very carefully began to color in his drawing.

In the meantime, I had begun to draw, using Mark as a model: My need to draw seemed to spring partially out of my own nervousness and unsureness, and partially out of a need to reinforce our verbal interaction with some non-verbal rapport. Mark would glance over at what I was doing from time to time but didn't express any interest in seeing what he knew was a portrait of him. About this time he began drawing the spikes.

Having finished his first picture he took a sheet of paper for a second one. I casually demonstrated how to do a scribble picture, saying that I often used the technique to "loosen up" after doing small pictures. Mark was intrigued and quickly turned out a small tight scribble on  $8\frac{1}{2}$  x 11" paper; he immediately saw "a ship" in it and set out to detail it. As he worked rapidly on this he talked about how his pictures are often about his feelings or things he's "thought up" in his own head. As he worked, he talked dreamily about how he'd like to be on a ship like the one he was drawing - out on a ship at

twilight, in the middle of the sea, with a woman and some champagne - "not to get drunk, just to be mellow." He was pleased with his second picture, and ended the session by saying that next week he wanted to try a new medium - pastels.

### Discussion

In this first session, Mark's resistance was quite pronounced - as shown by the stalling, and his initial small, rigid drawing. Mark named his first picture "Apollo's Coat of Arms", and it was, indeed, a shield designed for protection - to keep me, still the enemy, at arm's length. His fear of closeness took the form of this meticulous spikey-pointed emblem. Yet, even while the picture warns one away, it also invites one in. Its barbs and arrows could be used to attack, to hurt - but they are also here the rays of the sun - brilliant and life-giving. The spikes protect a calm and peaceful center of sky and still water. In this picture Mark was giving me several messages; his need to retain distance at this early point in our relationship, but also a clear indication of what lay underneath that defensive, well-armored exterior. This unconscious expression of his own duality finds a corollary in his behavior during the session and in future ones as well.

His "trying on" of various roles - "good boy" (in asking for my approval while drawing) and "bad boy" (playing the defensive tough guy early in the hour) sets a pattern that was to continue for several of our meetings, as this complex adolescent struggled to define an identity role for himself. One of his most intense conflicts involved how much closeness or distance he could allow between himself and others; that became clear here.

In his second picture (Slide #14), he allowed his protective armor to shift a little, as he took a tentative step outside his isolation and described a fantasy of being out on the sea in a ship at twilight. In doing so, Mark attempted a riskier role - of one who self-discloses, and shares. What he described as a scene of peace, contentment and companionship has a yearning quality to it, beneath which lurk notes of frustration and escapism. In the picture, a ship is in full sail, with Mark and a woman on board, but is blocked on the right hand side of the page by a dark, looming mass. Mark's picture was a multi-layered commentary on his life situation, and on our particular interpersonal relationship. The ship reflects his recognition of the need to "get underway"; to start the journey away from isolation to find self-awareness and his own identity. It is also a metaphor of his need to

"escape", to disengage himself from his overinvolvement with his parents, especially his mother. The woman on board is Mark's companion; she is young and attractive, and has apparently superceded his mother in his affections; he is sailing away with her. The young woman represents Mark's desire to get closer to other people; his transfer of feelings to her indicates a healthy trend in turning away from his familial Oedipal situation to a person outside of it.

At the same time Mark made a general commentary on his life; he also made a specific statement on our interaction, and the prospect of the future individual art sessions. By drawing the ship in full sail, he shows his willingness to be active, to take the journey which is necessary for his own growth. He relaxes his stance of defensive isolation and allows me on board to share and to help, in the journey. My position is that of a transitional person and my role is unclear to him: Am I lover, or mother, or something else? Yet Mark's willingness to begin the journey and having the means to do it are evidently not enough. Ahead of the ship looms a large dark mass arising out of the water, and threatening to block the way. Mark predicts in this symbol that the expedition will be stopped, that progress will be halted by



something unnameable. This "something" may be his own fears, or the efforts of others (peers or family); the blockade points out his own continuing sense of entrapment and frustration in the face of such barriers. Along with this is a dawning sense of his own dependency; dare he risk reaching outside of his isolation for a helper, a traveling companion? Again Mark faced - as he had before, and would again - the threatening struggle between isolation and involvement. His ambivalence was to constitute the major dynamic of our next session.

#### SECOND SESSION

I reminded Mark of our appointment at about 10 minutes of 8 and began collecting art materials. When I walked into the living room, he was deep in a chair, trying (it seemed) to melt into the upholstery. "Let's go, Mark; it's 8 o'clock." No response. Other people in the room glanced at him; he selected a comic book from a nearby table, and, still without a word, opened and held it in front of his face as if reading. "Why do I get this feeling you're trying to hide?", I wondered out loud and peeked over the comic book. We both smiled.

On our way upstairs, he delayed at least twice more, but once settled in, he began immediately to work. "I want to make something I can be PROUD of," he

announced, I'm gonna do somethind I've done before." He proceeded to work on a picture of a marijuana stalk superimposed on a skull and crossbones against a stonewall, (Slide #15) asking me when he was finished if I knew what it meant. I guessed that he was making a statement about the danger of smoking dope. "That's right", he approved, saying that he'd been trying to cut down on smoking dope lately. At this point he lit up a cigarette and sat smoking and contemplating his picture. He asked me if I would lend him the money to buy a soda; that he was feeling "sick" and "needed" a soda. I said I did not have the money to lend, but that after the session he might ask someone else. He ruffled through the drawing pad and found a sheet with a picture that someone else had started - a finely drawn eye. He drew a matching eye, then a nose. He mentioned his nausea again, and I asked if he felt too sick to work. He replied by shading in dark circles under the eyes and drawing a huge ugly mouth with irregular teeth. He stopped drawing, left the table, and curled up in an easy chair, putting his coat over his head. We sat in silence for awhile. "I like making warm dark places to hide in." he said, "You can hide in them all cozy and comfortable and look out." We sat for about 10 minutes more. When I suggested we stop, and make up the

time later since it seemed that Mark could not work then, we ended the session.

### DISCUSSION

Mark was occupied in the session with maintaining distance; he was reinforcing this position after having let his guard down too readily in the previous session by sharing his fantasy with me. The stereotype of the skull-and-marijuana picture was designed to keep me at arm's length with superego-induced conventionalities. He was once again trying on the "good boy" role, but the veneer of compliance barely masked his mistrust and defensive guarding. The consciously-chosen subject matter represents an unconscious blocking maneuver; the stone wall filling the background of the picture indicates his desire to "wall himself off" emotionally.

His feeling sick, and asking for soda, indicates his trying on of other roles in addition to those already explored. Would I be the nurturing mother caring for his needs, enabling him to play the role of infant or child? Sheltered in his coat, and speaking of "warm dark cozy places" he liked to "hide in", he issued a veiled sexual invitation - another role for him to explore, that of a sexually active male. Besides the sexual component, "warm dark places" also implies the wished for safety and

protection of a maternal womb as it cushions and nourishes the fetus. This reflects Mark's conflicting needs for returning to dependence and for pursuing independence, and his habitual pattern of resolving the struggle by withdrawal into himself.

After trying on a number of symbolic roles in the session, "artist", "good boy", "sexual male", "child", even "fetus", Mark was overwhelmed with anxiety and retreated into aloneness. His easy access into such a variety of roles, (a tendency which had appeared often in his previous behavior and artwork) suggested a diffuse quality to his ego boundaries. This very fluidity which allowed him positive gratification in fantasy and artwork also found its negative mode of expression. The self-isolation had to be fiercely protected, lest it be swallowed up by the intrusions or demands of others. Thus Mark's pattern of interpersonal relating became clear as it had appeared thus far in our sessions; isolation/resistance/defensive roleplay/ tentative approach/panic/withdrawal. His sense of identity was based to a large degree on fantasy; it was shaky, and therefore could not come in close contact with others. Thus the relating pattern above was established.

Despite his fears, he continued to move around

in this behavior framework, sometimes going forward and sometimes back. Occasionally he would take a risk, as will be shown in the next picture.

### THIRD SESSION

We began slowly, as usual. Mark dragged up to the room and sat there at the table looking disinterested, "Why am I here?" he asked me. I mentioned our contract which he had freely chosen and commented that it looked to me as if he were also choosing to make it difficult for himself.

Mark considered this, took a small metal car out of his pocket and began drawing it. As he drew, he described a model car track he had built in his backyard; and as he warmed to the subject, spun some "tall tales" about how much money he'd won by betting on the cars against other boys in his neighborhood. He finished the car drawing and began some halfhearted attempts at other doodles. "I can't think of anything," he said several times, sighing huge sighs, getting up, walking around, and sitting back down.

I invited him to help me finish my drawing, having started drawing a picture of a hand on the left side of the page. This picture evolved to be next slide (Slide #16).

He looked bored as he regarded the paper, then drew a circular shape with a light beam glinting off of it. I drew a "test tube" enclosure around it and he added the chains and locks above it. I put antennae up (as in a television aerial) above the test tube, and drew a building below, then drew another building next to the first one, leaving it unfinished and inviting Mark to add to the picture. He immediately made it a destroyed building, charring wood, adding shattered glass and rubble. "Now I'm really getting ideas," he said enthusiastically, and proceeded to finish the picture himself, working rapidly and in silence. When he stopped drawing, I asked if he might explain the intriguing scene he'd created; and he immediately launched into a detailed description of what was happening in the picture.

According to Mark, this is the sequence of events which explains what "happened" in the picture: (on the left is step one, or the first phase of action, on the right is the second phase - almost a time sequence, but shown together). The hand (left side) reaches up, and is wounded (right side top); it bleeds, and the blood turns into fire, burning the building (right side), shattering windows, breaking the test tube, melting the antennae. The divided yellow and orange circle previously in the test tube (left side) is not destroyed, but turns into a

a spirit figure; "The Daughter of Death" (right side), is released, and rises heavenward, wearing the yellow and orange as a turban.

Mark was pleased with the picture, and his story, and named them "The Ghostly Holocaust". As the hour drew to a close, he commented that he wished we had more time, that there were more things he felt like drawing. The session ended on this positive note.

#### DISCUSSION

The session, and the drawing represented a crucial turning point in Mark's willingness to trust and to take risks; to relax the barriers which bound him in. He began the hour with what were, for him, typical defenses in his art - aimless doodling and exposition of his technical skills (as shown by the fine pencil rendering of the car. His talk of betting, while drawing the car, introduced yet another role he'd considered for himself - that of the slick dude, a gambler, a hustler. Yet, when invited to interact with me symbolically through working on the drawing, Mark was able to shed those ploys and become deeply involved. In doing so, he was risking the security of his normal behavior; and asking himself some threatening questions. Would he trust me, let me in by sharing? Would he allow

himself to express, even symbolically, the anger, hostility, and aggression he kept so carefully sealed over? Was he able to contain these emotions within the artwork - or would it spill over, uncontrollable, searing and destroying everything in its path? In addition to the questions Mark was asking himself, he was directing queries to me: How would I respond to the fire, the anger that welled up within him? Would I help him channel that aggression and keep it within bounds? Would I respect his feeling and help it find expression?

Through the process of the artwork, Mark was able to temporarily overcome his fear, and symbolically release anger. He graphically depicted the internal process leading to the hostility within himself - being emotionally wounded or hurt by others is shown by the bleeding hand. In the picture his rage is represented by the blood which turns into fire, falling on the building and destroying it. Along with this symbolic discharge of anger, which was in itself an important step for Mark, he also considered, in his picture, what might come after that destruction. Looking into the aftermath of his expression of anger, he drew, rising out of the ruins, new life. This was a breakthrough for him, indicating a new found realization that he could express anger, that it could be acknowledged by someone outside of himself and that



something constructive could come out of the process. Rather than being trapped and isolated with his feeling, through his drawing, Mark was testing what it felt like to take an active role in channeling that anger, controlling it, and creating something beyond the anger. This change in attitude reflected a significant, positive shift in Mark's self concept and his sense of personal power, in being able to effectively cope with very strong feelings. His picture also indicated a readiness to move from his defensively withdrawn mistrusting posture to a more involved, trusting, activity-oriented role in our sessions. If he could afford to depict anger, then perhaps he could allow other emotions to emerge as well. Mark's creativity, expressiveness, and involvement in this artwork revealed rich, untapped resources for building the ego strengths basic to a sense of true personal identity. In his work, themes which had already appeared - isolation, destruction, survival and/or rebirth, and activity - were to reappear again as visual metaphors. Through them, and through the perceptual nature of art, Mark could begin an exploratory journey in self-definition.

#### FOURTH SESSION

Mark searched me out in the art room, and we began our session promptly at eight. He had selected watercolors to paint with, and as he began working, he talked about

his home situation. His mother had left for Germany earlier that week, and he and his father had been getting along very well since her departure. There had been no fights and no threats. Mark seemed very happy, and after sharing that information, was content to work on his picture without talking anymore. (Slide not available. Description follows).

When Mark was finished, he showed me his picture. He had painted an island in block silhouette against a vivid sky of different shades of orange. The island was placed in the middle of a calm, dark blue sea, and two birds are also silhouetted in the sky. The picture was small, about 9" x 11" and, as usual with Mark, very meticulously done.

He wanted to talk about his picture, and explained that there was a story behind it: A bomb had killed all the adults in the world, and only teenagers were left. Mark and some other teenagers sailed to this island in order to set up their own civilization and go on living. They built houses, made rules, and divided up the work; it was a contented and peaceful homogeneous society. Mark talked for a while about this idyllic fantasy, and then took another piece of paper, saying that he felt like painting some more. He worked quickly, without speaking, painting a picture of a ship sailing on the sea, with an island in the background

(Slide not available - Description follows). The painting was done in a silhouette style identical to the painting he had finished just previously; with the ship and the island in black against an orange sky and the calm blue sea below. Mark did not talk about this painting or mention that it had any relationship to the first picture. He finished the picture as the session was ending, cleaned up and left taking his pictures, and saying that he was proud of them, and that he wanted to show them off and hang them in his room.

#### DISCUSSION

In the session, Mark continued his exploration through various themes of issues central to his identity development. The holocaust theme appeared again, in the story of the bomb and his subsequent relocation, with other survivors, on an island. The visual message given so skillfully in the picture by the orange sky and the still sea is "the calm after the storm". Mark was making a statement on continuity - the realization (brought out in a previous picture, Slide 16) that after destruction or breaking down, rebuilding can occur. In making this symbolic statement, he gave himself (in the art at least) permission to be angry, to fail, to interact without losing himself or bringing on an irreparable catastrophe. In his fantasy of the island, he steps out of

his isolation, and considers the idea of companionship and interdependency with a group of others equally united in a common task. The ship, reminiscent of the form of the ship in Slide #14, points up the theme of activity; to set sail is an active doing. But this ship picture differs from that earlier one; now, not only does Mark have the energy and the willingness to set out, but the barrier (See Slide #14) has been removed. The way is clearer for his journey towards self-discovery.

The picture-making of the session also displayed Mark's exploration of a positive identity role for himself—that of artist and creator of beauty. His absorption in the art process, pride and self-recognition in his work, and willingness to share his art with others, showed considerable ego investment and a conscious valuing of the self-as-artist. In attaching importance to his artistic identity, he was also confirming the dual possibilities of his art: for self-affirmation, but also to reach beyond himself for communication with others.

Through his art, Mark was beginning to exhibit an enhanced self-concept and various personality potentials: the energy and ability to initiate exploratory activity (symbolized by the ship), (Slide #14) the strength to withstand the onslaught of powerful emotions such as anger

(symbolized by the burning building (Slide #16) and the island and the faith and creativity to bring new life out of destruction (symbolized by the spirit (Slide #16) and the island. Slide not available.) Mark was beginning to gather together the strengths and resources that would be needed in order to define who he was, and arrive at a sense of his own identity.

#### FIFTH SESSION

Mark was eager to get started, chose some art materials to work with and immediately began to draw. As he drew, he talked about how well he was getting along in school and at home. He and his father had been talking together, and while his father continued to drink, the drinking did not lead to battles. Instead, as Mark described it, his father would drink and become depressed and morose over problems at work, which he would then discuss with Mark. Mark was flattered at being allowed into his father's confidence, and even gave his father advice, he said.

Mark also talked about how well he was getting along with other people; having found some new friends who liked to do "things" (such as going to movies) as a group in which he was included. He expressed much pleasure at

being part of the group, and was especially interested in one of the girls, with whom he shared a love of art and music.

Mark did not finish his picture by the time the hour was over, and asked me if we might put it in a safe place so that he could continue working on it next week. This was easily done, and as I was putting it away, I reminded him that next week was to be our last session together. "Why don't we keep meeting for a while?" Mark suggested; this sounded good to both of us, and we agreed to meet for 3 more weeks after the sixth session.

#### DISCUSSION

The picture (Slide #17) is a representation of Mark's interpersonal space, and of the relationships within it; he verbalized about these relationships as he drew. The central point of the picture, the "Kingdom Hall" is a self-symbol, reminiscent of the "Coat of Arms" (Slide #13), with, however, some significant changes. Even though it is still armored with spikey points, it opens and closes, as Mark pointed out as he drew it, with an aperture similar to that of a lens opening in a camera. There is warmth within the Kingdom Hall, as shown by the color yellow, and roads lead both to the hall and from it. These elements reflect the changes coming about in how Mark saw himself - and his

relationship to others. He could still be separate, even isolated and guarded, yet could also relax and let others in. In showing the land surrounding the Kingdom Hall as divided from the foreground by water, but with a road-bridge connecting them, Mark restates his separation-but also announces his willingness to share in the outside world. The foreground (the world, other people) is green and growing, an inviting and not a hostile-looking place. An underground spring of pure clear blue water connects both background and foreground as well. On the Kingdom "island", Mark has everything he needs to survive, and can even withdraw, close himself up within the Kingdom Hall. Yet his position is not isolated; access roads connect him to the outside, as does the "transporter" built on the island, which enables people to travel quickly from planet to planet. Besides being an obvious wish on his part to be reunited with his absent mother, and return to the symbiotic security of their relationship, the transporter also constitutes another link with the outside world. Mark's fears in this "reaching out" process are reflected in his description of accidents that could happen as people were being transported: they could burn up if they travelled too fast, or if the transporter energy source failed, they could be lost forever in outer space. This relates to his

unresolved dependency conflicts as well as to the permeability of his ego boundaries; too rapid or intense involvement with others might consume him, ("burning up") or he might not be able to effect any interpersonal involvement at all, he would fail and be lost in "outer space", a vague interpersonal limbo.

The theme of personal isolation is continued in this picture, but it is balanced and tempered as in the island and ship pictures by themes of activity and connection. Even though Mark was capable of existing alone (the kingdom fortress), he was choosing to coexist with others. (the access roads, the transporter). The picture reflected not only a wish, but also what was really happening in Mark's life as he found friends and solidified his relationship with his father. Instead of remaining enveloped in his private fantasy world, he was beginning, tentatively, to do the real-life role testing essential to his establishment of identity.

#### SEVENTH SESSION

Mark was ready and willing to begin the session, but once settled at the table, with paper, watercolors, and the felt tip markers he had selected, seemed lost in thought. I had become so accustomed to him deciding on an idea and beginning immediately to draw, that I had already



begun a drawing of my own (Slide #18). "Looks like a row of Snowmen" Mark commented on what I had drawn so far.... "or ice creatures." I asked him if he might show me how to make them look like ice creatures, and he complied readily, using purple and blue ink to show their coldness. "You know, they sort of look like they're melting," he pondered, and drew fluid melted ice below them. He then took yellow and orange to paint in the fiery-looking sky behind the creatures. "I've got a great idea," he said excitedly, "I'll make it into a poem" - the poem, which was the story behind the picture, goes like this:

"As we arrived here, my fascination was unlimited  
With the tall, heavy set ice-like creatures with no faces.  
They were in abundance throughout this asteroid,  
Cold, forbidding, but aggressive within their silence.  
As the days passed, my fellow men were terminated from  
their being.

And as this asteroid plunges closer and closer to the sun  
The ice creatures are experiencing a slow tortuous death  
And I alone survived....."

He wrote it quickly, without much hesitation, reading it to me line by line as it was completed. When he finished the poem, he drew in a tiny figure on the extreme left side of the page, who wears tattered rags, is dwarfed by the ice creatures, but who is, as Mark pointed out, the "I" of the poem - himself. When our time was up, Mark took the picture to show other people in the Center;

he was very pleased with it.

### DISCUSSION

The process of the session - Mark's willingness to respond and share, corresponded to the sharing activities with which he was not involved through friends and school. The theme of "The Quest" - an active searching (as in the ship pictures) reappears, in the space exploration which brought him to the planet. In the poem, Mark survives the destruction of his comrades and fellow space-travelers as they are "terminated from their being". He is alone, but triumphantly witnessing the destruction of the ice creatures who were, ostensibly, responsible for his friends' deaths. He stands watching, gaunt, dressed only in rags, but alive. This is a repetition of the rebirth - following destruction theme, Mark had utilized previously. The melting of the cold forbidding, silently aggressive ice creatures is a metaphor for the relaxation he had allowed in his own defensive mechanisms - blocking, withdrawal and silence. His own icy reserve and coldness could "melt" - and he would still survive.

### EIGHTH SESSION

Mark announced as soon as he came into the room that he knew what he wanted to paint. He described a

picture hanging in his father's bedroom\* of a peaceful sea, with little waves breaking against outcroppings of rocks. As he worked, however (without talking) the sea became more and more turbulent, and the sky changed from pale blue to a bluish gray, heavy with forboding-looking clouds. Little ripple-waves became crashing waves sending up a spray of foam as they broke upon the rocks. Feeling the emotion behind this churning scene, I asked Mark if he were expecting his mother home from Germany soon. He replied that she had come home two days previously, and that things were going "Okay". He did not elaborate any further, and continued working on his picture. Several times he overpainted into the rock area, making it larger and darker each time. At the end of the session, he was pleased with his picture and took it to show around.

\* Mark's parents slept in separate rooms; his father in a bedroom and his mother in the basement. One corner of the basement was curtained off for Mark's room; in effect, he and his mother slept in the same room.

DISCUSSION

This picture (Slide #19) defined some of Mark's feelings about his home situation, and how he saw himself in relationship to it. His choice in painting a version of a picture hanging in his father's room signifies a new-found identification with his father which had occurred during the time of his mother's absence. For the first time, Mark and his father had had to deal with each other directly without mother's intervention and the experience had, evidently, been favorable on both sides. With mother's return, this new adjustment was threatened. The process of the artwork, where Mark began a light peaceful scene which turned into darkness and near-violence, illustrates his fears that a similar process might well occur in his family. Being caught up again in a position between his parents would lead to the unconscious guilt and vigorous blocking by fantasy and withdrawal that had in the past hampered Mark's adjustment to the outside world. He had, in the space of just a few months, made major gains in his struggle to extricate himself from the family triangle, and to establish a healthy sense of separateness. Would his progress be now flooded under the swirling waters of his family's pathology? Within the picture, Mark answered that question for himself; the rocks against which

the waves break stand firm, rising strong and immovable out of the ocean. Their permanent quality, so important for Mark to convey (as shown by the repainting) reflect his determination and hoped for strength in the face of the struggle ahead. In order to build on the identity facets he had explored this far, he would have to maintain those advances he had earned - an enhanced and clarified self-concept as creator/survivor, a trust in others, and a willingness to take risks for growth.

#### NINTH AND LAST SESSION

Mark began painting immediately, experimenting with watercolors as he painted a "planet" in the lower left side of the paper. He then painted another planet rushing towards the first planet. The second planet is on fire, and has already begun to disintegrate. I expressed some concern about what would happen when the two planets collided. "They will explode," he replied, and continued to paint as he described the conflagration that would then ensue. I wondered out loud if there were people on the planets and what would happen to them. After giving this some thought, Mark painted in a pair of huge ghostly hands which appear to be catching the second planet as it falls. Mark explained that the hands would

prevent the collision. He named the picture "The End of Your World Is Saved Again!"

This was our last session, and towards the end I told Mark how much I had liked having the opportunity to get to know him through our art sessions. He said that he had enjoyed it too, and suggested that maybe we could set up some sessions in the future. I replied that that sounded like a fine suggestion to me, and I hoped he would continue to do artwork; that I would like to see his work if he wanted to share it with me. We ended on that note.

#### DISCUSSION

Once again the theme of destruction emerged in Mark's artwork; (Slide #20) but here the change lies in the fact that it is not an actually-occurring destruction - but an impending one that is, in fact, averted.

The threat of disaster - death and conflagration - is very real as the planet continues in its collision course. This relates to Mark's old fear of being engulfed by destructiveness, and being powerless to stop it. Here, however, control exists in the form of the huge hands (a self projection) which stop and cushion the planets, preventing total annihilation. In previous pictures, Mark had shown his realization that ruin could occur, and could contain the seeds of new life. In this picture, he explores

a related concept, that he himself might have the skill and power to sometimes prevent destruction. In seeing himself as capable of effective intervention, Mark was seeing himself in a positive active role. His decision to end the art sessions was also a statement of intent. Mark wanted to test himself in this new role.

Mark's complex, multi-leveled artwork reflects his struggle to form a cohesive internal picture of himself. In attempting this formation, he had to first sort through a backlog of past assumed identities - these were the repertory that had been developed for protection and disguise by his extremely amorphous ego. The "bad boy", the "good boy", the "hustler" - Mark had played them all, and was skilled at them; they were a recurring theme in our sessions as well. We had to work through these before trust was established and disclosure could begin. Mark's fantasy world (including his many "roles") had functioned for so long as a defense, as a way of preserving and holding that diffuse sense of self within boundaries, that the idea of sharing it in depth with anyone was very threatening indeed. (The Shield, Slide #13) Yet for all his fears, Mark showed courage in his willingness to further define himself, to undertake the identity journey (The Ship, Slide #14). Although he needed at times to regain

distance and retreat into stereotypy, Marijuana and Skull, Slide #15), he summoned the ability to risk expression of raw emotion and impulse (ghostly holocaust, Slide #16), and the ego strength to contain the expression symbolically in art. Additionally, he was able to project beyond this outward display of aggression, and see it as resulting in an ultimate good (the spirit arising, the ghostly holocaust Slide #16.) For a personality whose primary tactics had consisted, up to that time, of self-protective evasion and withdrawal, this external thrust was an encouraging indicator of his ability to at least consider more direct forms of achieving satisfaction in dealing with others. This theme of "new life-after-destruction" was continued in the next picture of the island (Slide - not available), where Mark joins together with his peers to rebuild their lives after a nuclear bomb has wiped out most of the rest of the world. This frankly stated wish for companionship, and admission of dependency, paralleled the positive peer involvements Mark was experiencing at the time. He was testing and trying out in reality some identity roles and issues which had previously been explored only in fantasy.

The recurring theme of the ship (Slide #14, other slide not available) is intriguing; Mark's use of the ship to symbolize his identity journey ties in with



archetypal usage of ship symbology. According to Cirlot<sup>33</sup> a ship signifies victory over the two essential perils in all navigation: destruction, in which the sea triumphs over the vessel, and withdrawal back to the land out of fear. The first peril corresponds to the overwhelming of the conscious (the ship) by the unconscious (the sea) the second indicates regression and stagnation.<sup>34</sup> In the second picture, Mark's ship is in full sail, and the barrier which blocked its passage in Slide #14 is gone. The movement of the ship reflects his subjective sense of progress and hope.

This perspective of looking outward continues in the picture "Kingdom Hall of the Megadon" (Slide #17) in which Mark's projected self-representation (the kingdom hall) rests on its own piece of land, is separated from other land (the foreground) but has several methods of access (the transporter, the roads and bridges). Thus Mark states his recognition - almost existential in tone - that he is separate from others, but that the separation need not become isolation; and that the outside world may safely be allowed in. Such a statement

<sup>33</sup> Cirlot, J. E. A DICTIONARY OF SYMBOLS. Philosophical Library. New York: 1962 page 302

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. page 303

indicates a far more consolidated ego than that which motivated some of his past behaviors and pictures - (the role plays, the shield, the skull). He is, at least, sure enough of his own internal strength to be resilient, to allow others to approach even though he still needs at times to withdraw into himself.

In "Arrival on a Strange Planet", (Slide #18) he further explores the concept of internal flexibility. He survives the melting of the ice creatures - analagous to the relaxation of his own defenses (his icy reserve and withdrawal), once again triumphing over destruction.

The stronger sense of self which Mark was expressing in his artwork, together with his emerging ability to be flexible, (both in considering options for himself and in dealing with his interpersonal sphere), was an accomplishment which made further identity-work quite feasible. Mark himself had no illusions about problems he faced in this; one of the largest blocks to his individuation was the family triangle in which he, his father and mother were embroiled. He symbolically depicted this on the eve of his mother's return from Germany by the painting of the ocean storm scene (Slide #19). What began as a calm peaceful scene changed, as Mark worked on it, to a picture of turbulence and fore-

boding, paralleling the process of disorganization in the family, and reflecting Mark's fears that it would soon occur again. Despite the threat, however, positive elements appear - the picture was painted in a naturalistic style indicating Mark's firmer grasp on reality (rather than his previous reliance on fantasy), and the rocks against which the waves churn, stand strong and solid. His determination - and wish - was to "keep his ground" against the onslaught of the family pattern. Only by doing this would he be able to break away from the symbiosis which linked the members together, and which prevented him from accomplishing his developmental identity tasks of separation and removal.

A continuing theme noted in Mark's work had been the seemingly paradoxical combination of strength and flexibility. Again and again he had shown that his internal consolidation was necessary in order to gather the vigor and energy to initiate externally-directed activity. The ability to center activity in reality rather than in fantasy was a crucial skill for Mark to master, in defining an identity role which would ideally encompass attributes such as a sense of effectance and personal power. Mark himself brought these issues to light in his final picture, (Slide #20) which depicted two planets, one a target for

the second planet which is on a path towards self-destruction. A catastrophe is averted when a pair of hands reaches up to catch the second planet, preventing the two from colliding. Through the picture, Mark was communicating the message that he, too, felt strong and capable enough to intervene between some of the opposing forces in his life, thus thwarting disaster. Although the message is couched in a fantasy, and manifests some regressive elements in the slightly grandiose nature of the claim, it exhibits healthy elements too. Mark's willingness to be actively involved contrasts with his earlier withdrawal; he contemplates possible destruction and creates life beyond it; he overrides fears which threaten his survival and acts despite them, he acts alone but not totally outside the sphere of other's interests. In this, the last picture summarizes the progress Mark had made in exploring the many segments which fit together to form part of his complex quest for identity.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Role of the Ego in Identity-Establishment

In Erikson's conceptualization of the adolescent issue of identity establishment, (discussed earlier in this paper) the processes of ego-synthesis are of primary importance. These processes contribute to the consolidation, within the individual, of a workable and integrated character structure. One of the tasks which the ego faces is to attempt an interpretation of the "self". In psychoanalytic ego psychology, the definition of the self appears first in terms of a set of self representations (Hartman 1940); Jacobson 1954) adds the notion that these self representations also become organized into a differentiated, integrated entity;<sup>35</sup> this occurs over time and in a variety of ways. In this paper, I have described some of the ways in which two adolescents used artwork in their attempts to organize various self representations into a coherent sense of their own identities.

The establishment of an internalized sense of self, as distinct from external infringements is, as we have seen, a crucial developmental factor which does determine future development as well. Loevinger incorporates

<sup>35</sup> Prelinger, Ernst and Zimet, Carl N. AN EGO PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CHARACTER ASSESSMENT. Free Press - Macmillan. 1964

Sullivan's idea of a self system (Sullivan 1953) in the proposal of a personality trait which is defined as the capacity to conceptualize the self or to "assume distance" from oneself and one's impulses. In Loevinger's theory, this ability correlates with a high level of ego development.<sup>36</sup> Fenichel's definition of "character" is reminiscent of the tasks often mentioned in connection with identity establishment, namely "....an individual's habitual mode of bringing into harmony the tasks presented by internal demands and by the external world....(this process).....is necessarily a function of the constant, organized and integrating part of the personality which is the ego....."<sup>37</sup> The emphasis here, as it is in Erikson's work, is on the developmental and adaptive aspects of the ego.

All along in this paper, and specifically in the case material, I have been concerned with the questions of when and how, in the course of art therapy, the adolescent ego begins to acquire the qualities by which it manages to adjust to external and internal demands and how

<sup>36</sup> Loevinger, Jane. MEASURING EGO DEVELOPMENT. Jossey-Bass, Publishers Inc. San Francisco, CA: 1976

<sup>37</sup> Prelinger, Ernst and Zimet, Carl N. AN EGO PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CHARACTER ASSESSMENT. Free Press Macmillan 1964

this relates to a sense of personal identity. This consolidation of the ego is necessary before it can attempt to adequately master the many tasks it faces:..."controlling impulses, avoiding danger, warding off anxiety, obtaining pleasure without the aid of regression.....also mobilizing mechanisms of defense."<sup>38</sup>

#### Defenses and the Ego

Defense mechanisms play a dual role in intrapsychic functioning. Appearing in exaggerated form or in certain habitual patterns, they can be dangerously restrictive to healthy adaptation, but basically they are indispensable to the maintenance of emotional health.<sup>39</sup> It follows, then, as Anna Freud pointed out, that the central role which defenses of all types occupy in ego functioning, influences to a large degree...."the style and quality of the functioning of a particular, individual ego."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Kramer, Edith. The Problem of Quality in Art. ART THERAPY: IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. Ulman and Dachinger, eds. Schocken Books.

<sup>39</sup> Freud, Anna. THE EGO AND THE MECHANISMS OF DEFENSE  
New York: International University Press.  
1936

<sup>40</sup> Ibid

Loevinger states this more explicitly in her work which involves the measuring of ego development by the use of projective techniques (primarily a sentence completion format).<sup>41</sup> Loevinger maintains that ego development levels are reflected in the individual's defensive style; the types of defense mechanisms an individual uses are an indication of what particular stage of ego development he has reached. In Loevinger's work, these stages, as defined by overt manifestations of behavior (sentence completion), range from a rather simplistic, shallow self-centeredness and protective concreteness at the lower stages, through a more complex consideration of internal and external elements in determining individuality at the middle stages, to an ability to formulate and objectively consider conceptual abstractions relating to the self, which distinguishes the highest level.

#### EGO TASKS AND IDENTITY ESTABLISHMENT

I have adapted this idea of a continuum of ego development by defining separate stages, each differentiated by a primary ego task (or tasks). The attempts

<sup>41</sup> Loevinger, Jane. MEASURING EGO DEVELOPMENT Jossey-Bass Publishers Inc. San Francisco, CA: 1976



(and non-attempts) at resolution energize the defenses and behaviors of that stage. The continuum appears something like this:

		Identi- fication with the Aggressor	Interna- lization, Ideali- zation	Separation	Individu- ation
Iso- lation	Sym- biosis				

Some of the defenses or behavior characteristic of each stage are as follows:

Iso- lation	Sym- biosis	Identi- fication with the Aggressor	Interna- lization Ideali- zation	Separation	Individu- ation
FANTASY with- drawal, wish-ful- fillment, repression	depend- ency, fantasy, guilt	self-pro- tection, denial, intro- jection	altruism, ego-ideal, security consci- ous, intelectu- alization	self-aw- areness, flexi- bility, contin- uity	able to objectify experience

In the individual case histories, I explored how the artwork of the two teenagers, John and Mark, reflected their individual levels of identity establishment. Primary defenses became apparent in three facets of the artwork, as Rubin suggests:<sup>42</sup> in the conscious and unconscious themes of the work, in the process of creating the work, and in the teenager's associations to the work. These defenses, once identified, aided me in formulating

<sup>42</sup> Rubin, Judith A. CHILD ART THERAPY, Understanding Helping Children Grow Through Art. Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. New York: 1978

a general idea of what degree of ego development had been attained. In turn, the degree of ego development indicated what general level of identity consolidation had been achieved or was in the process of occurring, or even, given past history, what level might be achievable. In addition, the individual level of ego development, as defined by the defenses, pointed out what behaviors and attitudes might come into play as favored methods in the individual adolescent's striving for identity. Intrapsychic defense mechanisms only provide part of the story in determining where to "place" teenagers along an identity continuum. The concept of identity as considered here contains a dual focus - the person concerned with establishing a cohesive identity actually balances both internal and external concerns. So, in determining identity level, more conscious and subjectively "felt" elements, beyond "the silent doings of ego synthesis,"<sup>43</sup> also need to be considered. In artwork, this appears in the process of creation, as well as in the latent content and in the conscious themes, which may even be verbalized, as was shown in the case material. These tie into the defensive structure; John's conscious idolization and wish to emulate a famous soccer player reflects his placement along the identity continuum

<sup>43</sup> Erikson, Erik. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1963

at the mid-stage of over-identification. This correlates with the defensive behavior patterns of denial and introjection which he exhibited, in addition to his need, arising out of fear, for self-protection; all of these themes became apparent in his artwork as well.

#### COPING MECHANISMS AND EGO LEVEL

In an earlier section of this paper, (pp 16) I discussed three factors which contribute to the establishment, within the individual, of a healthy sense of self:

1. Continuity - An internal concept of the self as consistent, remaining the same over a period of time and in a variety of situations;
2. Awareness - of how that self fits into the larger environmental and social context; and
3. Flexibility - in how the individual copes with new situations and is able to see and use them as growth-enhancing opportunities.

These factors have both conscious and unconscious elements. The degree to which an individual is able to perceive himself and his surroundings without undue distortion, and so interact successfully, determines the extent to which he develops a subjective sense of integrity and stability which leads to identity crystallization.

In looking at the behavior and the artwork of both John and Mark, I found that these three factors - continuity, flexibility, and awareness occurred in both cases on a continuum which corresponded directly to both the ego-task continuum and the defensive behavior continuum discussed previously. A chart of all of these elements combined would look like the chart shown on page 120.

"EGO TASKS"	ISOLATION	SYMBIOSIS	IDENTIFICATION WITH THE AGGRESSOR	INTERNALIZATION IDEALIZATION	SEPARATION	INDIVIDUATION
DEFENSE and BEHAVIOR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>fantasy</li> <li>withdrawal</li> <li>wish-fulfillment</li> <li>panic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>dependency</li> <li>fantasy</li> <li>guilt</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>self-protection</li> <li>denial</li> <li>safety</li> <li>introjection</li> <li>bad boy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>altruism</li> <li>ego-ideal</li> <li>security-conscious</li> <li>good boy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>self-awareness</li> <li>flexibility</li> <li>continuity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>able to objectify</li> <li>look at own behavior</li> </ul>
<u>SENSE OF SELF</u>						
CONTINUITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>no continuity</li> <li>must draw inward to avoid disintegration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>rudimentary continuity</li> <li>constant use of others to maintain subjective intactness</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>intermittent continuity .. "If I'm good....etc."</li> <li>dependence on outside reinforcement</li> <li>fear of loss if not compliant</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>self-protection</li> <li>self-exploration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>nascent continuity</li> <li>consolidated enough to risk formulation of own standards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>well-developed continuity</li> <li>inner solidarity</li> <li>coherent sense of self</li> <li>self-reflective</li> </ul>
FLEXIBILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>no flexibility</li> <li>bound in</li> <li>restricted</li> <li>paralyzed</li> <li>frozen</li> <li>reaction formation</li> <li>grandiose fantasies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>little flexibility</li> <li>locked-in</li> <li>survival depends on symbiotic life-support system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>only as allowed by limits of power figure or figures</li> <li>severely limited flexibility</li> <li>magical thinking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>← →</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>reasonable flexibility</li> <li>autonomy</li> <li>pragmatic</li> <li>rational thought</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>much flexibility</li> <li>adaptable</li> <li>wide range of options</li> <li>uses situations as growth-enhancing opportunities</li> </ul>
AWARENESS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>defends heavily against it</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>still buried awareness</li> <li>dim awareness of need-driven interaction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>awareness to only limited reality (followers don't ask "why")</li> <li>preoccupied in absorbing wished-for strength</li> <li>foregoing pain of individuation by safe identifications</li> <li>loss of ego in external expectations</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>awakening to own thoughts and feelings</li> <li>ability to consider alternate points of view</li> <li>inner competence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>reality-based thinking</li> <li>invites self-awareness</li> </ul>

## LOOKING AT THE ARTWORK

On the basis of this chart, it would seem feasible to propose certain pictorial qualities which might appear characteristic of each stage. Certainly such a project is worth future consideration. For this paper, however, within the behavior and artwork of John and Mark, I found all the information I needed to gain a reasonably specific view of their individual identities. The art was examined and discussed in terms of its process, the artistic associations to it, and its themes;<sup>44</sup> this revealed both coping and defense mechanisms. The artwork also indicated, in latent content and conscious and unconscious themes, the "ego tasks" awaiting resolution. Related to this were the amounts of continuity, flexibility and awareness in the personality, which along with the nature and the degree of the coping/defensive mechanisms, determined ego level and indicated the direction identity development could take.

\* \* \*

Mark was, in the beginning of our art sessions, an isolated, angry young man. He felt little or no sense of personal continuity; in fact a good deal of his initial energy in our sessions was spent in pulling himself away.

<sup>44</sup> Rubin, Judith A. CHILD ART THERAPY Understanding and Helping Children Grow Through Art. Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., Inc. 1978

and putting me at arm's length lest he disintegrate on contact. His withdrawal and fear were typified in his first picture, the "coat of arms" (Slide #13). The constriction and withdrawal he displayed in being unable to draw, were typical of his isolated stage. They were also related to his heavy defending against the conscious awareness of his "secret", which if known, could destroy him - the secret being his symbiotic oedipal relationship with his mother. Even while most of Mark's artwork was based in fantasy, he managed, from the beginning, to convey an underlying sense of his own determination to define himself and to individuate. The ship in (Slide #14) predicted a future where autonomous action and the strength to risk a journey could occur. Even his early roleplays - "good boy", "bad boy" and the stereotypic art (Slide #15) were a step out of isolation to the mid-stage of identification/internalization/idealization, where he could assume intermittent continuity, and test less limited flexibility of thought and action than that of the earlier stages. Further indication of his push to growth and self-discovery came in his picture "The Ghostly Holocaust" (Slide #16). In this giant (albeit brief) leap of courage and creativity, he performed a task which Loevinger reserves for the

highest stages of ego individuation: he objectified his own experience. In a symbolic, self-reflective way, he examined his motivations and his fears, and what might result from them. This "future reference" is, again, a characteristic of higher-level ego development:

A continuing theme in Mark's work was his essential aloneness; but this changed over time from a locked-in-isolation to a more mature separation-by-choice from others, which was easily bridged (Slide #17, Kingdom Hall). As Mark's ego strengthened, his need for rigid boundaries lessened. Sometimes he would even drop his defensively-tinged fantasies in favor of a more naturalistic mode of expression (Slide #19). His stylistic choice was especially striking in this case, for the picture's unconscious theme concerned Mark's family, and his place in it, a question which had caused him much internal turmoil. Rather than defend against the awareness, as he might have previously, he sublimated it - in a powerful, effective and artistically successful manner. In doing so, he channelled the richness of his ego's resources into a controlled regression - What Kris (1952) would call a regression in the service of the ego.<sup>45</sup> His ability to relax his former rigidity, to allow some self-awareness,

<sup>45</sup> Prelinger, Ernst and Zimet, Carl N. AN EGO-PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CHARACTER ASSESSMENT. Free Press-Macmillan. 1969



and consider more flexible methods of coping, which appeared first in his art, enhanced his future possibilities for identity establishment as well.

John was in trouble in his life because he too, like Mark, had little flexibility, John, however was fixated at a different stage, where he was locked into a role of overassimilation and extreme internalization of limits. at age 14, he had foreclosed on his options by overidentification with a powerful ego ideal; this placed him somewhere in the middle of the continuum. Unlike Mark, who contracted inward when threatened, John expanded outward in a frantic attempt to find reinforcement from someone, anyone. This behavior is typical of the mid-levels, where the sense of personal continuity is so diffuse it must be periodically shored up by external props, often the figure of the "idealized one" or the aggressor figure.

Activities such as art, which had no strict rules or limits, were confusing to John. Unable to allow himself any flexibility (a behavior typical of this stage) and unskilled in even the rudiments of art, John's early work was pictorially impoverished. However, it was representative of his stage of identity development in its thematic reliance on heroes, the soccer players whom he desired to emulate.

According to Jung, the need for hero symbols arises when the ego needs strengthening;<sup>46</sup> and this accurately describes John's rather tentative grasp on a sense of himself at this stage. Yet even his earliest work contained, just as Marks' early work did, elements which pointed to his internal strengths and possible directions to be utilized in his struggle for identity.

John showed a willingness to interact with others and test his internal reality against external reality. His initial clumsy attempts were marked by exaggerated peer-over-identification, as shown by Slides 2 and 3 - "Shit" and "Stoned Freak" and such behavior reflects his stage of ego development. However, this mid-level is a transitional level; although John was stuck for a long time in defensive self-protective behaviors and artwork, he was also, eventually, to consolidate the ego strengths to pursue self-exploration. In Slide #4 "Hey He Is Crazy", John displayed a flash of wry self-insight in reflecting on how he was seen by others. In doing so he was able to objectively "conceptualize the self";<sup>47</sup> an ability more typical of a higher stage of individuation. His employment of this skill, although temporary,

<sup>46</sup> Jung, Carl G. MAN AND HIS SYMBOLS p. 123 Doubleday/Windfall Books. New York, New York and London

<sup>47</sup> Loevinger, Jane. MEASURING EGO-DEVELOPMENT. Jossey Bass Publishers Inc. San Francisco, CA: 1976

indicated his potential for further successful identity work.

This capacity for self-reflection, which John was able to develop as a member of a small cohesive student therapy group, appeared eventually both in the process and the product of his art. Although he retained his "safe" identification of soccer star, he was also able to look at his own thoughts and feelings, and share them in his art and the group art discussions. His enhanced self-awareness and risk-taking indicated his movement into some areas of the separation stage of ego-task; this appeared in Slide #5 ("How You See Yourself"). His sense of self was no longer totally dependent on external reinforcement of a fantasied ego-ideal; instead John was learning to trust himself and exercise some degree of autonomy. His final self-portrait (Slide #7), of a smiling, well-grounded John, when contrasted with an earlier self-portrait, of a bodiless, whirling John (Slide #6), indicated just how far he had come along the continuum of identity-establishment. His achievement of a more reality-based mode of thought, and an internalized sense of personal continuity made his further progress in identity consolidation likely.

CONCLUSION

As I have shown through the artwork of John and Mark, the adolescent task of beginning to search for an identity involves a complexity of factors. Hansburg lists some of these and states....."the struggle with identity does relate to attachment needs, to individuation capacity, to levels of painful anxiety, to struggles with aggression and hostility, to maintaining sufficient reality contact for ego functioning."<sup>48</sup> Each of these points has appeared in the artwork previously discussed. The perplexing question of "Who Am I?" that Mark and John individually sought to answer involved both internal and external elements; the surrounding "conflictive environmental and relational experiences"<sup>49</sup> as well as their own internal confusion related to role, personal direction, and even thought processes.<sup>50</sup> In choosing to pursue the quest for maturity and identity, and so resist the "regressive pull"<sup>51</sup> (Blos) of infantile attachments, both adolescents showed themselves

<sup>48</sup> Hansburg, Henry G. ADOLESCENT, SEPARATION ANXIETY.  
C. C. Thomas. Springfield, ILL.: 1972

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. page 120.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. page 120.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. page 121.

to be willing to undergo the stresses and rites of passage that such a quest would entail. Each boy was able to eventually use art in a very personalized way, as a means of capturing, recording and sharing thoughts and feelings, and also as a method of creatively expressing unconscious concerns. This later ability to sublimate threatening feelings through their artwork, rather than resorting to more rigid defensive mechanisms,<sup>52</sup> denoted a more advanced level of ego development and identity consolidation.

As an art therapist, I could conceivably have restricted by interests on this topic to "diagnosing" Mark and John and fitting them into categories according to the manifested level of ego-development in their art. In re-reading the case material however, I am struck, every time, with the risks and the fear of loss which each boy was willing to endure in his search for a more mature way of "being", in his willingness to make the growth choice rather than the fear choice.<sup>53</sup> I stand slightly awed at the creativity and expressive power which identified each body of work as reflective of a deeply personal and individual search. In speaking of the psychotherapeutic pilgrimage

52 Kramer, Edith. ART AS THERAPY WITH CHILDREN.  
Schocken Books. New York: 1974 p 157

53 Bugenthal, James F. T. SELF ACTUALIZATION AND BEYOND-  
CHALLENGES IN HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY. McGraw-Hill  
1967

Kopp said: "Today, each man must work at telling his own story if he is to be able to reclaim his personal identity."<sup>54</sup> Often, with Mark and John, there were no words that could be used in the telling - and then their artwork spoke eloquently for them. "The telling is not all," Kopp continues ".....one must have the chance to tell it, but there must be someone there to listen."<sup>55</sup>

I was honored to be interpretor, guide, and perhaps most importantly, listener to the stories of Mark and John on their journeys to identity.

<sup>54</sup> Kopp, Sheldon. IF YOU MEET THE BUDDHA ON THE ROAD, KILL HIM! The Pilgrimage of Psychotherapy  
Patients Science and Behavior Books/Bantam Books,  
Inc. 1976

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. page 35

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