Assessing bullying behaviour
of school students through
the use of art.

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There is a growing awareness of adolescent aggression within our Australian schools. Regularly there are reports in the media of violence, perpetrated by our youth. The increase in research in aggression over the past twenty years along with the recent increased media attention has also brought about a greater awareness of other forms of aggressive acts, such as bullying. No longer do Australians see bullying behaviour as 'something that is part of growing up'.

In Australia extensive surveys have found that one child in every six is bullied weekly or more often (Rigby, 1998, 1996; Rigby & Slee, 1993b). Compared to world standards this is quite high. Extensive studies in England, Europe particularly Norway and Scandinavia reveal
between 5% and 18% of the children surveyed maybe victimised by their peers (Olweus, 1997; Branwhite, 1994; Smith, 1991; Besag, 1989 in Slee 1994)

As an identifiable sub-type of aggressive behaviour research indicates that there is considerable concern for the ongoing life long problems that are associated with bullying behaviour. Bullying causes a great deal of distress, victims suffer from anxiety, low esteem (Rigby & Slee, 1993a; Neary & Joseph, 1994), unhappiness and dissatisfaction with school (Slee 1994), and may also be associated with depression (Besag 1989 in Slee 1994). Bullies have a downward spiraling course of life, their negative behaviour often starts early in life, and they can become antisocial adults. They are more likely to be associated with crime, marital violence, child abuse, sexual harassment, and produce another generation of bullies. (Marano, 1995; Haemaelaeinen & Pulkkinen, 1995 in Parada & Hong, 1999).

Early assessment and intervention into the bullying cycle may prevent the development of antisocial behaviours in individual students who are bullies and reduce the long-term emotional disturbances associated with being victimised (Parada and Hong, 1999).

Traditionally, studies investigating bullying behaviour have focused on the use of pen and paper tests. This author proposes an alternative strategy; an art based activity to identify bullying and victim behaviours amongst adolescents in the school years. Art as a non-language dependent means of communication opens up an alternative to the traditional assessment instruments, which aim to identify overt bullying behaviour after the event.

How are bullies different from other aggressive students?

Bullying is differentiated from aggressive behaviour as it involves the misuse of power. The negative behaviour aimed at achieving control in order to boost the self-esteem is the misuse of power. The bully is more powerful, physically and/or psychologically than his/her victim. The behaviour is repetitive. A one off fight with someone of equal strength and size is not bullying.

Research indicates that bullies can be as popular as other students (Rigby & Slee, 1993a; Olweus, 1978 in Hoover & Hazler, 1991). This is contrary to the findings regarding chronically aggressive children who tend to be less popular with their peers (Foster, deLawyer, & Guevremont, 1986; Kaufmann, 1985 both in Hoover & Hazler, 1991). It is possible that bullies do not receive as much condemnation for their behaviour as do other aggressive children because they do not pick on everyone indiscriminately (Hoover & Hazler, 1991).

Bullying behaviour is the conscious illegitimate use of power by an individual or group to hurt someone physically or psychologically. Bullying behaviour is long term direct or indirect aggression where there is an asymmetric power relationship (Olweus, 1997; Rigby & Slee 1993a; Olweus 1993; Johnstone et. al 1992; Hoover & Hazler, 1991; Smith, 1991).

Why do children bully?

Considered from a holistic framework both sociological and psychological factors contribute to the incidence of bullying. There is no one factor that stands alone. The bully is part of a system, a member of a family, peer friendship group, a school and the wider community, he/she will interrelate with all of these parts. The bully like all individuals has basic needs and requires a sense of order and control of his/her environment in order to develop a sense of self. Many incidents of bullying take place in the context of life changes, which may occur on several levels simultaneously, involving powerful interactive effects between biological,
cognitive, emotional, motivational, social, educational, and organisational variables (Branwhite, 1994; Smith, 1991).

The environment were most of adolescent bullying occurs is in our schools. Adolescents are placed together in large groups of the same age and sex. Along with the physical, psychological and social changes the adolescent goes through, the school environment is ripe for bullying behaviour. The preferred location for bullying is the schoolyard, corridors, the bus trip to and from school, and the toilets, but rarely the classroom. (Rigby, 1996). The first year in high school is particularly notable, as young people have just moved from the intimate classroom structure of the primary school to the large and diverse structure of the high school. Adolescents are now in an environment with much larger numbers and will need to re-establish their social status within the group.

Instead of gaining self-respect and social status by competence and skills, the bully seems to have learnt to boost these by harassing a suitable victim. (Bjorkqvist, 1994). The negative behaviour can be viewed as coming from ineffectual interactions. The bully consistently makes biased judgements through his/her lens of the world, which is not consistent with the general view. The bully has constructed a reality, which is based on cognitive errors in certain situations. For example bullies often misinterpret the behaviour of others and rationalise that somehow the victim ‘deserves’ the bullying treatment (Johnstone et al, 1992).

**Bullying Styles**

Bullying styles are generally considered to fall under two categories, direct and indirect. Direct physical bullying is to, hit, shove, kick, trip, push, and pull. Direct verbal bullying can involve name-calling, insults, threatening to hurt the other. Indirect bullying, also known as social or relational aggression (Crick 1997) involves attacking the relationships of people and hurting the self-esteem. It is subtler and involves behaviours such as spreading nasty rumors, withholding friendships, ignoring, gossiping, or excluding a child from a small group of friends.

There is no doubt that stereotypically, males are more physical and direct in their bullying styles and females more manipulative and indirect (Olweus, 1997; Bjorkqvist, 1994; Crick & Grotputer, 1995; Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist & Peltonen, 1988). Boys in our Western culture are encouraged to be tough and competitive and as they maturate slower and develop social intelligence at a slower rate they will use physical aggression longer than girls (Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, & Peltonen, 1988; Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kauliainen, 1992). However there is no reason to believe that females should be less hostile and less prone to get into conflicts than males (Burbank, 1987, in Bjorkqvist 1994; Crick & Grotpter, 1995). As females are physically weaker, they develop early in life other bullying styles in order to achieve their goals. Indirect aggression in girls increases drastically at about the age of eleven years (Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992) whereas physical aggression among boys decreases during late adolescence, to be replaced mainly by verbal, but also indirect aggression (Bjorkqvist 1994).

There is a growing body of research in gender differences of bullying and other adolescent aggressive behaviours. There are hundreds of studies dedicated to the topic, many placing the emphasis on boys or the forms of aggression, more salient to boys. Forms of aggression more salient to girls has received comparatively little attention (Crick, 1997; Crick & Grotpter, 1995).
Assessment procedures reviewed.

Traditionally studies investigating bullying behaviour have focused on the use of pen and paper tests, the peer relations questionnaire (Branwaite, 1994; Rigby, 1997; Olweus, 1989 in Smith, 1991) and the peer nomination inventory (Finnegan, Hodges & Perry, 1996; Perry, Kusel & Perry, 1988 both in Egan et al. 1998; Bjorkqvist and Osterman, 1995).

Peer relation / frequency style Questionnaire

The peer relations / frequency style questionnaire has been used extensively by researchers world wide, for example, Rigby, (1997); Rigby & Slee (1991); in Australia; Branwaite (1994); Smith, (1991) in England and Olweus, (1989 in Smith, 1991) in Norway. It is empirical, reliability is high, it is easy to give and takes relatively a short period of time. This style of questionnaire gives a wealth of knowledge about the frequency of bullying behaviour, type of bullying, when, and where bullying happens. Questioning may also illuminate how students view bullying of others and how they feel when they are bullied. The questionnaire is self-reporting, is literacy based and when completed anonymously it is unable to identify bullies and/or victims.

Peer Nomination Questionnaire

The peer nomination questionnaire continues to be a popular method for data collection by researchers (Egan et al. 1998; Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Bjorkqvist & Osterman, 1995; Lagerspetz et al. 1988) however it's very nature is fraught with problems.

This questionnaire asks students to focus on other students in the class and comment on their behaviour. Each child is assessed by all of his/her classmates, answering questions about direct and indirect bullying along with possibly conflict resolution and intervention skills. To reduce the number that students need to comment on, girls can rate only girls and boys only boys as researchers have found that aggressive behaviour is more often directed towards the individuals of the same sex (Lagerspetz and Bjorkqvist, 1992 in Bjorkqvist and Niemela, 1992; Burbank 1987 in Bjorkqvist , 1994). The student is included within the list and therefore self-reports his/her own behaviour.

As with the peer relations survey the peer nomination provides examples of behaviour either, within a definition above a likert scale (never, seldom, sometimes, quite often, very often) or as a list of behaviour choices to tick off (hits, kicks, trips, shoves, pushes). Again limiting the concrete thinking child to the provided list. This style of questioning reduces the literacy demands placed upon the student.
Limitations

This type of questionnaire is rarely completed anonymously as it aims to identify the bullies and victims within a class group based on students’ own observations and self disclosures, creating a number of limitations for the survey.

- Fear of retaliation from the bully whether real or imagined. The potential implication for retaliation from the bully may cause reluctance by a student to identify the bully.

- The test instrument itself may be used as a form of indirect bullying particularly by older adolescents due to their well developed social skills.

- The Australian attitude of ‘don't dob in a mate’ prevails within the adolescent sub culture thus reducing the possibility that older teens will disclose those that bully.

- Research has consistently found reluctance by both boys and girls to self disclose indirect bullying behaviour. (Archer & Parker, 1994; Bjorkqvist, 1994; Siann et al. 1994; Lagerapetz, et al. 1988)

- Research has consistently found reluctance by girls to self disclose direct bullying (Kupersmidt & Patterson 1992 in Tomada & Schneider 1997; Neary & Joseph; 1993).

The Peer Nomination completed by teachers can be useful as:

- They are more confidential.
- The single rater compares the behavior of each child with the typical behaviour of the group.

- Teacher ratings of aggression typically predict peer and observational data better than do self-reports by students. (Ledingham & Younger, 1985 in Tomada & Schneider 1997; Crick, 1996 in Tomada & Schneider 1997).

However teachers ratings can be affected, as certain behaviours are more problematic for teachers (impulsiveness, classroom disruptions) and more likely to affect their ratings of boys behaviour than for girls (Hudley et al. 2001)

The increased research in the various aggressive styles, direct and indirect, and the greater awareness of covert aggressive forms of behaviour has revealed the limitations of the pen and paper questionnaire as the preferred instrument for assessing indirect aggression. A move towards more qualitative research such as interviews (Owens et al. 2000), naturalistic observations of bullying in the classroom with video cameras and remote microphones has emerged (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Pepler & Craig, 1995 in Atlas & Pepler, 1998).

Interviews, observations and remote microphones

Interviews have the advantage of being one on one or in small groups and when a student is willing to speak, they can give valuable insight (Ahmad & Smith, 1990). They also rely on verbal articulation rather than literacy skills.

Naturalistic observations of student behaviours in the classroom although time consuming, can lead to rich information. They also provide an opportunity for the student to view his/her own behaviour and explain his/her own understanding of the incident recorded.
Observations and recording of student conversations in the classroom have limitations as students readily identify the preferred location of bullying to be areas away from adult supervision, rather than in the classroom. (Rigby, 1996). Further more observations yield more overt bullying behaviour rather than covert. (Atlas & Pepler, 1998), thus limiting their use to identify indirect bullying.

Research has revealed the reluctance of adolescents to disclose direct and in particular indirect bullying behaviour. The written surveys although still very popular have their limitations and a growing need to identify bullies and their victims is emerging with academics and teachers alike becoming more aware of the social implications for our young people.

The modernist concept of knowledge based on scientific supported research is still prevalent within our society. Empirical quantitative research has limited the exploration of aggression. The observable behaviours of aggressive boys, is easily identified, assessed, and reported. The challenge for researchers is to continue to move away from the scientific, quantitative to the more qualitative research in order to evaluate the extent of indirect behaviours by not only women but also men.

This researcher would like to propose a method of assessing adolescents through the use or art. Art as a non-verbal, non-threatening means of gathering information is constructive and acceptable. Indirect bullying behaviour by its very nature is used in order to cover one’s harmful intentions from the target person. It is proposed that an adolescent with aggressive tendencies will sub-consciously expose him/herself through the drawing he/she produces.

**The art process.**

Image making has always been incorporated in the human condition, the cave paintings of Altamira, Spain and in Lascaux, France along with the art of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands will attest to this. Before humans developed the use of phonetic language they used pictorial symbols to give permanence to their expression of communication. Visual imagery continues to be one of the most predominant methods of communication in the modern world.

The traditional understanding of art is a product produced by an artist such as a painter, drawer, sculptor, or graphic artist. The artwork reflects his/her world by communicating the artists’ ideas and feelings. Artists tend to make works for an audience, be it for the elite public, educated in art or the consumable general public. Both the artist and the audience are involved in the process of the product, each of course relating to the work from different life contexts.

Art is about creating order out of chaos it involves the creation and control of qualities. For example the artist when producing a painting has to integrate the work to create order and unity of the, colour, line, shape and composition along with his/her own personality (Dewey, 1934). The artist creates order both intrinsically and with knowledge. Those untrained in art make similar decisions everyday for example, the selection and organisation of qualities in the furnishings in one's home, the clothes we wear, meals we eat, how we chose to relate to people are all examples of controlling our environment (Eisner, 1972).
Is the art making process, conscious or sub-conscious?

PRODUCT PROCESS

ARTIST VIEWER ARTIST VIEWER

Con Sub-con Con Sub-con Con Sub-con Con Sub-con

The process of making art has consistently been explained through models that look at art from a range of cognitive perspectives. The models such as those by Lowenfeld, Arnheim and Eisner, recognise that in the process of making art there is a way of knowing (conscious) and therefore can be taught and an intuitive, subjective (sub-conscious) part to the process.

Lowenfeld suggests that children's perceptual traits are genetically determined orientating themselves to the world in two ways, visual or haptic. The visual person has the ability to see the whole initially without the awareness of detail and will tend to be representational in character. Highly affective and kinesthetic, the haptic person interacts with the world as a participant, rather than a spectator. Hence his/her artworks are not literal but emotionally exaggerated (Lowenfeld in Eisner 1972).

Arnheim discusses two forms of cognition, intuitive and the intellectual. Intuitive cognition takes place in a perceptual field of freely interacting forces. For example, by scanning a painting the observer perceives the various components of the picture, the shapes, colour, line, tone etc and the relationship between them. These components exert their perceptual effects upon each other in such a way that the observer receives the total image. This is a highly complex field process, where little reaches the consciousness, until the final outcome (Arnheim, 1969:234). Intellectual cognition involves identifying the various components and relationships and analysing each component of the work in linear succession, rather than absorbing the total image intuitively (Arnheim, 1969:234).

Eisner in a recent paper discussed five cognitive functions of art, recognising both the conscious and sub-conscious aspects of the process.

1. The arts help us learn to notice the world.
2. To engage our imagination to explore new possibilities.
3. Develop a disposition to tolerate ambiguity to explore what is uncertain, to exercise judgement free from perspective rules and procedures. In the arts the locus of evaluation is internal and the subjective side of ourselves has an opportunity to be utilised. It enables us to direct our attention inwards what we believe or feel.
4. In the process of creation we stabilise the idea and image. The works we create speak back to us and we become in their presence a part of a conversation that enables us to see what we have said.
5. Means of exploring our own interior landscape we discover what it is that we are capable of experiencing, in the sense, the arts help us follow the contours of our emotional selves (Eisner, 2001).

Eisner re- emphasised the intuitive, the internal, and subjective side of art which continues a history of acknowledging the psychological component of the art making process.
Let's consider a recent art-making project based on self portraits (Figures 1 and 2) completed by year seven students. Students were all given similar instructions, tuition on the techniques, and support for the learning experiences, however the final results are not identical. They each possess qualities that are unique to the individual. The educational aspects of the art making process are not the focus of this research rather, the unplanned, intrinsic, and subjective qualities expressed in an artwork. The aspect of the work that is, a reflection of the self.

Use of Art in Psychology

The use of Art in psychology developed from the belief that language is not the only means of communicating. Life is full of non-verbal gestures and artifacts. It has its roots in psychoanalytical theory and has been consistently linked to the Freudian concept of dream analysis. The fundamental notion that the sub conscious is allowed to come forward in the art making process has been applied to not only psychoanalysis, but also cognitive approaches to psychology.

Figure 1 Figure 2

Art is used to by pass the defense mechanisms we typically use. It has been said that Art is an idea in disguise. The artist makes conscious decisions in what he/she wishes to depict and thus the artwork belongs to the conscious as well as the unconscious worlds, representing a kind of dialogue between the two. In the artwork evidence of the Self can be
found. The *self* is half way between the conscious and unconscious. As the production of art can never be said to not involve the subconscious. Therefore it would be impossible to produce an artwork that does not show something of the self (Robinson, 1984 in Dalley, 1984).

**Why an art tool for adolescents?**

Adolescence is a time of great change, physical, psychological, and sociological. They test the boundaries, increasing tension within the family, school and with their friends. It is a time where young people begin to establish independence and moving psychologically away from their parents. Adolescents are typically self absorbed and isolated. The adolescent’s need to express and communicate his or her internal world is great, but most have a genuine difficulty adequately verbally articulating what they think and feel. (Emunah, 1990)

Researchers have found that during adolescence the young person experiences a heightened period of creativity which is believed to come about due to the chaos and emotionality experienced, combined with the fact that aesthetic sensibility, as one type of conceptual thinking, develops at this time. There is a decline of this unusual artistic activity at the close of adolescence, which indicates that it is indeed a function of the adolescent process (Blos, 1962; Speigal, 1958; both in Emunah, 1990; Linesch, 1988).  

Art as a non-threatening means of communication, (Geller et. al. 1986, Tibbits & Stone, 1990, Emunah 1990, Stanley, 1993) can provide the adolescent with a form of expression that can match the intensity, and complexity of the adolescent's experience. As Barker (1990) notes adolescents do not always wish to paint or draw but are often surprisingly ready to do so (in Olive and Miller, 1991).

Students who attend the New South Wales school system are screened and can be expected to have reached levels of cognition relevant for their respective age groups. Burns (1987:177) found that "*anyone without severe motor skills and the mental age of four could make a significant (Kinetic) drawing*". Therefore the majority of students of school age should be able to complete a drawing of a person without difficulty.  

**Why the 'Draw A Person' as a diagnostic tool?**

Extensive research and theory has been offered in support of using drawings for assessment, more than for any other material used by the creative specialist (Oster & Gould, 1987). Because they are non-threatening, brief, it allows for ease of administration and a structured approach to the assessment.

Originally developed as an intelligence test by Goodenough (1926 in Oster & Gould, 1987) the 'Draw A Man' test was further developed by Harris in1963. It has proved to be a good screening method where a quick estimate of intellectual ability is needed within an evaluation of a school age child. However the estimated Intellectual Quota derived from the drawings is usually lower than the scores from more comprehensive tests (e.g. Stanford-Binet Test) of intelligence (Palmer, 1970 in Oster & Gould, 1987). Therefore the test should not be used in isolation, but only as an indicator of cognitive development.

The 'Draw A Person' test (D.A.P) was devised by Karen Machover (1952 in Oster & Gould, 1987) from her previous experiences with the Goodenough test. Many personal characteristics derived from the drawings of human figures were believed to reflect the person's self-concept. In keeping with Gestalt theory, the image could be interpreted as an
image of the self or another person the subject knows. The image is seen as a safe halfway image. It is not the same as the person yet carries some of the characteristics of the person.

**Why not something more elaborate?**

A number of other drawing tests evolved from the Draw A Person test. For example the Kinetic Family Drawings, (Burns & Kaufman, 1972); Kinetic House, Tree, Person, (Burns, 1987); and the Mother and Child Drawings, (Gillespie, 1994). In an attempt to identify bullying behaviour, is it more reliable to ask students to draw a school situation?

**Figure 3**

The image presented as an example (Figure 3) is a school bullying scene. The audience is unable to determine which of the figures is the artist (student doing the drawing), or alternatively whether it is a scene witnessed in the yard. The image is pictorial in nature and would benefit from an explanation by the child to gain full insight into the image.

Researchers found that drawings of family groups involve the conscious attempt to present an external reality reducing the quality and quantitative value of the figure, when compared to a D.A.P. (Gillespie, 1994; Di Leo 1983). A drawing of a school scene involves the same conscious attempt to present an external reality and could be embedded with emotion.

To reduce the variables and increase reliability of the drawing diagnostic tool, each student is given a 3B pencil and a vertical, A4 piece of paper. The 3B pencil is soft enough for students to control, achieving with little difficulty light to dark lines and tones. The piece of paper may be used at any angle the student chooses. Students are instructed "To draw a whole person, try to draw a whole person not a cartoon or stick person." There is no time limit; students generally complete the drawing within thirty to fifty minutes. Furthermore the medium of pencil eliminates colour, as colour can be highly subjective in meaning and there is little evidence to support the interpretative potential of colour.

**Aggression in art**

The drawing of a person provides the researcher with a quick estimate of the child's intellectual ability along with an analysis of the characteristics, an insight into the child's
image of him/her self. When involved in art making the individual becomes absorbed into the work and will subconsciously project aspects of the self onto the image.

Extensive research in the analysis of children’s drawings has revealed a large number of symbols related to aggressive behaviour. The overview completed is of accepted metaphorical interpretations for various aggressive symbols found in adolescent drawings, and has taken on the common meanings as illustrated in the table attached.

(Refer to pages 12 and 13 for table)

**Future direction**

Before this drawing instrument can be valid as a tool for assessing aggression there is a need to establish that the drawings actually assess the construct of aggression. A reliable psychological instrument the Novaco Anger scale will be used to establish correlation between the drawings assessed as aggressive with those students who are positive on the scale. This tool is well tried by the field and is considered to be a reliable and valid measurement of different forms of aggression.

Teacher ratings of the students will be conducted to establish further correlation between the drawings and Novaco test.

**Research Questions**

Is there a correlation between the pen and paper test and the Drawing Diagnostic Tool?

Does the Drawing Diagnostic Tool identify examples of both internal and external aggression not evident in normal pen and paper tests?

Does the Drawing Diagnostic Tool identify examples of aggressive students, not otherwise recognised by pen and paper tests or teacher rated tests?

Does the Drawing Diagnostic Tool identify aggression in girls not picked up in pen and pencil tests?

Can the Drawing Diagnostic Tool be used as a free standing assessment indicator of aggression in young adolescents?

**Characteristics of aggression in art.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line characteristic Emphasis on</th>
<th>Suggests rigid or aggressive tendencies. (Jolles, 1964, in Burns 1987)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rigid and Straight emphasis.</td>
<td>Suggests masculine assertiveness, determination, and possible hyperactivity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vertical movement emphasis.</td>
<td>Aggressive tendencies (Hammer, 1969; Manchover, 1949 both in Burns, 1987)</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Expansive grandiose tendencies (Manchover, 1949 in Burns, 1987; Gillespie, 1994; Oster &amp; Gould, 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Insecurity and rigidity. (Jolles, 1964; Machover, 1949 both in Burns, 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Feelings of insecurity, inadequacy (Jolles, 1964 in Burns 1987; Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead centre</td>
<td>Perhaps aggressive acting out tendencies (DiLeo, 1973; Machover, 1947 in Burns 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low on page, on edge or bottom page</td>
<td>Anger directed inward (Di Leo 1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aggressive tendencies (Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972; Machover, 1949 in Burns, 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aggressiveness, very angry (Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972; Machover, 1949 in Burns, 1987; Linesch, 1988; Oster &amp; Gould, 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Strong aggressive impulses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of drawing relative to the page.</td>
<td>Considerable tension. (Machover, 1949 in Burns, 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusually large</td>
<td>Holding in anger (Linesch, 1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Possible aggressive, dominate tendencies (Jolles, 1964; Manchover, 1949; both in Burns, 1987).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Facial features - General over emphasis and strong reinforcement

Eyes - Dark, menacing and piercing eyes.

Unusually large eyes.

Nose - Tiny or absent

Nostrils indicated and emphasised.

Mouth - Teeth showing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual Characteristics</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neck short and thick</td>
<td>Tendencies to be gruff, stubborn, &quot;bull-headed&quot; (Manchover, 1949 in Burns, 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Power striving, usually of a physical nature (Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972; Jolles, 1964; Machover, 1949 both in Burns, 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms - Reinforced, emphasis on muscles,</td>
<td>Perceived need of strength (Oster &amp; Gould, 1987). Linked with aggressive assaultive tendencies (Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972; Jolles, 1964; Machover, 1949 both in Burns, 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad shoulders.</td>
<td>Hostile or suspicious (Oster &amp; Gould, 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wanting to control anger, interpersonal reluctance. (Oster &amp; Gould, 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folded arms over chest</td>
<td>Suggest aggressiveness (Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972; Oster &amp; Gould, 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low frustration tolerance and impulsive. Very rare and thus deserves special attention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Clenched fist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Fingers: Long and spike like, talon like, dark, straight lines.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure in general:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor integration of parts in the figure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wide stance and hands on hips</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shading of specific body parts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eg. arms</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Drawing pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusually heavy pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stick figures.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dangerous objects within the drawing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DiLeo, 1983; Oster &amp; Gould, 1987).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive, defiance, and/or insecurity, (Jolles, 1964; Machover, 1949; both in Burns, 1987).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive impulses (Linesch, 1988; Oster &amp; Gould, 1987). Feelings of anxiety (DiLeo 1983)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive and possible acting out tendencies. (Petersen, 1977 in Burns 1987)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defensive and resistance to the test setting (Burns &amp; Kaufman, 1972; Reyolds, 1978 in Burns, 1987).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When directed at the person indicates anger and when indirectly focused at a person indicates passive aggressive anger. (Burns, 1982 in Burns, 1987; Burns and Kaufman, 1972).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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