

VALUES REFLECTED IN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

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All first-form children in one intermediate school made drawings of a man, according to Dennis' directions, and also a picture of "yourself and someone else, doing anything you like". Both tasks elicited meaningful responses from boys, the latter task from girls. Sex and ethnic differences were significant in smiling, a category indicating extent of evaluation of happiness as a goal.

Categories showing group differences included: diversification of role, hostility, masculine emphasis, humour, competition, co-operation, joint activity, sports, choice of companion. Maori boys showed more talent in drawing than did the other boys and girls.

When children are asked to draw a picture of a man, they most often produce drawings which represent their values and values of the social groups to which they belong. This thesis is proposed by Dennis (1966), who has analysed thousands of drawings by twelve-year-olds in various parts of the world. Using samples of 100 boys, Dennis interprets the content as reflecting group values. He has found that children usually draw the type of man whom they admire and who is held in esteem by their society. That is, drawings reflect positive social values. Drawings of a man can also be used for estimating intelligence and for individual projective personality tests, but Dennis has used them chiefly for exploring group values. This is not to say that the drawings of a man will give an exhaustive set of group values, but only that it will indicate some of them. Dennis has found that various racial, ethnic and other groups differ in incidence of smiling, traditional versus modern dress, emphasis on masculinity, diversity of social roles, and religious themes (Dennis and Uras 1965).

Degree of hostility has also been estimated through analysis of children's drawings by Dennis and Gardiner (1968) and by Gardiner (1969). The assumption underlying these studies is not that hostile behaviour is esteemed by the group represented, but that children express in drawings the hostility they feel. That is, the test is used as a projective test, when indicators of hostility are counted.

As part of a larger study of eleven and twelve-year-olds, we used the drawing of a man in order to identify some New Zealand values. As naive newcomers, the two of us who planned the study did not intend to look for Maori-Pakeha differences. We could not, however, ignore what became obvious. The Maori boys were better artists than the others. Their pictures were strong, vivid and compelling. The content analysis was different, too. Since we have an insufficient number of Maori cases for adequate comparisons according to Dennis' specifications, our conclusions can apply to only this group and will be merely suggestive as to Maori children in general.

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Most of the studies that Dennis reports were done on boys. We studied girls as well as boys, but our conclusions about girls will necessarily be drawn without benefit of the comparisons which Dennis and Gardiner offer for the boys' data. We do, however, have boys' and girls' groups to contrast with each other.

Dennis gives evidence to show that in drawing a man, a child shows what he believes a man *should* be. Since the main focus of our larger study was on co-operative behaviour, we were interested also in what a child believed *he* should be and do in relation to another person. We gave a second task after the draw-a-man in order to elicit indications of personal values in regard to social relationships. We plan eventually to relate these data to other measures of child behaviour. In the meantime, we report them as comparisons between boys and girls and between Pakeha and Maori.

Subjects

Drawings were obtained from children in all the First Form classrooms of an intermediate school in a small city in the North Island. All Maori drawings were used, there being only 25 boys and 22 girls. (Teachers indicated to the examiner the children who considered themselves to be Maori.) Since one Maori girl drew the man only, the N for the dyad is 21. The Pakeha (non-Maori) drawings were selected by arranging the classrooms in order of number and selecting the first 100 boys and 100 girls. Since all classrooms were selected randomly, this method was assumed to yield a random selection of all First Formers.

Procedure

We followed Dennis' (1966) procedures for the drawing of the man, giving out quarto-size paper and saying, "I want each of you to draw a picture of a man. You may draw any kind of man you wish, but draw a whole man, not just the head and shoulders."

When the man was finished, we said, "Now turn your paper over and draw a picture of yourself and somebody else. It can be anyone at all, a friend, a teacher, a brother or sister, mother or father, anyone you wish. Draw yourself and this person, doing something, anything you like."

Two of us scored all the drawings separately and then discussed discrepancies until we came to an agreement. It was easy to reach consensus. Discrepancies were usually the result of one of us failing to see an item which was readily observed when pointed out.

The man was scored for presence of items indicating categories defined by Dennis: smiling, emphasis on masculinity, diversity of social roles, ridicule and humour, and hostility. We explored additional categories including games and sports, fantasy, smoking, achievement and work. Diversity of social roles, indicated by clothing and/or equipment particularly suited to a certain mode of life was scored in two ways, with and without hippies. Hippies were identified by long hair, beards, absence of tie and collar and at least one of the following: very dishevelled clothing, dark glasses, peace symbol.

The dyad was scored as to age (adult or child only), sex and role of the other person pictured, in terms of the categories used for the man, and also for competition, co-operation, joint activity (parallel), games and sports.

The number of the boys' and girls' drawings showing each of the content categories was expressed as a percentage of the group; in the Pakeha children, the percentage is the same as the frequency. None of the percentages under five were included in the subsequent calculations. The standard errors of the percentages and of the differences between them were obtained by the usual formulas. Each difference was divided by the appropriate standard error in order to obtain a value of *t*. A two-tailed test of significance was used, since no prediction was made as to the direction of the differences.

Results

Table 1 shows percentages and significant differences for the various categories for the drawing of the man. Significant differences occurred between Pakeha and Maori boys in five categories: Pakeha scored higher on smiling; Maori on masculine emphasis, diversity of social roles, hippies and hostility. There were no significant differences between Pakeha and Maori girls.

Among significant sex differences, Pakeha boys exceeded girls in diversity of social roles and ridicule-humour. Maori boys scored higher than girls in diversity of social roles, masculine emphasis and ridicule-humour, while girls exceeded boys in smiling.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGES OF CONTENTS OF DRAWINGS BY 11 AND 12 YEAR-OLD
NEW ZEALAND BOYS AND GIRLS

Content Drawing of Man	PAKEHA		MAORI	
	Boys <i>n</i> = 100	Girls <i>n</i> = 100	Boys <i>n</i> = 25	Girls <i>n</i> = 22
Diversified	7 — .01	19 — .05	40 — .05	13
Hippy	6	8 — .01	24	9
Total	13 — .01	27 — .01	64 — .01	22
Hostility	0	9 — .01	32	4
Masc. emphasis	4	17 — .01	44	0
Ridicule humor	8 — .01	17	12	9
Smiling	59	51 — .01	16 — .01	45

Table 2 shows percentages and significant differences for the various categories for drawings of the dyad. Only one cross-culture difference appears in this table: the Pakeha girls show more smiling figures than do Maori girls. Another cross-culture difference appears however, when all Pakeha children are compared with all Maori in number of representations of siblings. Maori scored higher, at the 1 percent level of significance.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGES OF CONTENTS OF DRAWINGS BY 11 AND 12-YEAR-OLD
NEW ZEALAND BOYS AND GIRLS

Content Drawing of Dyad	PAKEHA		MAORI	
	Boys n = 100	Girls n = 100	Boys n = 25	Girls n = 21
Competition	24	.01	7	4
Cooperation	31		32	48
Joint activity	30		40	.05
Smiling	40	.05	56	.01
Games	53	.05	40	28
Same-sex peer	54	.01	71	40
Cross-sex peer	13		12	48
Same-sex sib	8		3	12
Cross-sex sib	5		4	20
Parent	4		2	0
Teacher	10		5	0
Unident. adult	6		1	16
Peer	80	.05	90	4
Adult	20	.05	10	80
Family	17	.05	9	20
Non-family	83	.05	91	20
				76
				80

Sex differences among Pakeha were: boys exceeded girls in competition, games and sports; girls drew more pictures of smiles, of same-sex peers, of peers as compared with adults, and of non-family as compared with relatives. Maori boys showed more co-operative activity than Maori girls, and girls more joint activity than boys. Categories which yielded no significant differences were: achievement, ridicule-humour, hostility, physical punishment, masculine and feminine emphasis, smoking, parent, teacher and other adult. The frequencies in all of these categories were too small to support significant differences. It is interesting, however, to note that hostility scores were earned by 16 Pakeha boys, one Maori boy, one Maori girl and one Pakeha girl. There was a tendency for boys to draw the teacher more readily than did girls; 14 boys and five girls did so.

Discussion

Frequency of smiling in the drawing of a man, the measure showing the greatest range among Dennis' samples, also differentiates strongly between Pakeha and Maori boys. The former show 51 per cent of man smiling, the latter only 16 percent. Among world-wide samples, the Pakeha sample ranks between two Brooklyn, N.Y. groups, just below white Christians and above Jews. Old Americans (people whose ancestors have been in the United States for several generations) show as many as 75 percent smiling. Dennis believes that the frequency of smiling corresponds to the degree to which happiness is a cultural value. Recently-arrived European immigrants hold hedonistic goals much less than do Old Americans. As one moves away from American and European culture, happiness becomes less important as a goal to pursue. Maori boys ranked just ahead of Navaho Indians and below a Heidelberg group, and samples from Mexico, Cambodia, Japan and Taiwan. American Negro groups from Brooklyn ranked above Maori, and a Mississippi Negro group below. Present findings strongly suggest, then, that happiness, or at least the appearance of happiness, is a more salient value to Pakeha than to Maori. In their evaluation of happiness, Pakeha resemble their ethnic relatives in the northern hemisphere.

Although Pakeha girls showed a greater proportion of smiling than did Maori girls, the difference is not significant. Since Dennis gives no results for girls, we can discuss only our own results. Pakeha boys and girls drew about the same number of smiles, but Maori boys and girls differed widely. The results suggest that Maori girls see happiness as a cultural value to about the same extent that Pakeha boys and girls do, whereas Maori boys place little emphasis on happiness as the goal that men should be pursuing.

Maori boys emphasised masculine features significantly more than did Pakeha boys, 44 percent versus 17 percent. Our results may not be comparable with Dennis', because his criteria for masculine emphasis were: facial hair, pipes or cigars, shoulder emphasis, masculine costume and canes or weapons. We used all criteria except facial hair, as facial hair has become so much more common since Dennis' samples were collected that it may no longer indicate masculine emphasis. The Maori drawings showed many broad shoulders and athletic physiques, male costumes and weapons, as well as facial hair. Although several of the pictured men smoked, they smoked cigarettes. The Maori boys ranked with a Japanese village sample, just above groups from Edinburgh and Athens, just below samples from Taiwan, Kyoto and Mexico. The Pakeha boys ranked with a Tehran group, above Lebanese and Brooklyn Yeshivas, below Brooklyn Christians and Israelis. Among the girls, no Maori and only four Pakeha showed masculine emphasis. Maori boys are thus seen to hold masculine characteristics as important in the way a man ought to be. In this they are similar to other groups who have mythology and history which emphasise courage, strength, fighting, and distinction between men and women.

Diversity of social roles is shown by drawing men in specific clothing or activities which indicate special roles, such as carpenter, doctor or rugby player, in contrast to a man in ordinary or indistinguishable clothing. Because a large number of hippies appeared in our



FIGURE 1. Typical drawing of a man by Maori boy.

sample, we classified them separately and then calculated *diversified* including and excluding them. Whichever way we look at it, Maori boys drew more diversified men than did Pakeha boys, and in both groups boys drew more diversified men than did girls. If hippies were included in the number of diversified drawings, then Maori boys ranked higher than any of Dennis' samples. If hippies were excluded, they still ranked high, above Mexicans and Chinese, below Israelis and Greeks. With hippies included, Pakeha boys ranked at the same point as Maori with hippies excluded. The Pakeha rank with hippies excluded was moderate, falling between Turks and Cambodians and above all American groups. When a group makes a large number of diversified drawings, it is thought that a variety of social roles are valued in that culture. The problem with hippy men was whether to consider them as representing a special social role or a new type of modern dress. Dennis classifies drawings as to modern or traditional.

Male styles have certainly changed since the past decade and long hair and turtlenecks are now modern, while short hair, suits and ties might be considered traditional. However, many men appeared with long hair, and minus tailored jacket, but without additional criteria for being classified as hippie.

Indications of negative social attitudes, as represented by ridicule or hostility, are infrequent in all of Dennis' samples and entirely lacking in some, such as Japanese, American, Greek and Israeli. Frequency of ridicule and humour was small in our sample, but significantly larger in boys than in girls, in both ethnic groups. Hostility also was more frequent in boys than in girls, with Maori boys showing over three times as much as Pakeha. Since traditional Maori male attire is that of a warrior with weapons, it may be argued that a boy is not necessarily indicating hostile attitudes when he depicts a warrior, as several of our sample did. However, if he is not reflecting his own hostile attitudes, then one could argue that he is still showing what he thinks a man ought to be. In the samples assembled by Gardiner, Maori boys ranked second, between Thais and Germans: Pakeha boys had a medium rank, between Israeli and Mexicans.

The drawings of the dyad involved the child himself and a relationship with a person of his choice. We thus set the stage to elicit feelings and attitudes toward himself and someone significant to him, rather than his notions of what a man in his culture ought to be. While the first task revealed many differences between the two groups of boys, the second showed none at all. Neither task showed much difference between the girls' groups, there being none on the man and only one on the dyad. Sex differences were marked on both tasks. A particularly interesting set of differences is in what amounts to public, impersonal values and individual social values; that is, the comparison of each group's performance on the man and the dyad.

Smiling was scored on the dyad when one or both persons smiled. Maori boys showed more smiling faces in the dyad, Maori girls fewer. The boys' situation may resemble that of Dennis' Chiapas Indians, whose boys drew very few smiling faces and whose adults smiled rarely in public but frequently in private. We are at a loss to explain the meaning of Maori girls drawing almost as many smiling men as did Pakeha girls and then dropping to the same frequency of smiles in the dyad as the Maori boys.

All groups gave fewer ridicule-humour responses in the dyad than in the man. When all groups were combined, the frequency was almost three times as great in the man. Children thus made fun of a cultural value more than they did of a personal relationship. Comparing boys' hostility measures from the man to the dyad, Maori decreased greatly while Pakeha increased somewhat. Thus the Maori boys showed a fighter as having public approval but no place in personal relationships.

The person chosen to be pictured with the self was most often a like-sex peer. Pakeha girls showed the largest frequency of a same-sex peer, significantly more than Pakeha boys. There were no differences in choice of cross-sex peer. When child and adult frequencies were combined, it was obvious that other children were greatly preferred to adults in the dyad task, girls expressing the preference even more strongly than boys. When family frequencies were compared



FIGURE 2. Typical drawing of dyad by a girl.

with non-family, Pakeha girls topped the list for loyalty to their peers. Parents were drawn only six times by Pakeha and not at all by Maori. While teachers were drawn somewhat more frequently, they were as often shown negatively as positively. Of the 10 drawings of teachers by Pakeha boys, five showed hostility or ridicule.

Competition was depicted more frequently by boys than girls, the Pakeha sex difference being significant. All groups showed more co-operation than competition. Among Maoris, boys were much more likely to show an active co-operation, while girls more often drew joint activity (two girls doing the same thing but not interacting much).

Summary and Conclusion

Sex and cultural differences were observed in drawings of a man and a dyad by Pakeha and Maori children. Man drawings, which are thought to indicate group values, were related to existing data on boys. Pakeha boys ranked fairly high, Maori boys fairly low in drawing smiling figures, an indication of the extent to which happiness is held as a value. Maori drawings in contrast to Pakeha included more frequent diversified social roles and more indications of hostility. It seems likely that hostility in this instance represents a cultural value rather than projected feelings. Qualitatively, Maori boys' drawings are distinctively different from the average Pakeha. Maori boys most often use bold, strong lines to show bold, strong men, often with clear individuality. In short, they seem to have more talent.

The task of drawing a man seemed to have little relevance for girls. There were no cultural differences and little diversity or content of any kind. Girls were more likely to show a bland, smiling creature than any other sort of man. The significant sex differences were usually in terms of the boys portraying more, the girls less, excepting the category of smiling, where Maori girls drew many more smiles than Maori boys. On the dyad, again, boys showed a world of action and diversity with some instances of hostility and ridicule, versus almost none in girls. Girls' dyads were typically oneself and a best girl friend in a world of co-operative or parallel activities such as tossing a ball, skipping, having tea, going for a walk or just talking. Girls' drawings were most often smiling and pretty, with flowers and bows. They showed the greater importance of the best friend to girls than to boys, a sex difference which has been noted in many other studies.

The dyad task rather than the man task was more successful in eliciting meaningful responses from girls. Both tasks resulted in meaningful responses from boys. Could it be that girls are less involved in cultural values than boys and therefore show little differentiation on a task involving group values, but are stimulated on a task tapping attitudes toward personal relationships? Such a conclusion is consistent with Parson's notion of women playing largely expressive roles, while men play both expressive and instrumental roles. The man task involves an instrumental function, the dyad an expressive one.

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