ART THERAPY AND SANDPLAY THERAPY
WITH TWINS:
A SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

by

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An investigative project submitted to

Sonoma State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Psychology

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ART THERAPY AND SANDPLAY THERAPY WITH TWINS: A SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

An Investigative Project by Judy White-Wolff

ABSTRACT

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this study is to use art therapy and sandplay therapy to determine the developmental challenges that are unique or particularly difficult for children who are twins. In my previous work with a set of twins, I became increasingly aware of issues around self-identity that were appearing in the art work. I believed that other twins might share these issues. As part of this study, I have also explored the value of the art modalities to facilitate the development of a sense of identity through self-esteem enhancement and self-expression.

Procedure:

I selected four sets of twins for this study. They were all latency age (7-11 years old), same-sex twins who were identical in appearance. They included two sets of girls, seven and nine years old, and two sets of boys, eight and ten years old. Prior to the art sessions, I interviewed each set with a parent present using a questionnaire designed to gather basic information. A follow-up session was held with each parent at the completion of the project.

I met with the children for a total of six sessions each. In the first session I met with each set of twins for one and a half hours. The following four sessions were individual sessions of one hour each. For the last session, the children were asked their preference for a joint or individual session. Three sets finished with individual sessions, while one set chose to meet jointly.

Sessions were held in my studio in which there is a sandtray and an assortment of art materials appropriate for children's use. One or more directives was given in each session, with a portion of time allotted for free choice. The same directives, in most cases, were given to each child. To minimize comparisons between each pair before both had completed the directives, each set of twins was scheduled back to back.
The art processes given as directives were chosen with a focus on providing information about the children's sense of self-identity, self-esteem, and sense of themselves within the family unit and within the twin relationship. The sessions were conducted in a therapeutic manner to enhance the value of the art processes for the children.

Findings:

The artwork of these eight children supports the hypothesis that, for children who are twins, establishing a secure sense of self-identity presents a difficult challenge. Indications of insecurity, inadequacy, poor body image, competition with the twin and dependency were present in the art and sandtrays. Within each of the four sets of twins there was a pattern suggesting that the birth order of the twins played a significant role in each child's individuation process. Also evident in the work of these children was the value of the art and sandplay in assisting in the developmental task of separation and individuation, which for twins involves the twin relationship as well as the mother/parent-child relationship.

Conclusion:

Art process and sandplay can serve as a barometer of a child's sense of self. Through these modalities we have access to each child's inner image of self, which gives us clues regarding progress with developmental tasks such as separation and individuation. The use of expressive modalities such as art process and sandplay can facilitate the development of a clear sense of an individual, unique identity. Therefore, these modalities can serve as valuable tools in furthering an understanding of the twin situation, as well as in facilitating the completion of developmental tasks.

Chair:
Signature

M.A. Program: Psychology
Sonoma State University  May 8, 1991
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writing of this thesis has been a journey which has been replete with many muses and sirens along the way. I am grateful to my family and friends who have encouraged and supported me throughout this process. I am especially grateful to my husband, Tony, who has been tireless in his role as editor, always willing to read one more version.

Special thanks to my supervisor, Judy Baker, M.A., A.T.R., whose guidance has been invaluable.

I would also like to acknowledge Janet Tatum, L.C.S.W and pending I.S.S.T. member, for her knowledgeable consultation.

And of course, the children. It has been a privilege and a delight to work with these eight individuals, as well as with the two girls who were the inspiration for the theme of this thesis.
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LITERATURE REVIEW

There are unique challenges that face twins as they grow from infancy to adulthood. These challenges affect the separation-individuation process of each twin and so have an impact on the development of a sense of identity. In this paper, the issues discussed refer specifically to same-sex twins who are identical in appearance, although many of these issues would apply also to fraternal twins whose sex and/or appearance may be dissimilar.

In child development, the separation-individuation process refers to the child's growth from the early stage of a symbiotic relationship with the parent to the achievement of emotional self-reliance and "a stable image of the self" (Mahler & Gosliner, 1955, p. 197). For the twin this process is complicated by the need to individuate from the other twin as well as from the parent (Demarest & Winestine, 1955). Mahler (1974) stressed the significance of preverbal stages of development in determining the psychological health of the individual. In looking at these stages, we can see some of the early challenges that confront twins.

During the symbiotic phase, about the first to fifth months, the task of the infant is to achieve a specific bond with the mother/parent (Mahler, 1974). Infants do not yet recognize the distinction between the inner and outer, and do
not perceive themselves as separate (Mahler, 1974). To understand the later development of twins, it is important to consider that the human being who is the most constant companion of the twin infant is the other twin, not the mother (Leonard, 1961). Children who are twins, therefore, begin early on to develop a special bond with each other, as they develop a symbiotic attachment, "twin symbiosis," that is similar to the attachment with the parent (Maechen, 1968, p. 450).

As children enter the stage of differentiation at about the fifth month, they begin to develop an awareness of their own bodies as separate from the parent. At the same time they begin to experience ego functioning that is independent of the parent. The healthy growth of both of these developments is dependent on the establishment of a specific bond, or primary identification, with the parent (Mahler, 1974). In the case of twins, this bond is compromised as a result of the decreased availability of the mother/parent to each child. The bond with the parent is further diluted by the bond with the twin (Leonard, 1961), making it likely for children who are twins to suffer delays in the initial stages of differentiation.

The situation is further complicated because the child is really facing the dual task of individuating himself from the other twin as well (Demarest & Winestine, 1955). The differences between two children who are twins are not as clear as between a child and a parent, often causing the
self-image to remain blurred (Leonard, 1961). An adequate concept of one's own body is an important basis for the formation of the ego, and yet twins often have difficulty separating themselves from their twin (Lezine, cited in Leonard, 1961).

As Mahler (1974) states, differentiation continues through four subphases. At about eighteen months, during the rapprochement subphase, social interaction, mirroring and imitating are the basic tasks. It is through this interaction that the child's recognition of the parent as a separate person grows and expands to include an awareness that other children are separate and different from the child's own self (Mahler, 1974). A twin, however, is mirroring and imitating another child who is equally helpless. Thus, social interaction becomes more of a reverberation than an expansion of awareness. The continued visual incorporation with the mirror image of the twin leads to a primary identification with the twin, superceding the primary identification with the parent, which would ordinarily be in place at this time (Leonard, 1961). As it is this identification with the parent that normally provides the security, safety and boundaries which the child needs in order to continue the risky business of becoming an autonomous being, it can be conjectured that this developmental task is impinged upon by the constant presence of a twin.
Indeed, Dorothy Burlingham (1946, 1949, 1952, 1963), who completed extensive work with twins, observed that the intertwin identification develops at this time (Joseph & Tabor, 1961). She noted that a twin would react in a similarly emotional way to separation from the other twin as to separation from the mother (Terry, 1975). Other authors have described this twin relationship from various perspectives. In the object relations system, it has been referred to as the "twinning reaction," in which object and self representations become merged (Joseph & Tabor, 1961, p. 295). This leads to a loss of ego boundary between the two individuals and a resulting loss of identity (Joseph & Tabor, 1961). Joseph and Tabor cite incidences in which both individuals within a twin pair were unable to determine to which of them various events had occurred. Another author used the term "we-self" to describe a situation in which neither twin differentiates clearly between his own personality and that of the twin (Ortmeyer, cited in Terry, 1975, p. 123).

In one survey conducted, half of the identical twins questioned had had moments of uncertainty as to which twin they were (Hagedorn & Kizziar, 1983). Comments by twins describe this uncertainty best. "I used to wake up in the morning and see my twin in her bed and think, 'How do I know I am me? '" (Stein & Wolner, 1978, p. 70). "Sometimes we enjoy tricking people by answering for each other. When we do this, even for a short while, I usually forget who I
really am and think I'm my twin" (Stein & Wolner, 1978, p. 53). This last comment reflects the push-pull dynamic that permeates the twin relationship.

Twins are unique as a unit, while individually they evoke less of an emotional reaction (Stein & Wolner, 1978). As previously noted, they also tend to lag behind in the developmental tasks of separation and individuation, which makes them more susceptible to the temptation of an identity "a deux" (Leonard, 1961, p. 318). At the same time, they have the need, as all children do, to complete the developmental task of establishing a sense of identity. The solution often takes the form of a shared identity based on mutual dependency, expanding on the twin symbiosis which developed in infancy.

There seem to be several unspoken rules that are universal to this type of relationship. There is "complementarity," in which twins divide roles between themselves (Lidz, Schafer, Fleck, Cornelison & Terry, cited in Terry, 1975, p. 124). In its extreme this becomes polarization and each twin becomes locked into a particular role, as can be found in the dysfunctional family system (Bradshaw, 1988). To the extent that this prohibits the twins' development as whole people, they remain dependent on each other. From the perspective of one set of sixty year old twins who live together, dress alike and spend all of their time together, "Twins should always be together and never let others into their lives" (Hagedorn & Kizziar, 1983, p. 126).
This type of co-dependence in adult twins was explored by Johnson and Johnson (1982) using Erikson's (1975) developmental model. They considered the early intimacy of twins in childhood as a premature developmental jump. According to Erikson, the task of Intimacy, which is the Sixth Stage in his model, belongs to the young adult. Yet twins, failing at the task of Autonomy in the Second Stage, find themselves in a prematurely intimate, or "pseudo-intimate," relationship with each other in early childhood (Johnson & Johnson, 1982, p. 87). This premature intimacy further impedes their ability to resolve their Identity crisis, the task of the Fifth Stage, and jeopardizes their desire and ability to form intimate relationships with others as adults (Johnson & Johnson, 1982).

Of course, many things affect the extent to which any two twins will establish individual identities and go on to live their lives as independent, whole people. Parental attitudes, emotional health of the family, cultural attitudes and birth order, size and physical health of the twins are some of the many variables that impact the psychic growth of twins. Burlingham (1946) noted that most mothers found that it was impossible for them to love their twin babies until they could see differences in them. Mothers reported being mortified when they would mistake one twin for another, and felt that this showed an unforgiveable lack of love. In some cases this resulted in mothers fostering a polarization of personalities in the twins. Some mothers were overly
invested in the attention they received for having given birth to twins and, therefore, stressed their similarities, often treating them as a unit. Anderson and Anderson (1990) found that parents emphasized the differences between their twins if they valued individuality, and emphasized the similarities if they valued equality and fairness.

The health of the family system affects any child's development of a sense of identity. Often the roles within a family are mutually exclusive, so that, for example, if one child is a high achiever academically, another will be something else (Collier, 1974). In a functional family system, the family will meet the needs of the individual, and these roles will be somewhat flexible. A dysfunctional family system, however, requires the individual to meet the needs of the family, resulting in "assigned" roles that restrict each member's identity to one particular role (Bradshaw, 1988). The twins themselves choose certain roles as part of their attempts to be different from each other. One twin explained it this way, "I think twins often play or choose different roles--good guy, bad guy, responsible, irresponsible, married, single--in an effort to be separate...and often reverse the roles from time to time" (Abbe & Gill, 1980, p. 125). How a family copes with the twin's role-playing will have a significant impact on the success each has in recognizing individually unique qualities.
Cultural attitudes also have an effect on the image twins have of themselves. People are often curious about twins, not for their differences but for their similarities. Twins are constantly being perceived and treated as a pair rather than as two distinct individuals (Stein & Wolner, 1978). Young children have their own ways of dealing with the complex concept of twins. Confronted with twins Margaret and Anne, three and four year old playmates referred to Margaret as "Other Anne" or Anne as "More Margaret" (Stein & Wolner, 1978, p. 4). One young man, who had been in the same class with his twin, related in therapy how the other children had treated them as though they were the same person (Collier, 1974). In another case, twin boys had both been called "Fred" so that nobody would call one by the wrong name (Abbe & Gill, 1980, p. 95). To the extent that twins perceive themselves as one person, they will counterbalance each other's behavior, being active or passive, dominant or submissive, masculine or feminine, like a see-saw (Maechen, 1968). This is a reactive process and can inhibit the development of a complete and individual personality.

In recent years parents and teachers have become more informed about the need to treat twins as individuals, dressing them differently, placing them in separate classrooms, etc. The special needs that twins have on an emotional and psychological level, however, are often overlooked or misunderstood. Normal developmental conflicts, such as competition and rivalry, are exaggerated with twins
The competition between twins is linked to their struggle for individuation and self-identity, to a degree that competition between other siblings is not. At the same time, the intensity of the aggression they feel toward each other can be terrifying, because they are so identified with their twin (Stein & Wolner, 1978). One solution to this dilemma is the "nonaggression pact," in which, by unspoken agreement, stronger twins unconsciously inhibit themselves, allowing the weaker, but more competitive twin to catch up (Ablon et al., 1986, p. 242). Another solution is the "alliance of twins," when the twins unite to project their aggression toward each other onto others (Ablon et al., 1986). The development of mutual interidentification can also serve to prevent either twin from gaining an advantage over the other (Joseph & Tabor, 1961).

The size and health of the twins have visible effects on the sense of identity that each develops. A twin who is appreciably smaller as an infant will tend to be dominated by the larger twin. Unhealthy twins can come to identify with their physical condition, especially if this is used to distinguish them from the other, healthy twin.

Birth order has an equally powerful, and possibly more vital, impact on the twins' sense of identity. This impact is often overlooked, however, because it is not a visible difference. Also, the implications of the significance of birth order can be disturbing, resulting in a denial of its
importance. In some cultures the secondborn twin was killed, in order to protect the birth right of the firstborn (Leonard, 1961). Identification with two infants at one time is difficult, and a mother, beginning to bond with the firstborn twin, experiences, on some level, the second child as an extra (Maenchen, 1968). Even when there is no family tradition regarding birthrights, the twins themselves experience competition for, essentially, the right to their birth. This is imbued with the wish to be preferred by and the need to identify with one of the parents (Ablon et al., 1986). The secondborn twin, finding the mother already taken, often identifies with the father. The story of Jacob and Essau describes, symbolically, the need for the secondborn twin to win the favor of the father (Ablon et al., 1986).

In this story from the Bible, Jacob, the secondborn twin, tricked his twin brother, Essau, out of his birthright and his father's blessing. Essau was so angered that he planned to kill Jacob. Jacob went away for twenty years, during which time he prospered and had many children. When Jacob returned, he and Essau were reunited before again going their separate ways.

This statement was made by a second born twin, "I recognize that I am a copy. Ron is the original with an exact duplicate. Ron sets the pace. He has the jump on me..." (Stein & Wolner, 1978, p. 107). This is the usually unspoken, often unconscious fear of the secondborn twin.
Firstborn twins, meanwhile, do not get any real sense of security from their precious birthright. The unspoken feeling for them is hostility at having their birthright compromised and the complete attention of their mother withdrawn by the appearance of the second twin. These feelings of hostility and jealousy remain unexpressed and denied at the expense of individual self-identity (Joseph & Tabor, 1961).

As Jacob and Essau could not be reunited until they had first separated, twins can meet as two independent people only after each has separated his/her own identity from that of his/her twin. Twins, themselves, express this succinctly. "They must learn that the person over there is not me. It's not a body divided by two; it's two bodies" (Abbe & Gill, 1980, p. 159). "You can enjoy being twins once you know how to be your own person" (Abbe & Gill, 1980, p. 88). "We suffered together as a team because we were hiding each other's weaknesses. The sound of two pianos can cover up a lot of the subtleties, and so our solo playing was not very strong. So that's what we're working on. We finally have reached the point where we're also strong as individual musicians, so that when we do put ourselves together as a team, we are not hiding anything; we're just adding to the total" (Abbe & Gill, 1980, p. 105).

The literature clearly and consistently points to unique developmental challenges to twins regarding their separation/individuation process. Because disruptions in
this process can occur at a preverbal level, an understanding of the impact of these disturbances can best be attained through modalities which tap into and allow expression of the unconscious, where preverbal experience is retained. This study utilizes two such modalities, art therapy and sandplay therapy, to explore the development of self-identity in eight children who are twins.
Art therapy and sandplay therapy offer nonverbal means of exploring, expressing and communicating feelings, thoughts, problems and potentials. Art is a symbolic language which taps preverbal and unconscious material and gives it expression through images (Naumberg, in Hammer, 1980, chap. 20). The sandtray scene is a three dimensional representation of some aspect of the psychic situation (Kalff, 1980). Inner conflicts can be projected out into the art work or the sandtray, where they are made visible and can be viewed from a safe distance. This creative, constructive release of emotional energy is, in itself, therapeutic. Wadeson (1980) calls this process "objectification." Feelings are first externalized in the art or sandtray. This separation allows them to be recognized by the individual, making it possible for them to be owned and integrated as a part of the self.

Art therapy and sandplay therapy are separate and distinct modalities. Therapists using one do not necessarily use the other. In my own work the two are inextricably bound together. The understanding that I gain from one seems always to apply to the other. The dialects spoken in these two modalities may differ, but the basic structure of the language in both is based on images and symbols. Both
modalities are indebted to Freud whose publication of The Interpretation of Dreams in 1913 presented the unconscious as a source of images and symbols (Hammer, 1980). Both have been enriched by Jung's (1964) concept of the universal unconscious and by his exhaustive research of symbols that appear cross-culturally and throughout history.

Images have been used as symbols since prehistoric times to depict the human condition, to express hopes and fears and to ponder the unknown. Cave drawings are a legacy that attests to the power of symbolic imagery. These primitive images speak to us still, even though our lives today bear little resemblance to the lives of those long ago artists.

While the use of imagery in healing was practiced by shamans and spiritual leaders everywhere throughout the development of civilization, current use of imagery within the psychological community as we know it today is relatively new. Interest was first aroused at the end of the 19th century by the spontaneous art of patients in mental institutions. Study of these patients and their art work revealed that their images, previously thought to be "senseless," were significant expressions of inner conflicts. From this developed the idea that imagery could be used as a diagnostic tool. Both art therapy and sandplay therapy gained entrance into the psychological community initially as methods of assessment.
The first widely used drawing assessment technique was developed in 1926 by Goodenough (Hammer, 1980). The Draw-a-Man Test was designed to measure intelligence, but was found to have clinical value as well because of the graphic nature of the drawings. In 1949 Machover (1957) published a detailed interpretation of personality projection in the Figure-Drawing technique, which was based on material collected in clinics and hospitals over a fifteen year period. In 1948 Buck (1970) published a manual to assist in interpreting the House-Tree-Person technique, which was developed specifically as a psychological projective device.

Sandplay originated in England in 1929 as the World Technique. It was designed by M. Lowenfeld (1939) to provide a method for children to directly express their emotional and mental state. In 1949, Bühler devised a personality assessment procedure called the World Test, which was based on Lowenfeld's technique. There are many more projective techniques in use today which have built upon the knowledge gained from these early pioneers. Several assessment techniques have been used in this study, including some of these traditional techniques, as well as some which have been developed more recently. These will be described more fully in the following chapter.

The potential therapeutic value of both art therapy and sandplay therapy was soon recognized and began to be developed. In the 1940's Naumberg (1966) conducted research which showed that art could be used to support the
development of the therapeutic relationship and to enhance the progress of therapy. This work became known as art psychotherapy. In the 1950's Kramer (1971) worked extensively with children, stressing the integrative and healing properties of the art process itself. This work was considered art as therapy. While representing a polarity in the profession, these two approaches, art psychotherapy and art as therapy, have many overlapping philosophies and practices.

The use of the sandtray as a therapeutic method also developed in two branches. Lowenfeld (1939) recognized its value and used it extensively in her work with children and adolescents, calling the products World Pictures. This method has a Freudian perspective. In 1954 Kalff (1980) studied with Lowenfeld, and went on to develop a Jungian-oriented version of sandtray work which she called Sandplay. This version is based on the theoretical constructs of Neumann (1954 & 1990). The sandtray scene reflects the individual's progress toward a manifestation of Self. This manifestation is necessary for the development of a healthy ego (Weinrib, 1983). Neumann (1990) described the constellation and activation of the Self as occurring, under ideal circumstances, between birth and the third year of life. A prerequisite, however, is the "mother-child unity," which is an uninterrupted emotional and physical closeness between the parent and the child, especially during the first year. This parallels Mahler's (1974) stages of development,
in which the parent-child bond is also seen to be a basic building block of the personality. Kalff's orientation is more widely known and practiced in this country. While the theoretical foundations of these two methods are different, the process itself remains the same.

Art therapy and sandplay therapy are particularly suited to an investigation of issues of self identity. Mahler (1974) stressed the significance of preverbal stages of development in the formation of a separate, individual identity. These modalities access preverbal and unconscious material, revealing, like an X-ray, the inner structure of the psyche. The results of many studies support the hypothesis that individuals project their perceptions of themselves into their art (Hammer, 1980, p. 23-28). Children, especially, draw their idea of the object they are representing, rather than the actual physical likeness of the object. This graphic expression is further shaped by their feelings, so that the final product tells us more about the child than the object drawn (Di Leo, 1970). The act of drawing, itself, is "a powerful expression of self that helps establish one's self-identity and provides a way of expressing feelings" (Oaklander, 1988).

The sandtray process also invites a representation of the inner psyche. According to the Navajo religion in which sand painting plays an integral part, the sand itself has healing properties (Weinrib, 1983). The size and shape of the sandtray is designed to encompass the individual's visual
field, while establishing a boundary to contain the energies expressed within it. It is perhaps these qualities which entice the unconscious to reveal its inner contents.

As we have seen, the development of a sense of self-identity is particularly challenging for twins because of disruptions in the early parent-child relationship. The unique capabilities of art therapy and sandplay therapy to explicate early childhood experience make them particularly applicable to the developmental issues confronting twins. In the following case studies of four sets of same-sex twins, a series of art and sandplay experiences were utilized to explore each child's sense of self.
I began working with twins two years ago as a project for a class in child development. I was interested in exploring through expressive arts how the development of a sense of self-identity was influenced by the experience of being a twin. My work at that time was with nine year old identical twin girls. I continued working with both of these girls in two additional art process groups and with one girl in on-going individual art therapy. I became increasingly aware of the depths of the impact that being a twin had on the psyches of both of these girls. I have used this thesis as an opportunity to expand this study to other sets of twins.

I recruited the twins through a letter (Appendix A) sent to the parents of twins via local elementary schools. I also placed an announcement (Appendix B) in Kid Connection, a monthly news bulletin serving Sonoma County. I specified children aged seven to eleven in order to stay within the parameters of the latency age developmental art stage. Twelve parents responded, allowing me some choice in further defining the specifications of the twins with whom I would work. My first consideration, after age, was to work with same-sex twins, to avoid the added complication of issues
that are specific to opposite sex twins. Next, I considered similarity of appearance. I felt that the issue of self-identity would be more prominent for children who looked like their twin. After these considerations, I had six sets of twins from which to choose, and decided on a balance of two sets of boys and two of girls.

All of the children in this study came from Caucasian, low to moderate income families. One set lived with both parents. Three sets lived with their mothers in single-parent homes. In all cases my interaction was only with the mother. Two sets each lived with an older half-sibling, although one of these siblings moved out of the home during the course of the sessions. The other two sets each lived with a younger full sibling. Each of the eight children attended regular classes in public schools. Two attended special reading and speech classes in addition, because of difficulties in these areas due to a hearing impairment. Otherwise, none had special needs.

In my telephone conversations with the parents who responded to the letter or the ad, I heard over and over again the need these parents had for help in dealing with the issues their twin children were facing, or that they were facing in raising twins. Inevitably one child was having more difficulty than the other with social and emotional adjustment. Competition between the twins and conflicts with other siblings were often mentioned as problems. Despite
the varied backgrounds and family situations, there seemed to be a general commonality in their concerns which reiterated the findings of my earlier work with twins.

These conversations were also helpful in designing the questionnaire (Appendix C) used in the initial interview with each set of twins and their parent. I realized that I needed to consider the difficulties of dual births, as well as complex family and living situations, in order to fully understand what it meant to each of these eight children to be a twin. I was interested in obtaining information that I would not be likely to get from the children themselves. I also wanted to observe how the children interacted with their parent and with their twin in the presence of the parent. To that end, I included questions specifically for the children, and during the interviews, I invited the children to add their comments to the dialogue.

The interviews were held in the studio where the sessions would take place. I wanted the children to be familiar with the setting, to enable them to get the most out of the very first session, as we would have a limited number of sessions in which to work. I put plasticene modeling clay on the table with which the children could busy their hands. This, too, served both to familiarize them with the materials and to give me a glimpse at their nonverbal interactions and expressions. All in all, these interviews were very informative and helped pave the way for the sessions.
There were a total of six sessions with each child. In the first session, I met with both children of each set of twins. This session was an hour and a half. I wanted to experience the twins as a pair, in order to observe their interactions with each other.

In the following four sessions, I met with each child individually for one hour sessions. The children in each twin set had back-to-back appointments to minimize discussion between them about the work they had done during the session. As my goal was to promote individual expression through the art materials and sandtray, I wanted to eliminate, as much as possible, any inclination to copy. This had been an issue between the twins with whom I had worked previously, the older twin being annoyed that her sister always did what she did. In this project, the mother of one set told me after the first individual sessions that her boys had plotted together beforehand so that they would both do the same thing in their sessions. It had not worked, because I had asked them to do something they had not anticipated. When I talked to them about it later, they seemed pleased both at having tried to fool me and at actually having done things that were very different from each other. This push-pull, the push to be different, the pull to be alike, appeared frequently in all of these sets of twins.

Originally I had planned the final sessions to meet again with each pair of twins jointly. During the course of the four individual sessions, however, the children expressed
both verbally and in their art and sandplay the intense need they had for time apart from their twin. I spoke with each child privately, and six of them verified that they would prefer having the last session separately, which was then arranged. The other two children were tentative, and almost reluctantly each said he wanted the joint session. These two children share a condition of progressive hearing loss, which I believe increased their dependency on each other. I chose to honor their tentative votes to meet together, trusting that they would still get what they needed from this last session.

A follow-up session was held with a parent of each set of twins. In all cases this was the mother. This allowed me to get additional information about the twins and their families which may have been overlooked in the initial interview. It was also an opportunity for the parents to learn more about the nature of the work I had been doing with the children.

During the first joint sessions, the children worked at two separate tables, one forward and to the right of the other. They were both facing me where I sat between the tables. While I did not prohibit them from looking at each other's work, they had to stand up and move around to see what was on the other table. This gave me an opportunity to address the interest that was being shown in a twin's work. A wide variety of art materials was accessible to the children during all sessions, as was the sandtray during the
individual sessions. After completing the directives, the children could choose how to spend the remainder of each session.

The same series of directives was given to each child to establish a standard for the information I was gathering. There were a great many variables in this project, and I wanted to determine a fixed set of data. I chose a variety of art processes that would give me a broad foundation for understanding each child's personal art expression. In the later sessions the children were given more free time and fewer directives.

There were six processes completed by all eight children, which provided the material for a comparative assessment. One additional process was completed by six of the children. These procedures will now be described in the order in which they were presented.

During the first joint session, the children were invited to decorate a folder (18" x 24") that would hold their art work. They were asked to include their name in some way. This served essentially as a warm-up which would give me an idea of how comfortable each of the children was with the drawing materials. Also, this project can serve both to reflect and to foster a sense of identity, as the children incorporate their names into the art expression.

Next they were given the combined House-Tree-Person Projective Drawing Technique (H-T-P). Again, they had their choice of paper and drawing materials and were asked to make
a drawing of a house, a tree and a person. These three items act as a stimulus for the symbolic expression of the personality (Hammer, 1980). The House is a self-portrait that depicts elements of fantasy, ego, reality contact, accessibility and associations to home-life and intra-familial relationships (Hammer, 1980). The Tree and the Person express the core of the personality, reflecting body image and self-concept (Hammer, 1980). This drawing technique, I felt, would give me basic information of how the children perceived themselves.

This was followed in the same session with the Kinetic-Family-Drawing (K-F-D) assessment technique (Burns & Kaufman, 1970). The children were given a choice of paper and materials and asked to draw everyone in their family doing something. Including the element of action in this drawing of the family provides the stimulus for the child to depict the dynamics within the family (Burns & Kaufman, 1970). In this case, I was interested in finding out how the twins saw themselves in relation to the family system.

In the next session, the first of the individual sessions, the children were invited to do a sandtray. This process involves the use of a wooden tray (28 1/2" X 19 1/2" X 3" deep) half filled with sand, a collection of miniatures and a supply of water. The bottom of the tray is painted blue, so that areas of water can be indicated by clearing away the sand. The miniatures include figures and objects representing people, animals, plants, buildings, vehicles and
other symbolic objects with which realistic or fantasy scenes can be depicted. The sand can be molded and shaped to create hills, tunnels, lakes, rivers, or other more whimsical designs. The directive is simply for the child to do whatever he or she would like in the sand. In her extensive work with this form of therapy, Kalff (1980) determined that in the initial sand picture can be found, in symbolic form, information about the person's situation, including the problems and the solutions. I was interested in seeing how the children would represent themselves through this medium.

The Stimulus Drawings assessment was presented in another individual session. Designed by Rawley Silver, this technique consists of fifty Stimulus Drawings (SDs), each on a separate card (Silver, 1989). These cards were laid out, face up, on the table. The children were invited to choose two or more of the drawing ideas, imagine something happening between them and then show what is happening in a drawing of their own. The cards which were chosen by the children in this study can be found in Appendix D. This task offers an opportunity to access fantasies, self-image and social relationships. It can be used to develop, as well as to assess, the ability to form concepts, such as the concept of class inclusion (Silver, 1989). I felt that the open-ended nature of this assessment technique might provide another perspective of each child.
In reviewing the drawings made by the children for the H-T-P assessment, I found that, in many cases, the Person had not been fully developed. I added the Human-Figure-Drawing (H-F-D) assessment, asking that the children draw a whole person (Koppitz, 1968). The H-F-D is a portrait of the inner child in that moment, and reflects children's self-concepts and their attitudes toward themselves and others (Koppitz, 1968). In this drawing, the children were asked to use only pencil to encourage them to include details that might be ignored with another, bulkier medium.

The last assessment drawing was given to only six of the children. To specifically look at the intertwin relationships, my supervisor, Judy Baker, suggested that I have the children draw themselves doing something with their twin. I call this the Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (K-T-D) task. Again, I asked them to use only pencil. The purpose of this drawing was to determine each child's self-image in relation to the twin and to further define the dynamics of that relationship. I chose not to include one set of twins in this assessment, because, I felt, it would be too difficult for them. They both felt inadequate about their drawing ability, but were enjoying a sense of competency in the free choice work they were doing. I decided that this was more important.

The processes chosen by the children for their free time included sandplay, collage, painting, drawing, modeling with plasticene, and building with scrap wood, craft sticks, which
are like popsicle sticks, and skill sticks, which are notched craft sticks. These individual projects will be discussed in more detail in the case studies. All of the children found some form of self expression about which they were enthusiastic.

In discussing the art work and sandtrays, I will be referring repeatedly to authors who have collected a body of knowledge regarding the interpretation of various assessment techniques. Their findings are the result of on-going research and extensive experience with these methods and provide some general indications of the implications of various aspects of drawings and sandtray scenes. For example, Koppitz (1968) completed studies to determine both developmental and emotional indicators in H-F-Ds. The developmental indicators provide a set of norms for the figure drawings of girls and boys at each age, while the emotional indicators reflect the anxieties, concerns and attitudes which are being expressed in the drawing. The information available to assist in the interpretation of various assessment techniques is extensive. More specific information about the work of each author is beyond the scope of this paper. Further information regarding these interpretations can be found in the sources that have been referenced.

Each interpretation, however, is only a guide, a potential significance to be considered within the context of the children's lives and their personal symbology. It is
important to note the children's statements about their work, as well as their history and present situation, and even future events that they may be anticipating. Children's behavior in general, and their use of the art material in particular, also provide clues. The more extensive the body of work completed by each child, the greater the ability to understand what that child is expressing in the art and sandtray.

In this paper, the discussion of the art work and sandtrays will focus primarily on those elements which reflect self-image and interpersonal dynamics within the family, and especially between the twins themselves. As previously noted, there are many variables that effect the development of a sense of identity. This study will address those aspects which can be seen in the children's expressions in their art and sandtrays. There is much in the children's work that does not fall within the scope of this paper. In particular, there were indicators in some of the work that aroused my concern regarding possible sexual trauma. This issue will not be addressed in this paper, as this concern was not substantiated.

All names used in the case studies have been changed to preserve confidentiality.
INTRODUCTION: SUE AND ALICE

Sue and Alice are seven year old girls, described by the mother as identical fraternal twins. They are similar in appearance, and both have long blonde hair. The bangs worn by one girl is the most distinguishing difference between them. Of average size, these girls are attractive. They were active and curious about everything in the studio. The mother had not known until she was seven months pregnant that she was carrying twins. She used the word "numb" to describe her reaction to the news. She did not have a lot of time to adjust before the birth, which was three weeks premature. Sue was born first, weighing six pounds one ounce. Alice was born forty minutes later, and weighed only four pounds twelve ounces. The father had been an alcoholic when the twins were born, and was now in Alcoholics Anonymous. He had not helped out when the twins were little. This had been a very difficult time for the mother, and she described a situation in which the babies cried constantly. This added stress undoubtedly exacerbated the already difficult task, with which mothers of twins are faced, of being emotionally available for two babies at once (Burlingham, 1946). This woman was currently raising three children by herself. She has been separated from the children's father for almost four years, although they were not yet divorced. During some of
that time, she and the three children had lived with her mother. Earlier in the summer, prior to this study, the girls had attended a program for children with an alcoholic parent. The children see their father often, although there is not an established routine.

Sue and Alice were in preschool together, but were separated in Kindergarten. Their developmental progress was apparently normal and even, although Alice did not have the socialization skills that Sue had. Alice had been described to me on the phone, before I had met the family, as an angry child who fought with the younger sister and other children at school. Within the family system, Alice was firmly fixed in the role of the acting-out-child, while Sue was polarized into the role of the caretaker. A polarization of behavior is typical for children with an alcoholic parent, or in any dysfunctional family system (Bradshaw, 1988). With twins it can also serve as a means of establishing a difference between the two individuals (Anderson & Anderson, 1990).

The twins reported having some different friends and some of the same friends. The mother indicated that it was difficult for them to play together with one friend, because one of them, usually Alice, would get left out. They do not have many opportunities to be apart, although both declared that they would rather not be together all the time. They participate in many sports, and try to be on different teams
The mother brought the younger sibling along with Sue and Alice to the interview. Helen, who was four, demanded quite a bit of attention while we were talking. Alice, in turn, was hostile toward Helen. The mother seemed overwhelmed by these behaviors, and unable to assert any control over the situation. During the interview, all three children played with colored plasticene clay. The younger child sat on the mother's lap, while both Sue and Alice would frequently get up, even while I was speaking to them, and wander around the room looking at and touching everything. Sue was more talkative and took charge of the dialogue. Even when I spoke directly to Alice, her response was minimal. Sue also took the lead in using the materials, taking the color clay she wanted first and also using the tools first. Alice seemed to wait, allowing Sue first choice, fighting instead with Helen.
SUE

Sue was the firstborn twin. Early in the first session, which was the joint session with Alice, Sue reiterated this point. She mentioned that sometimes Alice draws rainbows "so good; I can't even do them that good, (pause) even though I'm older." Sue was not only letting me know that being older is important to her, but also that being the oldest implies being better.

Sue was clearly identified within the family system as the caretaker, the responsible one. Several incidents which were related to me by the mother and by Sue herself, showed that Sue acted in a mothering role with her sisters. This was also evident in her behavior during the first session. Sue remained very focused on her sister throughout the entire session, although she received little response back. This behavior ranged from paying attention at all times to what her sister was doing, to telling her what she should do. For example, Alice was drawing a picture of water, and Sue told her, without being asked, how to proceed. Sue also tried to interest Alice in using the crayons, as Sue was. Alice was using oil pastels, and Sue seemed to need Alice to do the same things she did. Alice was not interested, but Sue persisted, trying various tactics. Then, when they finished the first drawing, Sue told Alice that she should have used crayons, should have used the silver color, should have used larger paper like Sue had, and so on.
Sue's lack of investment in her own work shows in the flat affect of her first free drawing (Figure 1). She had started with the oil pastels but changed to crayons, a less intense medium which is more easily controlled. The orange sun in the upper right corner is prominent both in the intensity of the orange and black color, which is oil pastel, and the sharp quality of the straight lines used. The sun often represents a parental figure for children (Hammer, in Rabin & Haworth, 1960, chap. 14). The orange color and sharp rays can indicate a conflict with that figure (Drachnik, 1985), and indeed, this sun has a looming quality about it. It was as though, under the watchful eye of the sun, Sue was compelled to retreat from her feelings to a repetition of acceptable, stereotyped images in pretty colors, much as the role she played in her family. The butterfly was drawn last, perhaps when Sue felt safe enough to risk a little more animation. As we talked about her drawing, Sue commented that the hearts are like butterflies and added the antennae, the "feelers." I felt that, symbolically, the transformation of the hearts into butterflies might express that Sue was willing to use these sessions to get in touch with her feelings.

The combined House-Tree-Person drawing (Figure 2) was completed after the free drawing. Sue's drawing reveals an insecure child, with feelings of inadequacy and anxiety. The tall, thin house suggests vulnerability, and the buckling walls a weakness in ego-strength (Hammer, 1980). The
emphasis on the chimney and smoke indicates an experience of the home life as being a heated, emotional environment (Hammer, 1980), while the profuse, densely drawn smoke suggests constriction and inner tension (Buck, 1970).

Sue drew her tree resting on the bottom edge of the paper. The "paper-based" image suggests insecurity and feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970, p. 109), and could apply, in the case of the tree, to the body image and self-concept. The tree trunk is heavily charged. It is densely colored in with brown marker pen, while the remainder of the drawing is more lightly colored with crayon. Such emphasis suggests anxiety and hostility (Buck, 1970).

Sue identified the person as herself. She began with a flesh colored stick figure, over which she drew clothes, creating a transparency. A stick figure, drawn in a situation in which the individual is asked to drawn a person, is indicative of evasion, frequently due to insecurity and self-doubt (Levy in Hammer, 1980, chap. 4). Furthermore, there is barely any substance to the figure under the clothes, suggesting to me the need for outer appearances or acquired roles to provide a sense of identity. The figure's short arms are totally hidden by the shirt, implying a sense of helplessness and dependency (Machover, 1957). While transparencies are normal for younger children, for a girl of seven, they are considered an emotional indicator and are associated with immaturity and impulsivity (Koppitz, 1968).
1. Sue--Free Drawing

2. Sue--House-Tree-Person Drawing
3. Sue--Kinetic-Family-Drawing
The figure has no hands or feet, again suggesting a general sense of insecurity and helplessness (Koppitz, 1968).

The psychological picture of herself that Sue has given us reveals much that is not readily seen in the well behaved, competent girl who takes over the responsibility of mothering her sisters. This profile was expanded in the other assessment tasks which Sue completed.

Sue also completed the Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figure 3) during the first session. The instruction to draw her family doing something elicited anxiety in Sue, who was not sure if she should include her father. Sue chose to use colored pencils for this drawing, which is an even more structured medium than crayon, possibly indicating a need to have more control over the expression of her feelings regarding her family. Sue announced that she would draw the family at the beach. She started the drawing with a light blue wavy line going all the way across the page, saying that the waves are going up and down. She began densely coloring in the water with dark blue, as she had told Alice to do in her free drawing. Sue only colored a small area this way, however, when she became frustrated with the difficulty of coloring such a large area with pencil and finished the water with rapid strokes. A preoccupation with water is associated with depression (Burns & Kaufman, 1972), and the water in this picture certainly has a heavy quality to it. Next she used a charcoal pencil to draw a pier with three posts. The pier itself is red, with black vertical lines indicating boards.
The charcoal squeaked, and Sue attempted to engage Alice's attention with the sound.

Sue again drew stick figures, using green pencil for all of them. The figures were rapidly and carelessly drawn. Heads and limbs often do not connect to the body, and no distinguishing features or accessories were added. The father, the figure on the left, is the smallest figure and a little removed from the other members of the family. Sue is in the middle, quite a bit larger than her twin sister. Helen, although three years younger, is drawn the same size as Alice but with a smaller head. The mother is the largest figure, indicating her importance to Sue, although she is physically separated from Sue by Helen.

By making herself larger than her sisters and centrally positioned, Sue is showing us how she views her place in the family. Her "job" often includes coming between Alice and Helen when they fight. Again, there is no substance to these figures, and there are no distinguishing features. The only sense of identity for Sue appears to be her role in the family.

The lines on the pier act to compartmentalize the figures. This style is used as an attempt to cut off the feelings between the individual members of the family (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). It is also significant to note that the black lines actually cut across the figures of Sue and her twin, so that Sue is partly in Alice's compartment, and Alice is partly outside of her own compartment, leaning toward her
father. This might reflect Sue's dependence on her twin, which her behavior during this session indicated, as well as Alice's aloofness toward Sue. The heavy red scribbling on the pier suggests anxiety or tension (Machover, 1957). Although the family is supposedly on the pier to go fishing, they have no fishing equipment and appear to be in danger of sliding into turbulent waters. The overall affect of the drawing is bleak emptiness. It suggests a family situation incapable of offering Sue much support.

The sandtray scene (Figure 4a) which Sue made in her first individual session is as bleak and empty as the K-F-D. Again there is a preoccupation with the water element. To create such a large area of water, Sue had to scoop sand out of the tray into a bucket on the floor. She was very invested in getting every grain of sand out of the water area. She then proceeded to add sand back to the beach area, elevating it to the very top of the tray. The compulsion with which she treated both of these areas, which effectively divide the tray into two parts, is, perhaps, a reflection of the polarization which she experiences in relation to her twin.

At this point Sue said that she was done. She explained that this was a beach. When I asked if there was any one at the beach, first she said, "No," then, "Maybe," and went to look at the figures. Her incongruent choice of figures is
4a. Sue--Sandtray, Overview

4b. Sue--Sandtray, Detail (Beach)
4c. Sue--Sandtray, Detail (Horse)
appropriate for a much younger child (Kalff, 1980). None of the figures are touching or interacting, which would suggest to me a sense of isolation.

Most of the figures which Sue placed on the beach are idealized characters (Figure 4b). They include Robin Hood, Wonder Woman, Snow White, Superman, ballerinas, and Wizard of Oz figures. Except for the Wicked Witch, all of these figures are associated with good behavior. They seem like a resume of acceptable roles, especially as they are lined up on the right side, which relates to the outer world (Kalff, 1980). The Wicked Witch, placed next to the Good Witch, again suggests polarization.

The only movement indicated in the tray is in the water, which represents the unconscious (Kalff, 1980), where there are six boats and a circus horse rearing up on its hind legs (Figure 4c). The boats offer the potential for movement, if only on an unconscious level at this point. Sue stated that the horse is going into the water, explaining that horses can swim. The circus horse can represent natural instincts that have been tamed (Kalff, 1980), and it seems that Sue must go into the unconscious in order to reconnect with these instincts in herself.

After finishing the tray, Sue talked about three babies which she had placed partially buried in the sand. Figures buried in the sand suggest energies that have been blocked (Kalff, 1980). She wanted each of the babies to have a mother. The figures she chose for this role are all
inappropriate in some way as mothers. One is a woman who is also partially buried in the sand, so that she does not have use of her arms and legs. Another is Snow White, who, according to the story, is a child herself. The third mother is one of two identical female figures which Sue had placed in the water. This mother is completely separated from her baby. Although the other two mothers are nearer to their babies, they are facing away and seem disconnected from them. All three of these mother-child relationships suggest inadequate nurturing.

Kalff (1980) suggests that both the problem and the solution are often presented in the first tray. The problem, as presented in this tray, seems to be an inner split that has left Sue with no real sense of identity. The isolation of the figures suggests that the early centering, which normally takes place in two- or three-year-old children (Kalff, 1980), has not occurred. The untended babies suggest a disruption in the mother-child unity that is a prerequisite to the development of a healthy ego (Weinrib, 1983). It seems that Sue's needy ego has compensated by adopting an extroverted role in which she performs as a good girl and a caretaker, and as a result has lost any sense inner self. The figures on the right are looking to the left, the unconscious, where there is the potential for movement. It is in this arena where the necessary growth may occur. The circus horse, which has ventured from the land into the
water, suggests a potential for Sue to bridge the division between her familial role and her inner needs.

Evidence of low self-esteem, as well as a poorly developed sense of identity can be seen in the other assessment tasks which Sue completed. Sue did two Human- Figure-Drawings, one chromatic, using colored pencils, and one achromatic, using only lead pencil. The arms held rigidly to the body in the chromatic H-F-D (Figure 5) reflect rigid inner control and a difficulty in reaching out to others (Koppitz, 1968). Again, the hands have been omitted, even though the figure is "holding" balloons. These can symbolize a desire to rise above and escape from a restrictive situation (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). The clothes are elaborately colored in. Such emphasis as stripes is considered a stylized form of shading, and can also indicate anxiety (Machover, 1957).

The achromatic H-F-D (Figure 6), completed in the last session, has both hands and feet. The legs, however, are reminiscent of the stick figure and do not offer substantial support for the figure. The short arms suggest feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970) and passive dependency (Gilbert, cited in Wenck, 1986). Arms extended perpendicular to the body also imply regression and a limited ability to make contact with the environment (Machover, 1957). In describing this figure to me, Sue stated that the girl is five years old. Making a figure that is younger than oneself also
suggests regression (Meyer, Brown & Levine, cited in Wenck, 1986). It might express a desire to be younger or relate to an age at which a significant experience had occurred.

In the Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (Figure 7), also completed in the last session, Sue reveals a strong sense of competition in her relationship to Alice. Balls are frequently used in K-F-Ds to indicate the line of energy between family members. A ball being thrown from one member to another suggests competition between those members (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). In this drawing, Sue, the figure on the right, is throwing the ball to Alice. A large ball, such as this, indicates an extremely competitive situation (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). After completing the figure of herself in a frontal view, Sue erased the eye on the right, attempting to indicate that her head is turned toward Alice. The effect is strange, because the mouth is backwards and there is no nose. The confused facial features perhaps reflect the way in which Sue's identity remains confused by her constant focus on her twin sister. While depicting the path of the ball with dashes, Sue explained gleefully that Alice would be hit by the ball, because she was not looking. Alice's lack of involvement with Sue was a source of frustration for Sue, and she seemed delighted with the idea of getting back at her.

Again, we see the sense of inadequacy and helplessness in the figures themselves: stick figure legs, inward turning feet, short, ineffectual arms, and no hands, even though the figures are throwing a ball. In addition, a ground line is
5. Sue--Chromatic Human-Figure-Drawing

6. Sue--Achromatic Human-Figure-Drawing
7. Sue--Kinetic-Twin-Drawing

8. Sue--Stimulus Drawing Assessment
drawn along the bottom of the paper, but the figures are floating in mid air, suggesting that the environment is not supporting them. At the top are three clouds with rainbows between them, which are represented by three lines. This essentially creates a lining at the top of the paper, which is a feature added by children who are very anxious and perceive the world as being scary and full of worry (Burns & Kaufman, 1972).

In Sue's Stimulus Drawing assessment (Figure 8), she reveals a source of this worry. Titled "The Fighting and the Arguing," she depicts three separate scenes created from five Stimulus Drawing cards. She stated that she chose these five cards because all of the figures are angry. To the left is an angry man with a fierce dog. The dog bit the man and ran away. It is barking. The man is yelling at the dog. The porcupine, below and to the right of the man, is angry because someone took one of its quills, which hurt it. The chicken and dinosaur are yelling at each other, because the dinosaur stole the bird seed, so the chicken stole the dinosaur's meat. All of the figures have teeth and are yelling, which is depicted with lines coming out of the mouths. On the chicken, which is in profile, Sue added the teeth in a second beak which is drawn in frontal view and placed on the head below the eye. The beak which faces the dinosaur and with which the chicken is yelling has no teeth. As teeth are an indication of aggression (Machover, 1957), this evasive placement of the teeth would suggest covert
hostility. When Sue talked about the chicken and the
dinosaur, she related how Helen uses her things when she does
not want her to. I would speculate that in her rigidly fixed
role as caretaker, Sue does not have direct access to
feelings such as anger and hostility.

Most of Sue's free choice work was with collage. She
used a variety of different materials, arranging them in
categories on the paper. This is particularly evident in her
first collage (Figure 9). In her second collage, Sue filled
the large size paper primarily with the initials and the
names of her two sisters, using different materials. The
largest initial on the page is that of her twin sister. This
letter is also centrally placed on the page and made from
glitter pom poms, a material she considered very precious and
not to be wasted. She was careful not to use "too much,"
making her other sister's initial much smaller. It is
significant, I believe, that Sue represented first her twin
and then her younger sister, using the material she considered
most precious, but not herself. In fact, she painted her
own initial on the paper only once. She also painted lines
of color, in order to use all of the colors that she liked.
She picked beads that she liked and glued them on in little
groups, as she had in the first collage. In contrast, by the
last session, Sue's collage was more cohesive (Figure 10).
She approached the materials in the same systematic manner,
but she was able to create an image, using the materials in
the service of her imagination.
9. Sue--First Collage

10. Sue--Last Collage
Alice was the secondborn twin. She seemed to defer to Sue, her twin sister, by allowing Sue first choice as to where she wanted to sit and the materials she wanted to use. However, Alice seemed to concentrate intently on her own work, and in this way would ignore Sue's attempts to control her.

Within the family system, Alice was the trouble maker. She fought with her younger sister, Helen, and also fought with children at school. Her artwork reflected emotional intensity, in the bold use of color and dense application of the materials. In the first session, which she attended jointly with Sue, Alice started right off with a highly animated free drawing (Figure 11). She has depicted a mermaid sitting on a rock in the water, pointing at fireworks which have just been set off. A fish jumps out of the water to watch also. Sue had told Alice that the water should be a dark blue. Alice responded impatiently with, "I know," and densely filled in the water with blue oil pastel. Other elements of the picture were also densely colored. Such heavy use of the drawing instrument can indicate a high level of tension or anxiety (Buck, 1970) and aggression (Hammer, 1980). The fireworks explosion, although represented by a wild mass of colors, shows a kind of order which suggests an ability or an effort to contain explosive emotions. As Alice drew the clouds, she commented that her teacher had taught
her how to make clouds. Alice told me that she missed her. Judging from this imaginative story that was visually well developed, I felt that Alice would be able to use the art materials very productively for self-expression.

Alice's House-Tree-Person drawing (Figure 12) was less well developed and revealed insecurity and feelings of inadequacy and constriction. The house is colorless, in contrast to the densely colored features in the last drawing, and conveys to me a sense of emotional emptiness, while the long, winding, thin line of smoke suggests a felt lack of emotional warmth in the home (Jolles, cited in Wenck, 1986). At the same time, the bold pattern on the chimney suggests tension in the home (Hammer, 1980). The tall, thin structure of the house implies vulnerability, while the overly large door suggests dependency (Hammer, 1980). The door is edged against the wall of the house, which also indicates a need for support and a lack of self-assurance (Hammer, 1980).

All three elements, the house, the tree and the person, are drawn sitting on the bottom edge of the paper, indicating insecurity and feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970). The heavy emphasis placed on the tree trunk suggests hostility and anxiety (Buck, 1970).

Alice identified the person in her drawing as her mother. Children most often draw themselves, because that is who is most important to them. A drawing of someone else reflects a preoccupation, which might be positive or negative, with that person (Koppitz, 1968). Feelings of the
self are incorporated into the picture of this person, (Hammer, 1980) and the way in which this figure is drawn tells us about the child as well (Koppitz, 1968). This figure connotes a feeling of constriction through the trunk, as though it has been tightly squeezed. There are no legs or feet indicated, suggesting anxiety and insecurity and a general sense of helplessness (Kopitz, 1968). The shoulders are up around the head. The omission of the neck, the link between the body's impulses and the head's rational control, suggests a lack of impulse control (Machover, 1957), although this is not considered an emotional indicator in girls' drawings until age nine (Koppitz, 1968). The arms dangle down ineffectually, and the lack of hands suggests helplessness (Koppitz, 1968). The head is in profile, implying evasiveness (Machover, 1957), especially as the figure is shown facing away from the house and tree. As related to the mother this might reflect a lack of attention felt by Alice from the mother, while as related to herself it might indicate an inclination to avoid contact, as in her behavior with Sue.

The Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figure 13) reveals a great deal of pain. Alice complained that she could not draw her father because she did not remember what he looked like. However, she had not been told that she needed to include her father. She began with pencil, writing the names of all of the family members, each in a separate box along the top of the page. She then asked if she had to color in the drawing,
and if she could use just one color. She started with pink and drew some lines which she then scribbled out. She finished one figure in pink and drew part of a second—the body, legs and penis. After shading the penis, she switched to red to finish that figure and her two sisters. She drew herself last, in orange. The first time she talked about this drawing, she said that the first figure on the left was her mother, and the one next to it, with the penis, was her father. Later, she said that the first was her father, because his name is the first written at the top of the page, and the mother was the figure with the penis. Alice depicts herself, the figure on the right, as the smallest, and her twin as the largest figure in the family, suggesting that Alice perceives Sue as being dominant within the family (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). When asked if they are doing anything, Alice replied that they are all dancing in the living room, except for her. She is in the kitchen. She likes to eat, but she does not like to dance.

The appearance of genitalia in a drawing by a child this age can indicate serious psychological disturbance and aggression (Koppitz, 1968). Alice draws herself as the smallest figure in her family, a different color, and, theoretically, removed to a separate room. She, in effect, is isolated. The compartmentalization of the names suggests further feelings of isolation and an effort to cut off the feelings between the family members (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). The figures all lack necks and hands, again indicating a lack
11. Alice--Free Drawing

12. Alice--House-Tree-Person Drawing
13. Alice--Kinetic-Family-Drawing

14. Alice--Kinetic-Twin-Drawing
of impulse control (Machover, 1957). While the figures do have feet, the children have only short, stick-figure legs, implying that they are not well supported and their mobility is restricted (Koppitz, 1968).

During this session, all of the figures drawn by Alice are without noses. This omission is associated with shy and withdrawn behavior, "an inability to go forward with self-assurance," and may also suggest body anxiety (Koppitz, 1968, p. 66). Although Alice was presented as an aggressive child, and did fight with her younger sister during the interview, I experienced her as quiet and withdrawn, especially from her twin, when in the presence of her family.

In later individual sessions, all of the figures drawn by Alice have noses. This is due, perhaps, to her growing comfort with the sessions and/or herself as a result of her creative process during this study. However, these drawings continue to indicate feelings of inadequacy, helplessness and low self-esteem. In the Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (Figure 14), both figures are drawn without hands or feet. The arms are short and extend perpendicular to the body, suggesting feelings of inadequacy (Wolk, cited in Wenck, 1986), passive dependency (Gilbert, cited in Wenck, 1986) and a limited ability to make contact with the environment (Machover, 1957). The figures are seated, which can signify insecurity (Allen, cited in Wenck, 1986), and have the appearance of being very small children sitting on high chairs.
Alice drew the larger figure, which she labeled "Sue," first, drawing herself second and substantially smaller. Again, this would indicate that Alice perceives Sue to be the dominant twin (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Both torsos are thin and appear constricted, especially Alice's, which is almost cut off at the waist. This small tightened trunk can imply denied body drives (Buck, 1970) and inferiority feelings (Urban, cited in Wenck, 1986). These two figures are the only ones drawn by Alice that have necks. As the neck reflects the link between the body and mind (Machover, 1957), the long necks on the figures of herself and her twin, might connote an inhibition of feelings in relation to each other. The intense feelings of competition and aggression which twins often feel toward each other can be terrifying, resulting in efforts to suppress these feelings (Albon et al., 1986). Both figures look forward, rather than at each other, and are positioned far apart on the page with a table between them, on which is a box of crayons and two pieces of paper. As this was the last session, it is possible that Alice was expressing a desire to continue the art activities and to continue to have time apart from her twin sister, an opportunity these sessions had given her.

The Human-Figure-Drawing (Figure 15) was completed during the same session as the K-T-D. Children commonly draw a person of their own sex for this assessment task (Koppitz, 1968). Alice has drawn her "Daddy." This might indicate a strong attachment to or dependence on her father and/or a
15. Alice--Human-Figure-Drawing

16. Alice--Stimulus Drawing Assessment
17. Alice—Collage
confusion of body image or sexual identity (Levy, in Hammer, 1980, chap. 4). It is possible that Alice, as the secondborn twin, feels a need to identify with her father (Albon et al., 1986). Also, Alice had appeared disturbed about the K-F-D, in which she had drawn a penis on the father figure. It seemed that she might be attempting to make up for that drawing. This time the figure is clothed, but there continue to be anxiety indicators, such as the densely shaded hair and mouth (Koppitz, 1968). The head is actually sitting in the torso, suggesting an extreme lack of impulse control. The arms are dangling ineffectually, as in her H-T-P and K-F-D figures. While Alice may be describing her father, to some extent, the manner in which the figure is drawn reflects her attitudes toward herself (Koppitz, 1968). She may also be expressing some aspect of her relationship to her father. I believe that it is significant that Alice chose to draw a parent, rather than herself, for both of the human figure drawings.

Alice's approach to the Stimulus Drawing task (Figure 16) was quite unusual. The task of selecting seemed overwhelming to her. She started with six related cards, but rather than develop a story with them, she went through the remaining cards, which she divided into sections, choosing two additional cards from each section, for a total of eighteen cards. She never drew at all, but, rather, arranged the cards on the page in pairs, writing something between each pair regarding their connection with each other. These
range from an idea, such as the prince and princess are "in love," to a concrete association where the cards are labeled, such as "cowboy and gun," to fairly unfathomable connections like, "worm and baby are nice" and "stairs and love." From Alice's performance with this task, I would judge that she is at a very early developmental level regarding the cognitive and creative skills needed for the abilities to select, combine and represent (Silver, 1989).

Alice's behavior reflected, I believe, the use of the process of organizing things into groups as a means of making sense of outside stimuli, which seem to be overwhelming for her. Mahler (1974) refers to an infant's development of an internal "shield," which serves as a selective stimulus barrier. It is through this mechanism, the formation of which is dependent on a strong parent/child bond, that infants begin to differentiate themselves from the world around them. Alice appeared to be stuck at this point in her development, which would suggest an insufficiently formed parent/child bond. Alice's work in the sandtray, as well as her collage work, also indicated a fixation at this level.

Alice was mostly interested in the materials themselves, and she used as many different things as she could in her collages. For the most part, all of one type of thing, such as pom poms or shells, would be glued down as a group as in Figure 17. The paint was applied in lines so that she could use all the colors that she liked. She did create shapes
with the glitter and arranged the shells into the shape of flags, but these forms have no relationship to each other.

Her first sandtray (Figure 18a) also appears to be a hodge-podge of random objects and figures and is more typical of a much younger child. This flooding of the tray with objects is a reflection of emotional turmoil and chaos in the child's life (Allan, 1989). The number of objects used is excessive, but there is some order in the way in which they have been arranged in groups. Also, Alice studied each object carefully before placing it in the tray, and would leave some figures on the shelves, reaching behind them for others. These behaviors would indicate that she was engaged in some type of selective process.

The lower right corner, in a first tray, relates to the relationship to the mother (Kalff, 1980). Alice lined this quadrant with mirrors (Figure 18b), into which two figures, a girl and a boy, both talking on the telephone, look. The use of mirrors by a child reflects back to the mirroring stage of development, about fifteen to eighteen months. The extensive use of mirrors in this corner could indicate a lack of bonding during that phase (J. Tatum, personal communication, Dec. 15, 1989). An additional mirror was added in front of another figure, a doll in a blue leotard in the center of the tray (Figure 18c). This doll was the first item Alice had placed in the tray. Its position in the center suggests that it is related to Alice's sense of self (Kalff, 1980). The
18a. Alice, First Sandtray, Overview

18b. Alice--First Sandtray, Detail (Mirrors)
18c. Alice--First Sandtray, Detail
(Doll & Mirrors)

18d. Alice--First Sandtray, Detail (Center)
use of the mirror here would reiterate an inner need to complete the developmental processes of the mirroring stage in order for the self to be fully formed.

After she had placed this doll, Alice arranged a well, a bridge, an arbor and traffic cones into a scene, also in the center of the tray (Figure 18d). The figure of the woman carrying a baby was added to the bridge later, almost last. Alice told me that the woman is taking the baby to the well to get water. Despite the excessiveness of this tray, which has an obsessive, almost perseverative quality to it, this little scene suggests the presence of a strong drive toward a manifestation of self. The traffic cones serve to delineate this area, setting it apart from the chaos in the rest of the tray. Sue also added flags, a symbol for identification (Amatruda, 1989), around this area, and lined the path to the well with crystal beads, clearly marking the way.

The bridge suggests transition, in that it can connect two areas to each other (Bradway, 1985). In this tray the bridge leads from the area of flags, where the doll figure looks in the mirror, to the well, which is accentuated by the arbor placed around it. A well provides access to water from deep in the earth, signifying a connection to the unconscious and the feminine principle (Amatruda, 1989). The woman carrying the baby is a positive image of the nurturing mother. I believe Alice is expressing the issue that is central to her now in her individuation process. The infant
19. Alice—Second Sandtray
within her must be attended to if she is to move forward in her development of a sense of identity.

A second sandtray which Alice completed shows more control over the selection process (Figure 19). Everything on the right side, except for one figure, a Mexican Day of the Dead skeleton woman, is appropriate to the domestic scene she has depicted. She has implied, by the arrangement of the furniture, a bedroom, a bathroom, a living room and a kitchen. The left side of the tray, however, has the same chaotic quality as the last tray. Unrelated figures of all sorts, which Alice referred to as statues, are jumbled together. They do have a commonality, however, in that they are all fantasy or ideal figures, such as Snow White and the Seven Dwarves, Superman, ballerinas and angels. These figures are all facing the lower left corner, which is considered to represent the unconscious (Kalff, 1980), in which stands the Wicked Witch, a Wizard of Oz figure. Alice is identified within her family as the acting-out child, which this witch perhaps represents.

Diagonally across from the witch, in the upper right, is the skeleton woman. Problems are often depicted on the diagonal (Kalff, 1980). The presence of the skeleton in the home scene, perhaps depicts the projection of the unconscious negative self-image, symbolized by the witch, into the conscious, daily home life. Although there is no centering, per se, in this tray, Dorothy, who is a Wizard of Oz figure
and carries her dog, Toto, in a basket has been placed in the very center of the tray. As this area can represent the self, the choice of the figure of Dorothy might indicate Alice's readiness to embark on the individuation/separation process, of which Dorothy's journey through Oz might be analogous.
Sue and Alice had many of the same elements in their assessment tasks. These included indications of insecurity, anxiety, and feelings of inadequacy, helplessness, constriction and dependency. Both girls depicted the family situation as tense and threatening. Both revealed feelings of competition in relation to each other. There is also a sense of the figures in both K-T-Ds being ungrounded, suggesting, perhaps, a difficulty with which the twinship presents both of them. Both girls also seem to be developmentally delayed in cognitive and creative tasks related to the abilities to select, combine and represent. Alice is somewhat more delayed in this area, which is possibly a function of the difficulties in early parent-child bonding facing secondborn twins.

The main difference in their work is in overall affect. Alice used the art materials more expressively, perhaps in keeping with her more aggressive behavior, tending to produce bolder results. The differences in their sandtrays shows this distinction most clearly. While Alice's trays are disturbing in that they convey such chaos, they do show evidence of centering, which suggests an active force at work in the process of individuation/separation. On the other hand, Sue's tray not only has an empty center, but is actually divided in half through the center. It has a bleak and empty quality to it.
Although Sue, the older twin, is perceived by both twins as the dominant one, and by the family as the better adjusted child, she reveals a poverty of affect. Perhaps the price she pays for allowing Alice to express the aggressive feelings for both of them is a dependency on Alice to experience a full range of feelings which Sue must guard against, in order to fulfill her role as caretaker and "good" girl. There is no doubt that Alice pays a price for acting out, including an eroded self-image and feelings of inferiority, especially in comparison to her twin. The intensity with which she approached the art work and the sandtray, however, suggests to me a powerful drive toward inner healing, which was not evident in Sue's art work or sandtray.
Chapter 5

INTRODUCTION: CORY AND KIM

Cory and Kim are identical twin girls. They were eight years old at the time of these sessions, turning nine two weeks after the last session. They both have long blonde hair, worn in the same style, and they look very much alike. Kim has pierced ears, while Cory does not, which helps distinguish them. They are attractive girls of average size, and both are very shy.

The family had not been expecting twins when they were born, six weeks premature. The mother described it as a shock. She had a seven year old daughter by a previous marriage, but the twins were the father's first children. Cory was born first, and Kim was born twenty-one minutes later. Kim's birth was complicated by the umbilical cord being wrapped around her leg, and she had to be pulled out. Kim's lungs were not fully developed, and she remained in the hospital on a respirator for ten days. Cory remained in an incubator for five days.

The mother joined a Twins Club, which she found very supportive. She also received help with the babies from her mother and sister. The twins' mother found the constant demands of two infants to be the most difficult aspect of having twins, and noted that she raised these girls differently than she had raised her first child. She did not
work, as she had when her first child was little. She found that it was "easiest to put the twins' needs first," which was different than the way she had raised her first child.

The girls' developmental progress was close. Kim did some things first, after trial and error, while Cory might do them later but would avoid the trial and error. They were both very shy, and the mother noted that they would not go to strangers at their christening when they were one year old. The girls were together during three years in preschool and one in kindergarten. They had remained in preschool an extra year to develop their social skills. The mother requested that they be in separate activity groups whenever possible.

The girls went into separate classes in first grade, which they liked, because then people did not confuse them. They were both good students. They do not spend much time apart, and neither would answer whether or not they would like to. They did decide this year that one of them would take soccer and the other softball so that they would be involved in different activities. They both play tennis and take gymnastics. The mother reported that the area of greatest conflict between the girls is their friends. They mostly have different friends and are very possessive of their own friends. Because one of them always feels left out, it is difficult, she said, for them to share friends, although they do have one friend in common.
During the interview, Cory talked much more than Kim, who usually responded with "I don't know" or a shrug to any conversation directed her way. Both girls were very soft spoken, to the point of being inaudible, and often needed to repeat themselves several times before they could be heard. They both looked at their mother whenever I spoke to them and before speaking themselves. Toward the end of the hour, however, Cory became quite talkative, especially when asked about art that she had done before. She went on at length about a particular project she had done in first grade. The last item on the questionnaire (Appendix C), asks the children to make three wishes. Most children enjoy making wishes, but neither of these girls was able to name three things. Cory told a story about a wish she had once made that came true, and then named one thing she wanted that her mother would not let her have. Kim appeared very uncomfortable and answered only, "I don't know." Both girls kept busy with the modeling clay, each making several things. Both made something especially for their mother.
CORY

Cory was the firstborn twin. She was home with her mother for five days after the birth before her twin sister, Kim, came home from the hospital. Cory was seen by the mother as being the more socially well adjusted twin. During the interview Cory had been very shy, but more talkative than her twin. This behavior continued in the first session, which Cory attended with her sister.

Cory worked silently and remained focused on her own work throughout this session. She chose large paper and oil pastels for the first art process, a free drawing (Figure 20). Cory drew a single tree with a sun shining directly above it and three clouds in the sky. She was finished with her drawing first, and we talked about it. She had left a white hole in the tree trunk, about which I asked. Cory said that she had wanted to draw a squirrel in it, but did not know how. She then decided to draw a rabbit in it, using a pencil to do so. She went on to draw a chair in the hole, also. While she waited for Kim to finish, she added the words "This is the rabbit's home," drawing a circle around the words and a long, heavily shaded arrow pointing to the hole.

Animals drawn inside of tree holes are common in children's drawings, and suggest dependency and a desire for a withdrawn, protected space (Hammer, 1980). Children identify with the animal they have drawn in the hole (Hammer,
1980), and the dark arrow, which is more prominent in the original drawing than it appears in the photograph, seems to be a means of asking for attention. The tree, which evokes deep, unconscious feelings about the self (Hammer, 1980), is drawn here standing alone in a field. It is both the central focus of attention and somewhat isolated. The trunk is heavily colored in, which suggests some anxiety regarding self-concept (Buck, 1970).

Some of the features in this drawing occur in the House-Tree-Person drawing as well (Figure 21). In both drawings, the images are "paper-based," suggesting insecurity and feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970, p. 109). The sun symbolizes a source of power and warmth and often represents a parental figure for children (Hammer, 1980). In these two drawings the sun is encapsulated by a yellow line that separates it from the rest of the drawing. This is an unusual feature in children's drawings and perhaps reflects a feeling of distance from a parental source of warmth. As Leonard (1961) stated, the parental bond is often compromised by the twin bond. There was also the early, potentially traumatic experience of Cory's separation from her mother for five days after she was born. The trees in both drawings appear cut off at the top of the trunk, with no branches indicated. This would suggest an inability or unwillingness to reach out into the environment (Buck, 1970), which is evident in Sue's shyness.
20. Cory--Free Drawing

21. Cory--House-Tree-Person Drawing
22. Cory—Kinetic-Family-Drawing
The house, in this drawing, is presented as a transparency, in which the interior rooms are seen through the walls. While this is considered normal presentation for children, (Hammer, 1980), there is a suggestion of a compulsive need to structure the environment (Buck, 1970). Perhaps, for this very shy child, it might reflect a desire to be more visible, to share more about herself in a way that is less threatening than verbal communication seems to be for her. Also, I learned later that Sue has a doll house at home, with which she plays quite often. The front room, indicated as the rectangle on the lower right, is depicted from the outside, with a very heavy door which has two opaque windowpanes, darkly outlined in black. This front room is, perhaps, an analogy to the "front" which Cory puts up in her social role as a shy child. Access through this doorway certainly appears guarded.

And yet, there is much that Cory seems anxious to share about her inner state. In the TV room, to the left of the front room, she has drawn herself watching TV, on which a face can be seen looking out from the screen, a cartoon, she said. There is a chair, like the one she drew in the rabbit's tree hole, and the TV has "rabbit ears." She has labelled the two upstairs rooms as bedrooms. They are identical, except for different colored bedspreads. Cory stated that one room was her parent's and one was hers, never mentioning either sister. This could reflect a desire to have her parents all to herself. The twins with whom I have
worked often fantasize families with an only child. Lights, which are commonly drawn by children with a need for attention or love (Burns & Kaufman, 1972), are shown here in each of the four rooms.

In the last session, after we had developed more of a rapport, we looked at this drawing again. At this time Cory commented that the girl, who is looking at the TV, is "either seeing a video of herself on the TV, or she's seeing her twin sister who is looking out from inside the TV, because it's broken and there's nothing inside of it." Without knowing it, Cory had imaginatively depicted the essence of the twin dilemma in her very first session. She has expressed the confusion of identity (is she seeing herself or her twin?) and the empty feeling this lack of identity causes (the TV has nothing inside of it). In this light, I believe the bedrooms depict that sense of being divided in two to which many twins have referred (Abbe & Gill, 1980). There is anxiety connected to the bedrooms, as evidenced by the process in which she labeled them. She had originally written one label at the top of the house saying "Bed Rooms," which was circled and had arrows coming down from it on both sides, pointing to the bedrooms. She erased all of that and replaced it with two labels on each side of the house, which are also circled, while the other room labels are not. The roof, directly above the bedrooms, also has a line, barely
visible, dividing it in two. Over this line, the roof has been heavily colored in black, a treatment that also suggests anxiety (Buck, 1970).

Cory's Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figure 22) is drawn from a "bird's-eye view," looking down on their swimming pool. Such a perspective can indicate a rejection of the subject being drawn (Buck, 1970, p. 109). An "over-exaggeration and preoccupation" with water can indicate depression (Burns & Kaufman, 1972, p. 276). In this drawing, the people are faceless circles, mere dots surrounded by water. This is an extreme case of body parts being omitted and suggests significant conflict and anxiety (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Each figure is encapsulated by a circle drawn around each head, which was left uncolored when Cory colored in the water. This could suggest isolation of the family members from each other (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). This sense of isolation is reinforced by the compartmentalization of the pool into three sections, with the older sister alone at the far end of the pool and the father alone in the center section. The whole pool is further encapsulated by a red line going around the perimeter, possibly suggesting another level of restriction and withdrawal, in this case from the world outside of the family. It is likely that the pool actually has red coping around it. However, the choice to represent her whole family in the pool and to include this detail in her drawing can still be significant.
Cory shows herself in the shallow end with her twin and her mother. This is the smallest section and is the most densely colored, perhaps indicating the intensity of the restriction Cory feels in these relationships. Cory is closest to, and facing, her mother, and facing away from her twin, who is shown far behind her at the edge of the pool next to a large black tire which floats between them. Reading this symbol as one might consider a dream image, Cory's statement could be that she is "tired" of Kim.

Cory completed three sandtrays during the individual sessions. These expand on the themes of isolation, competition and feelings of emptiness. In contrast to her usual quietness, Cory talked while she worked in the sand, telling me what was going on as she moved the figures around. In the first scene (Figures 23a & 23b), she has divided the tray into two warring factions of Indians. The upper portion is the "bad" side, which included a medicine man, an Indian with a bow and arrow, a woman carrying water and an alligator. The lower portion of the tray is the "good" side and included a chief, an Indian with a lasso, an Indian with a baby, an Indian on a horse and a dog. An Indian in the upper left corner is tied to a tree stump. He is a good Indian who was caught in a trap by the bad Indians, and is being held prisoner, guarded by the alligator. A hen and her chickens, which were stolen from the good Indians are also being guarded by the alligator.
The center of the tray, which symbolizes the center of the self (Kalff, 1980), is empty. The territory is in conflict as two Indians from warring sides confront each other across this space, their standoff depicting immobilized energy. The problem, which is presented in a first tray (Kalff, 1980), could be described as a lack of a self image due to the immobilizing effect of inner conflict. The figures in this tray have all been arranged in pairs, suggesting that the issue involved has to do with being a twin. The chief and medicine man, who are on opposite sides, are in a line across from each other, watching the warriors. The chief smokes a peace pipe, the medicine man raises a torch, both, perhaps, representing wise aspects of Cory that are inactive, but present and witnessing the inner conflict.

On a diagonal line across from each other, which offers, in a first tray, a diagnostic clue to the problem being presented (Kalff, 1980), are the prisoner and the Indian on a horse. A horse being ridden implies instinctual energies that have been trained, providing a source of power and mobility (Kalff, 1980). With this rider is a dog, another symbol of instinctual energies that have been trained to serve, providing loyalty and companionship (Kalff, 1980). Standing next to them is a totem pole, which represents a sense of identity (Kalff, 1980). All of these stand in opposition to the severely restricted and isolated state of the prisoner who is tied up and further immobilized by the
menacing presence of the alligator. The alligator is said to represent the negative mother (Kalff, 1980), and in this case may be depicting the overly dependent relationship Cory has with her mother. This type of relationship is frequently found when the original mother bond is disturbed (Mahler, 1974). Such a disturbance could have occurred due to Cory's separation from her mother at birth, and could also result from the development of a twin symbiosis (Maechen, 1968). The hen, which represents the caretaking mother (Kalff, 1980), is also threatened by the negative mother, suggesting that the mother's ability to be truly nurturing is being restricted by the present situation.

The means of resolution, which is presented in a first tray along with the problem (Kalff, 1980), lies in the touching story which Cory told about the two Indian women, who are together in the lower left corner. These women, she said, were friends even though they are on opposite sides. They can sneak through secret passageways in order to meet at the pond, where there is a room they can go to while they visit. The lower left corner symbolizes the unconscious (Kalff, 1980), and the pond suggests access to the deepest inner levels (Kalff, 1980). The two women represent nurturing aspects, the one woman carries water, an essential element of life, the other carries a baby, a new life. Despite the conflict around them, these two women have come together, suggesting that the possibility of integration has
begun on an unconscious level and that this healing potential is being given "room" in which to grow.

The second and third sandtrays continue to present an empty center, but there are some significant shifts. In the second tray (Figure 24), Cory expands on the witnessing element, which was represented in the last tray by the medicine man and the chief. It is through the process of witnessing that conscious awareness can come about (Weinrib, 1983). The tray depicts an animal park and is divided into four sections. Three of the sections have groups of animals which, Cory stated, are surrounded by glass walls. People, outside the walls stand watching the animals. In the fourth section a woman with a blonde ponytail, like Cory's, works with a trained seal. The seal does not need a wall around it, because, she explained, it is trained not to run away. The alligator appears again, but this time it is caged in. Cory is making an effort to look at and to work with some of the energies within her that have felt out of control, and, in the case of the alligator, have been working against her.

The third tray (Figures 25a & 25b) was completed in the last session. Much of the tray is empty and it has a stark quality to it. Along the lower edges she arranged furniture and drew lines in the sand to indicate the house where Snow White and the Seven Dwarves live. The presence of the dwarves in a tray suggests a working element, forces being mobilized (Kalf, 1980). Some of these dwarves are sleeping,
23a. Cory--First Sandtray, Overview

23b. Cory--First Sandtray, Detail (Horse & Rider)
24. Cory--Second Sandtray
25a. Cory--Third Sandtray, Overview

25b. Cory--Third Sandtray, Detail (Snow White)
Once there was an elephant. It was a girl. Her name was Ellen. Ellen has a big house.

One day Ellen was walking home from the park. She had a little peach around her neck. When she went to the park, she had some crackers, a drink, a sandwich, and an apple. Now she only has the little peach in her pocket. This is what Ellen looks like.

Ellen has no one. Ellen lives alone. Ellen's house has 6 rooms. Each room has its own size. Ellen eats ten pounds of food a day. She ropes for the sheep. Her house is 3 floors high. For dinner, Ellen has 6 dishes. Their house is 3 floors high and for dinner, later, she goes to bed.

The End.

26a. Cory--Stimulus Drawing Assessment, Front

26b. Cory--Stimulus Drawing Assessment, Back
but some are working in a garden, growing flowers and vegetables. This suggests that Cory is working to develop her own nurturing inner resources. One dwarf, who is carrying a lantern, is going for a walk in the forest, suggesting an effort to bring light or clarity to a part of herself that is unknown to her (Kalff, 1980). This dwarf, Cory explained, is friends with all the animals and keeps bringing them home for pets, without asking the others. Again there is a reference to the taming of instinctual energies.

Snow White was asleep when the dwarf left for the forest, so she could not go with him. She stands looking into a mirror. In a child's tray the mirror reflects back to the mirroring stage of development, of about fifteen months (J. Tatum, personal communication, Dec. 15, 1989). This might suggest here that, just as Snow White has been unable to venture into the forest because she overslept, Cory has been immobilized in her developmental process of self-actualization by an inadequate bond with a parent during the mirroring stage. The mirror is also a symbol for awareness, by looking in it we see that which we could not see without it (Weinrib, 1983). Cory seems, at this point in time, to be very active in the process of becoming aware.

Cory's interest in trained animals showed up also in the Stimulus Drawing task (Figures 26a & 26b). She used the pictures as illustrations for the text of a story which she wrote about an elephant who lives in a house with her owner.
Cory traced all of the SD pictures she used, except the bag the elephant carries, which she drew only after her attempts to trace it onto the elephant were unsuccessful. While her story showed an ability to verbally combine the various elements in an imaginative way, her illustrative use of the traced pictures suggests an inhibited approach to the visual aspect of this task. Cory was described by her mother as being fearful of performance situations, and perhaps she was concerned that her drawing performance would be inadequate.

For the Human-Figure-Drawing (Figure 27), Cory drew a very large figure, which she identified as herself. The attempt at gesture and action which can be seen in this figure is developmentally advanced for a child Cory's age (Lowenfeld and Brittain, 1975). However, such a large figure as this, which fills the whole page, is considered an emotional indicator for girls by age eight, and is thought to be an expression of anxiety or resentment (Koppitz, 1968). Combined with extensive erasing of most parts of the figure, there would seem to be a strong indication of anxiety (Machover, 1957). A large figure can also be a form of compensation for feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970). The short arms would also indicate feelings of inadequacy (Wolk, cited in Wenck, 1986).

Cory included a drawing of an owl in this picture. She explained that her older sister could draw owls well, and she would show me how. Cory went on to tell me that this (half-)sister was moving in with her father and would now be living
with him. This was hard for her, she said, because now she was the "oldest." This seemed to signify for her some vague concept of responsibility, which she was not able to delineate, yet appeared to be something about which she feels quite strongly, none the less. This might be further explanation of the large size of this figure, perhaps drawn as an expression of a felt need to be big enough to meet the responsibilities she imagines are hers. The feet are very large, which is unusual in a girl's H-F-D (Machover, 1957) and suggest feelings of insecurity (Urban, cited in Wenck, 1986). The position of the ponytail suggests a strong wind is blowing, into which the figure faces with one arm raised, as if to push against it. Such a wind infers difficulty or challenge in regard to the environment (Hammer, 1980). The extensive erasing and heavy shading of the ponytail suggests a high level of anxiety (Machover, 1957) that might be associated with this difficulty.

In the Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (Figure 28), the ponytail is once again a focal point. In fact, that is all that can be seen of the heads, as the figures are drawn from the back. Such a viewpoint is a strong statement of rejection of psycho-social interaction (Buck, 1970). Cory has drawn a picture of the first interview session. She and Kim are shown working with modeling clay at the table. The figures they made during that session are on the table next to them.
27. Cory--Human-Figure-Drawing
28. Cory--Kinetic-Twin-Drawing
This was drawn during the last session, and perhaps the back view of the figures, and the implied withdrawal, relates to her feelings about the termination.

Also, in drawing this view of herself with her twin, Cory is, perhaps, making a statement concerning the nature of this relationship. The figures are identical, down to the ponytails, which again receive extensive attention with shading, erasing and more shading. She was careful to make Kim's ponytail a little bit longer than her own, as, she said, it actually is. There is no distinction made in the clothes or the stance, and the two figures are partially encapsulated by the table which serves to bind them together.

Cory drew herself first, on the right side. She was careful to keep the line of the table top from going through her own body, but she drew it right through Kim's body, visually cutting Kim in half. She used a sketch line going across from the top of her head to mark where to draw Kim's head. She erased Kim's head twice, moving it down so that it is slightly below her own. Children who are striving for dominance will make sure to draw themselves elevated above the other figures in their drawings (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Although the difference in this case is extremely subtle, minute differences, such as this and the length of a ponytail, can be very significant to twins. The arms on both figures are small and thin, suggesting feelings of inadequacy and helplessness (Koppitz, 1968). Cory used another sketch
line to mark where to draw Kim's waist. She neglected to erase this line, although she erased quite excessively in this drawing and erased the first line she had used to mark the placement of Kim's head. Visually, this line alludes to an umbilical cord, and perhaps shows the extent to which Cory feels tied to her twin.

It is interesting to note the number of times Cory wrote both twins' names on the paper. She started with her own in cursive, then showed me how Kim would write her name. She said that she would write better next year, and showed me how her name would look then. She again showed me how Kim's would look, carefully explaining that she can not write Kim's name as well because it is not her name and she does not write it as often, as though clarifying for herself this difference between them. Finally she labeled the figures with printed letters. Cory went back and drew circles around the two sets of cursive names, encapsulating them and visually binding them together. The names labeling the figures were circled separately with a line joining them, similar to the line connecting the two figures at the waist. Such preoccupation with their names and linking them together could be another indication of the confusion which Cory seems to feel regarding her self-identity.
Kim was the secondborn twin. She was identified by the mother as the twin with a problem. Kim was excruciatingly shy during the interview, rarely saying anything, and then only in a whisper. In the first session, which she attended with her twin, she remained quiet, but did speak more freely with me on a one-to-one basis.

In her free drawing (Figure 29), Kim showed an awareness of perspective by the way she drew the hills overlapping each other. This shows transition into the Stage of Dawning Realism, which is usually seen in children nine to eleven years old (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1975). She shows a setting sun with several agitated lines of different colors in the sky, circling around it. As a type of encapsulation, this might indicate a sense of isolation from a parental source of warmth (Jolles, cited in Wenck, 1986). This encapsulation of the sun was also seen in Cory's work. The nature of the landscape Kim has drawn elicits further feelings of isolation with its brown hills, outlined in black, and the many isolated bushes, none touching or grouped in any way. Kim painstakingly colored each section of the hills and went over the outlines a third time with green to indicate grass. The intensity of this drawing suggests a great deal of inner tension.
29. Kim--Free Drawing
30. Kim--House-Tree-Person Drawing

31. Kim--Kinetic-Family-Drawing
Her House-Tree-Person drawing (Figure 30) is equally intense. The house and tree are both sitting on the bottom edge of the paper, suggesting insecurity and feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970). In addition, the house is "paper-chopped," cut off by the edge of the paper, on one side. This can indicate generalized insecurity (Buck, 1970, p. 108). The walls are densely colored in, and the structure has the appearance of a fortress, both of which suggest inaccessibility. In addition, the undersized door appears to be guarded by the figures of "Mom" and "Dad" which stand assertively on either side in windows topped with turrets. The numerous window panes make the windows appear barred, further suggesting inaccessibility. The rooms behind these windows, indicated here as the family room and the kitchen, may be perceived as restrictive (Buck, 1970). On the roof, attached to the chimney, are two antennae. The inclusion of "irrelevant" details such as this in the H-T-P drawing is an indication that this item holds a particular significance (Buck, 1970, p. 89). Considered with the previous elements that imply a very guarded condition, these, perhaps, represent an attempt to make contact with the world. The black hole in the tree trunk is considered scarring, and usually indicates a past traumatic experience (Buck, 1970).

Many of these same elements can be seen in Kim's Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figure 31), which is positioned in the bottom quarter of the page. This placement suggests a tendency to withdraw from the environment and feelings of
insecurity and inadequacy, which can be the cause of a depression of mood (Buck, 1970). Kim has shown all of the family members in the pool. This emphasis on water can also indicate depression (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). In addition, the pool appears to be sliding off of the page, with part of it extending below the bottom edge. This implies a sense of overwhelming constriction (Buck, 1970).

Only the heads of the family members have been drawn. The heads are of different sizes with different color hair, except for Kim and Cory, who both have blonde hair. Kim has drawn her own head quite a bit larger than Cory's, explaining that she is bigger. She chose to order the figures by size, by which criteria she would come before her older twin. This size difference had not been apparent to me, but was obviously significant to Kim. As in Cory's K-F-D, The omission of body parts would suggest conflict and anxiety (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). A red border around the pool serves to encapsulate the family and close them off from the outside, much as the structure of the house seemed to do in the H-T-P drawing.

The Human-Figure-Drawing (Figure 32) and the Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (Figure 33) are also positioned at the extreme bottom of the page. In the H-F-D, Kim has drawn herself doing homework in the yard. Drawing a figure in a seated position can be an indication of insecurity (Allen, cited in Wenck, 1986). She drew the table and benches first, struggling with the perspective. Her developing visual
32. Kim--Human-Figure-Drawing
33. Kim--Kinetic-Twin-Drawing
awareness of perspective had exceeded her ability to understand and represent this awareness. This is a common problem for children transitioning from the Schematic Stage to the Stage of Dawning Realism, which is age appropriate for Kim, although her attempt to show action and gesture is advanced for her age (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1975). However, the resulting mutilation of the figure, which is supposed to be sitting on the bench, is very disturbing. There is no torso and no legs, except for two lines on either side of each of the arms that are supposed to show her lap. The lines of the bench and the table have been left crossing through the arms, effectively cutting them off from the figure, creating a sense of helplessness. A tiny, incomplete figure such as this indicates a severe disturbance of body-image concept and feelings of inferiority (Hammer, 1980). The figure is barely separate from the furniture, which may be a poignant expression of the way a painfully shy child might feel and/or wish to feel invisible.

Kim seemed to be avoiding the task of drawing the human figure. Her K-F-D had consisted only of heads, and her approach to drawing the two figures in the K-T-D was also evasive. She began with a detailed depiction of the pool house at her home, erasing and redrawing much of it. The boards, shown as horizontal lines on the pool house, were apparently important to Kim because she had helped her father nail these on. Then she added the play house. Finally after drawing a deck and a ladder going up to it, she drew herself
on the deck. She erased and redrew the head, making it larger, and the legs, making them smaller. She left the lines of the deck crossing through her body, cutting her off at the waist. The arms are tight against the body, suggesting rigid inner control and a difficulty in reaching out to others (Koppitz, 1968). The neck is long, which can reflect dependency and conflict regarding the expression of impulses (Buck, 1970).

Cory is drawn on the ground below Kim. The position of the figure is ambiguous. The body seems to be moving away from the ladder, while the head is drawn in profile facing it. This may reflect the ambiguity which Kim perhaps feels toward her twin. This figure is even smaller and less substantial than the figure of Kim. Placing herself high above Cory, Kim reveals competition with and a desire for dominance over her twin (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Kim originally drew Cory's head under her feet, but erased it before adding the body. Such a direct indication of aggression was apparently too disturbing for Kim to express. Kim stated that Cory was coming up the ladder into the play house. Ladders are associated with tension and precarious balance in relationships (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). This anxiety is emphasized by the excessive erasing and redrawing of the ladder.

In Kim's Stimulus Drawing assessment (Figure 34), the first image she drew was the castle. She was planning to trace it, but copied it instead, in response to my suggesting
that she might want her castle smaller or larger. Her efforts at copying the castle exactly were painful to watch. The castle is drawn up against the edge of the paper, suggesting dependency and a need for support (Hammer, 1980). The house in the H-T-P drawing alluded to a fortress, but this castle is literally a fortress with barred windows. Kim used six other SD cards, tracing all of them. The only significant variations from the pictures as they are shown on the cards were drawn on the castle, to which she added a drawbridge and a dungeon (the barred windows on lower right side of castle). These expand on the expression of feelings of restriction which have been recurrent in Kim's work. The drawbridge, while allowing access to the castle, also serves to keep danger out, because it can be "withdrawn." The drawbridge is a highly controlling mechanism, as can be the defensive behavior of being shy and withdrawn. A dungeon is a place under a castle where people are kept prisoner. Kim stated that this dungeon sometimes fills with water, and the children who live in the castle swim there, if no one is being held in the dungeon.

The rest of the story is an adventure in which the two children climb a mountain and meet a mountain lion and a porcupine. According to Kim, the porcupine is more threatening to the children than the lion. An Indian, who is a friend, comes along and kills both animals, and the children get home safely. The placement of the figures on the paper appears to be random, but was actually quite
systematic. Kim worked from left to right and drew the castle, the stairs and the horse. When she came to the edge of the paper, she started again, going left to right, above the first set of drawings. When she got to the edge of the paper again, she still had the Indian to draw. She decided to place the Indian to the left of the climber. As she could have solved this problem in many different ways, it is possibly an indirect expression of aggression that the Indian appears to be shooting the child who is climbing the mountain.

This story suggests that Kim perceives there to be danger lurking in the world outside of the safety of her highly fortified home. As we looked at this drawing again in the last session, Kim changed the story so that only the porcupine is killed. The lion goes home, as a friend, with the children and the Indian. This could indicate that Kim had begun to accept her aggressive impulses, as represented by the lion (Weinrib, 1983), and could own the power that this would make available to her.

Kim completed three sandtrays. Each had a central mound in which four tunnels were dug. In the first tray (Figure 35a), Snow White and the Seven Dwarves are at the entrances to the four tunnels. Tunnels can indicate that energy is collecting (Reed, 1975), and the dwarves are workers who might mine this energy. Jung describes dwarves as representing "an unconscious content struggling toward light" (Weinrib, 1983, p.122).
The four tunnels go into a mound which is in the center of the tray, where the self is represented (Kalff, 1980). These tunnels form a cross inside the mound, suggesting a "psychological suspension" between conflicting drives and values (Weinrib, 1987). Located, as the cross is, inside this central mound, the conflict appears to lie at the very core of Kim's sense of self.

In this tray there is also a king, a prince and a trained seal who have gone down to the water where they meet a killer whale and two dolphins (Figure 35b). Kim related a dream she had had the night before, in which two whales, like this one, were in a swimming pool where she was swimming with a friend and others, including her mother and twin sister. The whales were scary and everybody got out of the pool. This dream occurred shortly after the session in which Kim had drawn her family in the pool for the K-F-D. Kim stated that the whale in the tray is friendly, but she had put armor on the king and prince and given them their staff and sword before sending them down to the water. Water can represent the unconscious (Kalff, 1980). Dolphins and whales are animals that dive deep into that realm, and thus hold the potential for communication from the depths of the unconscious (Amatruda, 1987). The king and the prince suggest a ruling authority and the trained seal suggests instincts that are controlled. The meeting of these three figures with the animals from the deep suggests a coming together of the rational and the instinctual energies.
34. Kim--Stimulus Drawing Assessment
35a. Kim--First Sandtray, Overview

35b. Kim--First Sandtray, Detail (At the Water)
36. Kim--Second Sandtray
37a. Kim--Third Sandtray, Overview

37b. Kim--Third Sandtray, Detail (Dolphins)
In the second tray (Figure 36), the figures are now lying on top of the mound, resting. In this tray Kim has used only five of the dwarves. Before placing them on the mound, she removed their tools, which she then lined up on one side of the tray. One of the dwarves is in a sitting position. She placed this dwarf in the very center of the mound with the other figures fanned out in a circle around him. This figure perhaps represents the act of witnessing, through which inner transformation can occur (Weinrib, 1983). The king and prince have been added to this group. Kim also removed the armor and weapons from the king and prince before placing them on the mound. It is as though the figures are in a state of suspended animation. The workers and the rulers, have "put their heads together," so to speak, as they lie together head to head, resting on the mound. The third tray was completed in the last session. Once again the mound with four tunnels is centrally placed in the tray (Figure 37a). Now, however, the tunnels all have animals in them, and other animals watch from the four corners of the tray. Behind the mound two bridges meet at the entrance to the rear tunnel. Two monkeys, who have crossed the bridges, are entering the tunnel. A trained seal with a ball on its nose emerges from the tunnel in the front. A whale emerges from the left tunnel, and two dolphins from the right tunnel (Figure 37b).
The self, which was in suspended animation in the last tray, is coming to life. The tunnels are filled with water and now contain both the wild and the tamed instinctual energies. These are integrated, yet are separate, with each emerging from a different tunnel. At the top of the mound sits a monkey, as though in contemplation. The monkey represents the first spiritual inclination (Kalff, lecture, Feb. 17, 1989), and seems to be sitting as a witness to the developments occurring within the mound. This birth-like scene perhaps represents an initiation of a sense of self, as Kim begins to integrate the conflicting energies within her psyche.

The animals in the four corners of the tray are also witnessing the activities in the central mound. There are many identical pairs: two gorillas, two monkeys, two teddy bears, and two fawns. Kim said that the two identical teddy bears are the children and the two nonidentical teddy bears with them are the parents. The fawns are in separate corners. One is with a doe, its mother, and the other with a stag, its father. Twins often choose to identify with different parents to avoid the conflict of competing for the same parent. Secondborn twins tend to identify with the father, as the mother was already "taken" when they arrived (Albon et al., 1986). When asked with which parent Kim identified, the mother replied that it was her father. It would appear that Kim is acknowledging, and perhaps expressing a new level of acceptance of the twin situation.
CONCLUSION: CORY AND KIM

Cory and Kim's art work showed some striking polarities, such as the large size of Cory's H-F-D to the diminished size of Kim's. Both extremes of size, however, suggest feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970). The overly expansive drawing can indicate the presence of compensatory behavior to cover those feelings, while the diminutive drawing indicates a tendency to withdraw in reaction to those feelings of inadequacy (Buck, 1970). Kim's painfully shy behavior would correspond to the implications of her tiny drawings. Kim's drawings also show a disturbed self-concept regarding body image.

There were, however, also many similar elements in their art work. Qualities such as guardedness, dependency, feelings of insecurity, inadequacy and constriction appear in both of their work. They both appear to have little sense of individual identity. Both depict the family situation with considerable references to restriction, and the world around them seems to hold difficulties and danger for them both. Feelings of competition with the other twin could be seen in both of their work, although both seemed hesitant to acknowledge these feelings. In the Stimulus Drawing task, they both traced from the SD cards. A literal approach in drawing is age appropriate as children enter the Stage of Dawning Realism, usually at about age nine (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1975). However, Sue and Alice's reluctance to elaborate at all on the images from the SD cards shows
excessive literalness and would seem to denote dependency and a lack of self-confidence. It could also indicate a delay in developing the ability to combine and represent (Silver, 1989).

The differences in their sandtrays were notable. The activity in Kim's sandtrays indicate a determined mobilization of inner energies focused on uncovering her sense of self-identity, which appears to be hidden deep within her. On the other hand, the static quality of Cory's sandtrays suggest that her inner forces have not yet been activated. While Kim's behavior indicates that she is not as well adjusted as Cory, and her art work shows more disturbing affect, Kim's sandtrays reveal more evidence of centering, and a greater mobilization of energies in the service of healing.
Chapter 6

INTRODUCTION: ABE AND TOM

Abe and Tom are identical twin boys, who had turned nine the month before the sessions began. They are of average size with large bright eyes. Abe's front teeth are crooked, while Tom's are not, and their hair is sometimes cut slightly differently, but otherwise they are difficult to tell apart at first glance. Both boys have a progressive hearing loss, which was diagnosed first in Tom and seems to be slightly more severe for him.

The twins were full term. Abe was born first and Tom eight minutes later. The birth was complicated. Abe's umbilical cord was wrapped around Tom's neck, and a "twin transfusion" had occurred, so that Abe had an excess of red blood cells and Tom had an excess of white cells. Tom was removed from his mother for forty-five minutes to be treated for this. The father was able to be with him and hold him during that time. The mother reported that it took her eleven weeks to bond with Tom as a result of this separation, whereas she felt bonded with Abe right away. It seems likely that her difficulty in bonding with Tom was, to some extent, a function of his being a twin, and the secondborn twin, at that. Had Tom been a singleton, that same forty-five minute separation might have had little impact on the bonding process.
The arrival of twins was a stress on the relationship between the mother and father, and they separated when the boys were two months old. The separation became permanent when they were six months old. The mother had a great deal of difficulty coping with and caring for new born twin babies alone. She also has a son from a previous marriage, who was five years old when the twins were born.

The boys began preschool together at three. At four they each attended one day separately and one day together. Their socialization skills were good, but their independent skills were low. They stayed another year in preschool, attending at separate times. At age six they entered separate classes in kindergarten. Their development has been regular, except for the difficulties caused by the hearing loss. Tom's hearing loss was first detected when he was three, although it is believed it had begun earlier. Tom has more difficulty with tasks, such as spelling, which are facilitated by an ability to hear. The nature of Abe's hearing loss is the same as Tom's, but his condition apparently developed later and is therefore not as advanced, giving him a slight advantage over Tom academically and socially.

During the interview, Abe appeared more at ease and participated freely in the dialogue. Tom participated, but was more tentative and took longer to open up. Both boys admitted feeling competitive with each other regarding sports. They also were ardent about wanting more separate
ABE

Abe was the firstborn twin, to which he made reference early in the first session and many times after that. He arrived with his twin brother for this session eager and at ease. They settled into working on their folders right away and spent a full hour on them. They both returned to the folders in later sessions, adding more drawings.

Abe consistently used pencil in all his drawings. Pencil is a structured art material, and such singular use of this medium suggests an interest in the control which this structure affords (Hammer, 1980). To some extent, this may be because Abe attempts to create imagery in the Pseudo-Naturalistic style, which is advanced for his age (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1975). Highly structured media can also be used to avoid the expression of feelings. Abe erased constantly, redrawing some parts of his drawings several times, often with no improvement of form. Such excessive erasures can indicate anxiety, suggesting dissatisfaction with self and an obsessive-compulsive need for perfection (Machover, 1957).

Abe rarely used color in his work, the most extensive use of color appearing on his folder (Figure 38). Abe first drew two Mutant Ninja Turtles, which are cartoon characters currently on television and in the movies. The smaller one, he said, was Michaelangelo. The larger one is in front of the other, and he said that this was Leonardo, whom he likes best because he is the oldest. This was Abe's second
reference to being the oldest in less than an hour. In the final session, which was also a joint session for these boys, Abe again made comments about his being older than Tom. These all seemed to have the intention of putting Tom in his place, which was "second."

The other drawings on the folder were done during individual sessions. The turquoise figure on the lower right says quite a bit about Abe. This fantasy figure is criss-crossed with gray lines, which he said was armor. The figure holds two weapons and has two missiles extending from either side. The black head gear is extensive, leaving only the eyes visible. Two large protrusions mark the place where the ears are located. Two jets of fire, emitted from the back of his suit, propel him into the air. This figure is extremely guarded and well defended and has the power to travel through the air at will. Abe is perhaps showing here the extent of the defenses with which he has surrounded himself. The large protrusions on the side of the helmet could refer to the impaired function of his own ears. The heavy black head gear might describe the way he feels closed off as a result of this impairment. The jets of fire seem to emphasize the power of fantasy to provide escape. Fantasy can serve to compensate for feelings of constriction within the environment (Hammer, 1980), and Abe made ample use of fantasy in his art work.
The black figures on the upper right of the folder, which Abe said were a bat and ball, express aggression with a raw intensity that rarely showed in Abe's usually more controlled style of drawing. He had just finished the well guarded, jet propelled figure discussed above, and perhaps he felt safe enough to let down his guard a little. Abe began by drawing a face that he said was angry because it had been beaten up. It looked like a ball to him, and he added the bat hitting it. He wrote "Smack" next to it. He gave the bat a sadistic grin with its tongue sticking out, saying, "Ha! Ha!" Abe was obviously enjoying himself, and went on to draw a poster of a man's head in a cowboy hat, which said, "Wanted Ded [sic]." He noted the variation from the usual "Wanted Dead or Alive" poster with gleeful satisfaction. He wanted this "dude" dead to the tune of "$5,0000 [sic]," and "Alive" was not an option.

During the first session, Abe and Tom checked each other's work often. They played off of each other, elaborating more and more on the fantasies they created together. As a result, Abe's House-Tree-Person drawing has some unusual details (Figure 39). Abe used a large piece of paper (18" x 24"), and drew an enormous house, four stories high, that filled most of the page. This suggests a high level of fantasy (Machover, 1957) and could indicate frustration as a result of a restricted environment (Buck, 1970).
Abe used a ruler to draw his house, a structured approach that was typical of his artistic style. Two beams form an "X" at the front of the house by the door. This crossing out of the front of the house suggests inaccessibility (Burns & Kaufman, 1972), as does the lack of a doorknob with which the door might be opened. The "X" is interrupted, however, and does not cross over the door itself, indicating that there may be some ambivalence regarding accessibility.

There are five windows shown, but they are all above the first floor. After the door, windows represent a secondary contact with the environment (Hammer, 1980). A lack of windows on the first floor suggests a reluctance to be accessible to others, and an avoidance of reality (Buck, 1970). The reinforcement of the window outlines, which in this case is quite bold, has an implication of oral fixation and/or anal orientation (Hammer, 1980). The chimney is carefully detailed and also reinforced in black which can suggest a sexual concern, such as feelings of masculine inadequacy or castration fears (Landisberg, cited in Wenck, 1986). Concerns of this type are not uncommon for male twins, whose body image concept is often inadequately formed, resulting in a lack of a sense of masculine identity (Albon et al., 1986).

At this point Abe added a figure in the attic window. He decided this person was Santa Claus, and began the fantasy
exchange with Tom that led to his adding the open air-conditioning vent (the black box with open lid) on the roof, and the reindeer and sled on the side of the house. By choosing a fantasy figure for his Person, and placing that figure in the attic, which symbolizes the fantasy element (Hammer, 1980), Abe is giving further evidence of his dependence upon fantasy. With the open vent on the roof, which was Santa's access into the house, Abe is indicating that access to him is through the realm of fantasy.

By this time the boys were both trying to outdo each other with their stories. Abe's response to this escalation was to draw Rudolph, the reindeer, being pulled off of the roof by the sled, which was sliding down the side of the house. The sled and reindeer received the most emphasis in the drawing, in that they are colored in as well as outlined in black. The impending doom of the reindeer and sled had a disturbing quality about it. Burlingham (1963) described the copying games of a pair of twin boys, in which they would build excitement by imitating each other. These boys would escalate until their behavior became destructive. This interaction between Abe and Tom seemed to be of a similar nature, with their fantasies becoming more and more destructive. Once their engagement with each other was interrupted by my interacting with them individually, Abe added more positive elements to his drawing, such as the trampoline, which enabled Santa Claus to jump onto the roof.
38. Abe--Folder

39. Abe--House-Tree-Person Drawing
40. Abe--Human-Figure-Drawing
He also changed the direction in which the sled was moving, declaring now that Rudolf was pulling the sled up to the roof, where Santa would be able to get back in it.

Abe had spent twenty minutes on this drawing and still had not drawn a tree, which he added after I reminded him that this drawing was to include a tree. The crown of the tree is a jumble of scribbled lines, which can indicate confusion, excitement or impulsivity (Koch, cited in Wenck, 1986). A squirrel looks out from an animal hole in the trunk, which, in a child's drawing, suggests dependency (Hammer, 1980).

In his Stimulus Drawing task (no photograph available), drawn during an individual session, Abe included a similar tree, also with a squirrel peeking out from a hole in the trunk. He had chosen only two cards, an Indian and an elephant, but added many details of his own, including the tree, a teepee, a campfire, a boulder and hills. In his arrangement of the figures on the paper and the variations he added around them, he showed an advanced ability to select on an abstract level, to combine using over-all coordination, and to represent in a highly creative manner (Silver, 1989). At the same time, however, he copied the drawing of the Indian line for line, erasing and redrawing excessively, and actually traced the elephant. This display of ability combined with such a lack of confidence is an apt description of Abe's situation.
Abe's Human-Figure-Drawing (Figure 40) of a baseball player is a strong statement regarding the importance of fantasy to this boy. The choice of an idealized character as the subject is an indication of the use of fantasy to provide a sense of identity (Koppitz, 1968). The overly large head suggests a tendency to seek satisfaction through fantasy, as does the placement of the figure in the upper portion of the paper (Buck, 1970). The large head also suggests regression to the more egocentric age of five to six years old (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1975). The head was not connected to the body until most of the drawing was completed. This sequence is unusual and suggests a conflict between control and expression of emotion (Buck, 1970). The depiction of the arms coming out of the trunk at odd places can indicate that contact with the environment is inhibited (Machover, 1957).

There are many indications of anxiety and aggression. The ears are elaborately drawn in intricate detail, after much erasing and redrawing, indicating both his preoccupation with their function and anxiety associated with them. Hammer found that physical disabilities were emphasized only when they had impinged upon the individual's self-concept (Rabin & Haworth, 1960, chap. 14). The hair is heavily emphasized by the unusual styling (a Mohawk), dense shading, and dark lines reinforcing the outline. While drawing the figure, Abe returned to the hair many times, erasing and redrawing it and adding more shading. This behavior indicates an obsessive preoccupation with this feature which is associated with
concerns about masculinity (Buck, 1980). The large nose is another association with issues of masculinity, as is the phallic shaped bat (Machover, 1957). The large mouth with prominently drawn teeth suggests oral aggression (Machover, 1957), while the fist-like hand suggests a conscious effort to suppress aggressive impulses (Buck, 1970). The stylized emphasis on the belt also suggests a conflict between the expression and the control of impulses (Machover, 1957).

Abe repeated the baseball theme in his Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (Figure 41). In this picture he has drawn himself as the pitcher, standing on the pitcher's mound. In this way, as well as by the slope of the ground, he has elevated himself above his brother, which implies a desire for dominance (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). He has pitched a "drop ball" to Tom, who is the batter. The ball represents a competitive force between the individuals playing with it (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Here, Abe has thrown a type of pitch that tricks the batter into thinking he can hit it; it then drops low causing the batter to swing and miss. The umpire is the older brother. Abe had not included this brother in the K-F-D, and seemed to feel guilty when he realized that. As the umpire, this brother is portrayed as very inaccessible by the heavy padding of the uniform and by the empty, "unseeing" eyes (Machover, 1957). He drew himself as the largest figure, with a large head, a large nose and a
sneering mouth filled with prominently drawn teeth. Tom, on the other hand, is drawn much smaller, with a very small head, no nose and a look of dismay on his face.

Abe drew, erased and redrew the position of the arms on both figures in sequences that suggested his difficulty in actually portraying himself "striking" Tom. He first showed himself about to throw the ball, then progressively repositioned his arm until the throw had been completed. He showed Tom first waiting for the ball, then in various stages of the swing, to the final position of having swung and missed. The ball, too, was depicted in various positions as it got closer to Tom, and was finally drawn in the fatal "dropped" position. While Abe had the umpire call this as "Strike 1," the "1" was an after thought, and the lines, showing the ball's path, cross through Tom, in a sense serving to symbolically strike him out.

The erasing and redrawing in this picture exceeded even Abe's usual excess. This would indicate that Abe's feelings of competition with and aggression toward his twin is a source of great inner conflict.

In his Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figure 42), Abe again shows his desire for dominance over his brother. He places himself elevated above his brother and positioned between his mother and father, while Tom is smaller and appears to be drifting out of the picture. Abe has added teeth and emphasized the nostrils in his own facial features, both of which are indicators of aggression (Machover, 1957), while
Tom has a rather lost look on his face. Abe's facial expression is similar to the father's, who also has teeth, while Tom's face and fingers are similar to the mother's. The father is drawn as the largest figure with massive shoulders, and Abe seems to be identifying himself with the stronger of the two parents. The father is the only figure whose arms are connected at the shoulders and the only figure with five fingers, indicating, perhaps, that Abe perceives him as the more physically competent parent (Machover, 1957). The positioning of the mother and father, however, suggests that the mother has more influence in his life (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). The mother, while smaller than the father, is elevated above him, and the father stands in front of, and therefore with his back to the other family members. Abe did not include his older half brother as part of the family constellation, even though they live together. This omission suggests conflict with the brother (Burns & Kaufman, 1972), and various comments made by Abe during the sessions indicated that this was a difficult relationship for him at this time.

Abe did not use any figures in his sandtray, which is primitive and typical of a much younger child (Figure 43). He formed a mound of sand in the upper right corner, into which he dug a hole. This he said was a house. He made lines in the sand running parallel to the right side of the tray that lead to/away from the house, like a road. A river runs parallel to this road and curves to the left, going
41. Abe--Kinetic-Twin-Drawing

42. Abe--Kinetic-Family-Drawing
43. Abe—Sandtray

44. Abe—House
along the top edge of the tray. He carefully formed the river banks so that the edges of the river are distinct. At this point he said that he was finished.

As we looked at it together, however, he decided to build a road out of sand across the water, providing access to the house. The road goes straight across the tray and curves down, circling around the empty center, so that the emptiness is emphasized by the outline around it. The overall affect of the tray is isolation and barrenness. The house, cave-like and pushed into the corner as it is, suggests a high degree of guardedness. The mound and the cave, however, are indications that energy is collecting (Reed, 1975). The presence of the river is considered a positive sign, as water supports life, and flowing water suggests movement (Reed, 1975). The bridge across the water, connecting the two parts of the tray is also positive in that it suggests a potential for the bridging and integration of divided parts. However, by building the bridge out of sand, Abe has blocked the flow of the water. Abe's usual delight in fantasy was not present in this situation, and he was not willing to imagine who might live in this house, etc.

Abe was much more comfortable when working with more structured media, such as craft sticks. He had not worked with these before, but had seen a house made out of them and wanted to make one also. He learned to work with them quickly, and immediately designed a two part house, figuring out how to join the parts and how to fit the two roofs
together (Figure 44). He worked very intently on this project during two sessions, finishing it up in the last session which he attended with Tom. Together the two boys created environments for their houses, for Tom had also decided to build a house during his private sessions.

There was some overt competition between them. Abe criticized Tom's house which was not as elaborate as his own, and Tom watched attentively for any opportunity in which he could criticize Abe. At the same time, however, they created their fantasy together, much as they had with the H-T-P drawings. This time the escalating energy remained positive. Abe added a doorway on his house with a sand path leading up to it. He also added trees, a friendly bear and a mailbox. Their engagement with each other was more tempered by my presence in this session than in the first session. After six weeks with them, I had an individual relationship with each boy that I had not had during the first session. This personal connection, I feel, kept them engaged with me and interrupted the interdependent and exclusionary behavior of the first session.
TOM

Tom was the secondborn twin. He was described as less dominant socially than his twin, perhaps, his mother thought, because his hearing problem had started earlier and his hearing was slightly more impaired. Tom was reluctant to leave his mother when he arrived with his twin for the first session. When she assured him she would be back in an hour and a half, he heard only the hour and exclaimed that an hour was too long. But once he began working, he became more comfortable with the situation. Many times during the six weeks, however, Tom would leave his mother reluctantly as he came to the sessions. Judging from his behavior during the sessions and his mother's reports concerning his feelings about the sessions, this reluctance was in spite of his enjoyment during the sessions.

Tom began by working on his folder (Figure 45). He used pencil, coloring in some of the figures afterward. He used only pencil in all of his other work during the entire six weeks. Pencil is a structured art medium and such exclusive use as this would suggest a desire for the control which this structure provides (Hammer, 1980). Tom erased excessively, redrawing and erasing repeatedly, sometimes with no improvement to the form. This is an indication of anxiety and suggests dissatisfaction with himself and an obsessive-compulsive need for perfection (Machover, 1957). Tom also
45. Tom--Folder
46. Tom--Human-Figure-Drawing
exerted heavy pressure making very dark lines and shaded much of his drawings. These are further indications of anxiety and possibly aggression (Hammer, 1980).

The figures Tom chose to draw on his folder tended to be aggressive cartoon characters. An interest in this type of character is typical for boys this age and reflects a desire to be more powerful. Tom's preoccupation with these characters suggests a strong inclination for fantasy. One figure on the folder is a little different and seems to express a trapped feeling which is repeated in later drawings. This figure, to the left of "Bart Man," has an alarmed expression on his face and is enclosed inside a rectangle, which gives the appearance of "space-constriction," implying feelings of frustration and helpless immobility (Buck, 1970, p. 99). Tom stated that this man is stuck to a window, verbally emphasizing the visual sense of entrapment.

In his Human-Figure-Drawing (Figure 45), Tom depicted another man who also has an alarmed expression on his face. This figure fills the whole paper and extends beyond the edges, which is called "paper-chopped" (Buck, 1970, p. 108). The sense of restriction which this "space constriction" implies is accentuated by the prisoner-like appearance of the figure. In this case there is amputation of the legs, one arm and a finger. Such extensive chopping of the figure suggests overwhelming feelings of helplessness, immobility, loss of control, frustration and lack of autonomy (Buck,
Further anxiety is indicated by the intense shading over the body area and the extensive erasing throughout the drawing (Hammer, 1980). Tom shaded the groin area particularly heavily and at first shaded the legs in solidly, going back to erase a space between them. This would suggest anxiety related to masculinity, an issue which can be a source of conflict for male twins because of the difficulties of developing a clearly formed body image (Albon et al., 1986).

Tom erased the sides of the face and redrew them several times. These lines, which are still visible, give the strange illusion of "ghost" ears, especially as Tom has not drawn ears on this figure. Ears are a frequently omitted detail in children's drawings (Machover, 1957), which would usually not be considered significant. Because of Tom's hearing loss and his mother's report that Tom avoids discussion about this impairment, however, the lack of ears, combined with the emphasis on the area where the ears would be found, suggests that Tom experiences conflict or denial regarding this condition (Burns & Kaufman, 1972).

The large, wide-open eyes give the appearance of alarm and reflect anxiety and an over sensitivity to social opinion (Machover, 1957). The open mouth adds to the alarmed appearance and can reflect a dependent individual, while the depiction of teeth and the emphasis on the nostrils can suggest aggression (Levy, in Hammer, 1980, chap. 4).
Tom's House-Tree-Person drawing (Figure 47) was completed during the first session with Abe present. The two boys were actively engaged with each other throughout the session, constantly checking out the other person's work and commenting to each other, sometimes supportively, other times derisively. As the two began creating a fantasy together, Tom's drawing became more and more animated, with increasingly destructive elements. The most dynamic aspect of this drawing is the "Bart Claws Car [sic]." Driven by Bart Simpson, a popular cartoon character, this is a take off on Santa Claus and his sled. However, the use of the word "Claws" has aggressive connotations. Tom included Rudolf and three other reindeer, showing them being pulled by the fast car, rather than pulling it. From the front of the car a machine gun is shooting bullets at the front door handle.

There was very little time left in the session, and Tom still had not drawn a tree. After I reminded him, he added a tree that was broken in two with jagged lines between the two parts. He applied heavy shading to the lower portion of the tree and indicated dense exhaust from the car. He explained that the power of the exhaust had broken the tree in half. This is a startling presentation of the tree. The trunk is seen to represent basic self-concept and ego-strength (Hammer, 1980), and a depiction of it broken raises questions regarding Tom's inner experience of self. It must be considered that the fantasizing of the two boys had been escalating toward increasing destructiveness, but the
symbolism of the broken tree remains disturbing. The implication of a shattered ego was illustrated by Buck (1970), who cited a broken tree drawn by a life-term prisoner.

Tom had drawn a large house, using the right edge of the paper as one side of the house. This is called "paper-siding," which can indicate a generalized insecurity, and, when the right edge is used, may have a specific association with the future (Buck, 1970, p. 109). This could certainly be true for this boy whose hearing loss is expected to progress. The door is edged to the side of the house, suggesting a need for support and a lack of self-assurance (Hammer, 1980).

When asked to draw his family doing something, Tom began by drawing a large house that filled more than half of the page (Figure 48). Again the house is "paper-sided," suggesting generalized insecurity (Buck, 1970, p. 109). The entire house, including the chimney, is heavily shaded, as are the three figures. This would indicate anxiety (Machover, 1957). He has shown his twin, his mother and himself going for a walk. He is holding his mother's hand, and has positioned himself between the door to the house and his mother. Tom is behind and below his mother and Abe, who is out in front. This placement would suggest that Tom sees Abe as being the dominant twin and coming before him (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Tom had a great deal of difficulty drawing the figure of himself, which he erased and redrew several
47. Tom--House-Tree-Person Drawing

48. Tom--Kinetic-Family-Drawing
49. Tom--Kinetic-Twin-Drawing

50. Tom--Stimulus Drawing Assessment
times. He first drew himself larger than his mother, perhaps reflecting a desire to be more important within the family system, but erased that figure and drew it again smaller. The nose has been omitted from all of the figures, which further suggests feelings of helplessness and an inability to go forward (Koppitz, 1968).

Tom did not include his father in the picture. His older half brother was placed in an upstairs window to the back of the house, where he is reading a magazine. Tom did not get along well with this brother and, by encapsulating him within the window frame, Tom has isolated him from the family (Burns & Kaufman, 1972).

In the Kinetic-Twin-Drawing (Figure 49), Tom has again depicted Abe out in front, as his twin is shown skiing down the mountain before Tom. Tom gets revenge, however, by drawing Abe flying in mid-air about to fall. Tom explained that Abe's mouth is open in a surprised scream. Tom shows himself laughing because Abe is falling. Tom erased and redrew himself and his poles many times and finally erased the ski poles altogether, explaining that he skis without poles, anyway. Symbolically, however, this implies that Tom is not as well equipped as Abe, perhaps suggesting that Tom feels at a disadvantage to Abe.

Tom's figure is darkly shaded and appears to be pulling back, suggesting conflict about himself and his ability to move forward in life (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Here, again, the figures have no noses. The flags in the foreground
represent a race course. The boys are not actually on the course, but its presence suggests an element of competition. An interesting feature is that half of the flags point uphill, while the other half point downhill. Those under Tom point uphill, the direction in which Tom is leaning, while those under Abe point downhill as does Abe. The contrast between the dark and light figures and the two directions of the flags perhaps allude to a polarization within the twin relationship.

The sun, a prominent feature in this drawing, is often identified with a parental figure by children (Hammer, in Rabin & Haworth, 1960, chap. 14). Here, the sun, which is saying, "Brrrrr," is depicted as cold, suggesting a need for warmth. Tom is leaning away from the sun which is drawn far away from him. This might reflect feelings of rejection (Burns & Kaufman, 1972).

For the Stimulus Drawing assessment (Figure 50), Tom drew a complex scene which evolved from just two SD cards, an alligator and a fish. The water is depicted as very dangerous. There is the alligator, which is saying "Yummy" as it eyes the diver. A shark is on a fishing line, and Tom stated that it will pull the fisherman into the water if he does not let go. The fish, which is blind, is going to run into the submarine. There is a great deal of tension expressed by the impending events as well as by the excessive erasing and shading used in drawing this scene. As we talked about the drawing, however, Tom added a jet pack to the diver
and indicated that he might get away from the alligator because the jets could make him go very fast.

Tom completed three sandtrays during the four individual sessions. The first (Figure 5la) presents a similar sense of danger as did the SD assessment. There is a giant spider in a lake and two armies are engaged in battle in another part of the tray. As Tom placed the spider in the tray, his breathing became heavy and more rapid, indicating that he was experiencing anxiety. A wagon is moving through the center of the battle, appearing to be in great danger, with a calvary man on the wagon aiming at the soldiers. At the end, however, Tom added a "Stop" sign on either side of the wagon facing the army men (Figure 5lb). He explained that the soldiers would not shoot at the wagon because of the signs. By adding the regulating influence of the "Stop" signs, Tom was activating his own inner ability to regulate and control his aggressive impulses (Kalff, 1980).

A totem pole sits in the lower left corner, which represents the unconscious (Kalff, 1980). This would suggest that Tom has not yet become aware of his own identity, as symbolized by the totem pole (Kalff, 1980). Also in this corner are several Indian figures, who, he said, are not aware of the battle going on next to them. Also at the end, Tom repositioned an Indian with a bow and arrow so that he is aiming at the spider. Tom thought that the Indian would be able to kill the spider, indicating that he has the resources within him to confront the dangers he perceives to be
51a. Tom—First Sandtray, Overview

51b. Tom—First Sandtray, Detail (Wagon)
52a. Tom—Second Sandtray, Overview

52b. Tom—Second Sandtray, Detail (Teepee)
53. Tom--Third Sandtray

54. Tom--House
threatening him. Also, in a first tray, the depiction of a journey, which is represented here by the wagon, is considered a positive sign (Bradway, 1989).

The next tray (Figure 52a) shows more organization. Fences clearly define the roadway and serve to contain the farm animals, an indication that impulses are being brought under control (Kalff, 1980). The Indian figures are now grouped into a community with a teepee, in which a chief is smoking a peace pipe (Figure 52b). A woman sits nearby with a baby and another woman, who was present in the first tray, rides a horse and is pulling a travois. There is conflict indicated, however, by one Indian aiming a bow and arrow at another Indian who is tied to a tree stump.

The wagon sits in the same position in this tray as in the last, but it is no longer moving through a battlefield. The conflict now is in the form of two Indian figures behind the wagon that are attempting to stop it. The calvary man is aiming his rifle at the Indians, but to do so he must face backwards, although he is driving the wagon, giving the sense of movement that is out of control. The passage of the wagon is further blocked by a gate across the road. There is a toll house, which implies that the gate can be opened if the toll is paid. An oversized Porky Pig figure stands just past the gate, guarding the road. While not as terrifying as the spider, this cartoon character becomes threatening because of its size in relation to the other figures in the tray.
The lake is again in the upper left corner. Now, instead of the spider, there is a duck and ducklings. It is interesting to note that the two ducklings that are the actual babies of the mother duck at the pond and look just like her, were placed in the field among the cows. These small ducklings look vulnerable among the cows and seem lost, so far from the lake and their mother. Tom's mother watches over other children, just as this duck seems to be watching over ducklings that are not her own, in her job at a daycare center. Perhaps Tom is expressing some feelings he has about that situation. Two canoes now sit near the lake and suggest the potential mobilization of additional energies. There is now a means available for traveling on the water. Water tends to represent the unconscious (Kalff, 1980), and this would imply that Tom is readying himself to go forth into this realm, which before had been so terrifying as the presence of the spider would suggest.

The last tray (Figure 53) shows further organization and a general sense of opening up. The roadway is no longer blocked and a gate is open between the road and the lake, suggesting that dammed up energies can begin to flow (Kalff, 1980). Conflict is still present, but seems to be easing up. Only one Indian stands behind the wagon. There are two Indians in the field, quite a distance from the wagon, one aiming a bow and arrow at the wagon, the other preparing to throw a lasso at it, but neither appear very threatening to
the progress of the wagon. The calvary man is aiming at them, while another figure drives the wagon. The Indian is still tied to a tree stump, but no one is attacking him.

Again the Indian chief is in the teepee smoking a peace pipe. One of the canoes is in the lake with the Indian woman with a baby sitting in it. This suggests a positive shifting of Tom's inner experience from the frightening existence of the spider, which is associated with the devouring feminine (Kalff, 1980), to the mobilized presence of the nurturing feminine. A well has been added at the edge of the lake, suggesting access to deeper levels of consciousness (Kalff, 1980). The Indian woman on a horse is passing through the gate, which would indicate a mobilization of energy that is moving toward an integration of inner forces.

The farm animals have been further organized by species, so that all of the sheep are in one field and all of the cows in another. This would suggest that the instinctual energies are being identified and contained (D. Kalff, lecture, Feb. 18, 1989). Overall there is a much greater sense of calm and well-being in this tray than in the first.

Tom's last project was to build a house out of craft sticks (Figure 54). Tom had learned from Abe that Abe was making a house, and Tom decided he would also. Tom did not have much time left in which to complete this project, and he worked with a compulsion intense even for him. He was very concerned with making a house as good as Abe's, but was able
to accept advice to simplify his design so that he could complete it in time.

In the last session, which he attended with Abe, he was able to complete the house and make an environment for it. This included making trees, a bear, a walkway and a mailbox. Tom was very pleased with his efforts, but there was competition between the two boys, during the session, regarding whose house was better. They both seemed to agree that Abe's was the better house. The objective fact that Abe had spent more time on his house did not seem to alter the competitive nature of the comparisons. It was as if, once again, Abe came out first.
CONCLUSION: ABE AND TOM

Abe and Tom are very connected to each other. They are the only set of twins that decided to meet jointly for the last session, even though they both seemed to appreciate their time away from each other. I believe that the shared condition of a progressive hearing loss was a significant factor in their interdependence and intensified the push-pull of wanting to be different while feeling compelled to be the same. During the sessions they attended together, they would constantly check to see what the other was doing. In their individual sessions, they would invariably ask to see the other's work, although the rule that only they could show their work to each other was firm. They also interacted with each other more than the other twin sets, often developing fantasies together as they worked. These stories were highly creative, as was their art work, and on many levels they worked well together. There was always a competitive edge between them, though, which would be expressed in verbal put-downs and criticism.

The art work showed that the competition between them and the aggression they felt toward each other was quite intense. There was a great deal of anxiety expressed in their work, some of which would seem to be related to these feelings of aggression. There also seemed to be conflict associated with issues of identity as seen in anxiety.
regarding body image and masculinity. Feelings of helplessness and dependency were also expressed in their work.

Abe's work was skillfully executed in a highly structured and controlled style. Tom's work was passionate and revealed a greater level of disturbance. This distinction was most obvious in the sandtray. Abe created a carefully formed river and cave/house, using no figures and accentuating the empty center. There is a bleak, barren quality to this tray. On the other hand, Tom's first tray expressed a great deal of conflict and activity. Tom went on to complete two more trays, however, which showed increasing organization and mobilization of energies. These three trays, seen as a series, show a healthy progression toward the resolution of conflict.

In the follow-up session with their mother, I learned that Abe's house had been destroyed the day he took it home. First Tom had sat on it "by accident" in the car. Abe had carried the house out to the car himself and had placed it on the seat where Tom would sit, although there were many other places he could have put it. Then at home, Abe had dropped it as he carried it into the house, and Tom had stepped on it, again "by accident." It would appear that they both participated, unconsciously, in the destruction of Abe's project. During the session, they had both seemed to be in agreement that Abe's was the better house. It seems possible
that the accidents may have been a covert expression of the "non-aggression pact," in which the stronger twin inhibits his abilities in order to allow the weaker twin to catch up or even surpass him (Albon et al., 1986).
Troy and Bill are identical twin boys who had just turned ten the month before the sessions began. Their parents have been separated for three years. They live with their mother and younger brother who is six and a half. The three boys stay with their father every other weekend. They are average size boys with light hair and regular features.

The twins were born six weeks premature, by Caesarean section. Troy was born first and Bill one minute later, but Bill would have been born first had the birth been natural. The mother was a young teenager at that time and lived at home until she and the father married nine months after the birth. The family had only learned that there would be twins three weeks before the birth. Her family was an important resource for the mother when the twins were little, but, as a teenager, she was not prepared for such a challenging job.

The boys went to preschool together when they were four and entered kindergarten in separate classes at five. Their development has been regular and they both do well in school, although Troy named math as his best subject, while Bill prefers P.E. and lunch.

They do not have much time away from each other and are extremely competitive. Both freely expressed how much they wanted more time apart, and each would like to have separate
rooms. While the mother supports the idea, she cannot provide individual rooms at this time. They both play baseball and soccer and are usually on the same team, although they would prefer not to be. This year Bill did not sign up for baseball.

Both boys stated that they dislike art, although they both like to work with craft sticks. During the interview session, they both played with the modeling clay in an aggressive manner. Troy was especially vigorous as he pounded and stabbed the clay. Their younger brother, who was also at the interview session, made an airplane with the clay. This younger boy seemed more confident with the art materials than the twins.

There was a lot of hostility expressed by both of the twins, much of it directed at the younger brother, who sat on the mother's lap during much of the session. Their behavior included hitting, verbal put-downs and grabbing each other's materials. I expected them to be difficult to work with, but the first session, which they attended together, went very smoothly.
TROY

Troy was the firstborn twin. Although he is only one minute older than Bill, it is important to Troy that he is the older twin. He found an opportunity during the first joint session to emphasize this fact.

During the interview, I experienced Troy as an angry boy who was acting out. However, when he arrived with his brother for the first session, he was very cooperative. He was intimidated by the task of decorating his folder and was even tentative about writing his name on it, which he did first in pencil quite small in one corner. Finally he used one color oil pastel to print his name in large letters which filled the page, and said that he was done.

The House-Tree-Person assessment task (Figure 55) was also difficult for him and reveals insecurity, vulnerability, inadequacy and a poorly developed body/self-image. He produced a meager representation of all three items. The dominant feature of this drawing is a road, drawn in diminishing perspective, upon which the other three items stand. There is no horizon line where the road ends, giving the road, with its broken line down the middle, the appearance of a pyramid. The house is drawn perpendicular to the road, as a young child would draw it (Di Leo, 1970). It is small and indicated as being at a distance, which would suggest a strong need to remain aloof and inaccessible (Buck, 1970). The exaggerated eaves further suggest defensive
55. Troy--House-Tree-Person Drawing
56a. Troy--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Mother), Original

56b. Troy--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Mother), Enhanced
attitudes and evasiveness (Buck, 1970). The tall, thin structure of the house suggests vulnerability (Hammer, 1980), and the omission of the chimney can refer to difficulty with male sexual identity (Buck, 1970).

The tree is the most distant object in the drawing, and is diminutive in size. This would suggest a weak ego and feelings of inadequacy and inferiority (Hammer, 1980), while the keyhole shape could indicate a lack of motivation to perform up to potential (Hammer, 1980).

The person is a very basic stick figure with no facial features, hands or feet. The stick figure is another indication of evasiveness (Koppitz, 1968), possibly due to insecurity and self-doubt (Levy in Hammer, 1980, chap. 4). The lack of feet and hands would suggest insecurity and helplessness (Koppitz, 1968). The lack of facial features makes this person unable to communicate with others and suggests a sense of isolation (Koppitz, 1968), as does the position of the figure, alone on the side of an endless road.

The figures in Troy's Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figures 56a, original & 56b, enhanced) are even tinier than that in the H-T-P. Enhanced versions of some of Troy's drawings are shown along with the originals in order to clarify diminutive and lightly drawn images. In this K-F-D, Troy has shown his family on a ride at an amusement park. The predominant image is a large, pyramid shaped mountain, which is a repetition of the shape of the road in the H-T-P. There are two openings
at the base, one is the entrance to this ride and one the exit. The family is seated in two attached cars used for this ride. His mother and younger brother sit in the rear car. Bill sits in the front of the forward car, with Troy seated behind him. The father is not included in this drawing.

Everything in the drawing is "paper-based" on the bottom edge of the paper, suggesting dependency and insecurity (Buck, 1970, p. 109). The figures are almost inconsequential to the drawing. Not only are they rudimentary stick figures with no facial features and only a mere suggestion of arms, only the upper half of the figures is presented. Omitting the legs of a figure suggests insecurity (Koppitz, 1968). In this case, the legs have been replaced by the cars in which the figures sit. The rider does not have control of the car in this situation, suggesting that Troy might feel that some aspect of his family life with his mother is out of control. The cars further serve to separate the figures into two groups, so that the younger brother is not only closest to the mother, he seems to have her all to himself.

Troy was asked to do another K-F-D which would include his father (Figures 57a, original & 57b, enhanced). Again he began the drawing with a pyramid shape representing a feature at another amusement area. This is a batting practice area which is under a large tent. He divided the lower part of the paper into compartments, which are intended to represent
57a. Troy--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Father), Original

57b. Troy--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Father), Enhanced
58. Troy--Human-Figure-Drawing
the individual batting stalls, but serve to create a sense of isolation.

The figures are again rudimentary stick figures. His father is depicted swinging a bat at a ball. Balls are seen to represent the energy within the family, the direction of the ball suggesting the nature of the dynamics between individuals (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). In this case the father is batting the ball away from the family, which might reflect that Troy feels his father's energy is directed away from him and his siblings. The father is also facing away from the boys. Troy has again placed himself in the middle between his two brothers. This time he is elevated above them, which would suggest a desire for dominance (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). Now Bill is drawn closest to the parent, and is actually overlapping the father's leg, so that Bill's body and left leg is the same line as his father's left leg. This might indicate that Troy sees Bill as being closer to his father, or perhaps that he would like to cross Bill out, as Troy appears to have symbolically done to their younger brother. The line of the stall goes right through the body of this brother, who has one leg in another stall.

Troy approached the Human-Figure-Drawing task (Figure 58) expressing doubts about his ability. He also expressed a need for more direction. These responses can indicate a lack of self-confidence (Levy in Hammer, 1980, chap. 4). He finally decided that he would draw his friend when he is angry, stating that his friend looks funny when he is mad.
Children usually draw themselves or ideal images of themselves, often in the form of heroes, for the H-F-D. When another person has been drawn, it implies that the child's primary concern and preoccupation at that moment is with that person, who is usually a parent or sibling (Koppitz, 1968). In this case Troy has drawn a friend who, he told me, is also a twin. His focus on this friend's expression of anger, suggests to me that Troy had identified with the anger of his friend.

The head is drawn with sketchy, tentative lines reflecting the verbalized sense of inadequacy (Koppitz, 1968). The mouth was first drawn in a large crescent shape, which Troy erased and replaced with a circular shaped mouth and tongue. An oval, open mouth suggests dependency and an oral orientation (Levy in Hammer, 1980, chap. 4). At this point he added a horn to the head. He started to erase it, then left it, but did not add the other horn. Troy said that he was going to add the horns because this boy is like the devil when he gets mad. He did not say why he changed his mind, or why he left the one horn. His ambivalence was perhaps a reflection of the conflict he feels regarding the expression of his own anger and aggressive feelings.

The rest of the figure is grossly generalized, suggesting a poorly developed body image. There are no feet or hands or indication of clothing, suggesting insecurity, helplessness and serious feelings of inadequacy (Koppitz, 1968). An omission of clothing on a H-F-D by a boy of this
age is generally only seen on drawings by brain-injured children (Koppitz, 1968). The body and limbs are drawn with a continuous outline. This is also found primarily on drawings by brain injured children or very disorganized children. It usually represents an attempt by children to control themselves and to put a boundary around a poorly integrated personality (Koppitz, 1968).

In Troy's Stimulus Drawing picture (Figures 59a, original & 59b, enhanced), he reveals a moderately to strongly negative response in depicting a dangerous situation which he said would result in a death (Silver, 1989). He had chosen five cards, including the alligator, the gun, the prince (which he called a hunter), the sword (called a knife) and the swamp. All that is visible of the alligator is the eyes showing above the water of the swamp. The hunter is represented by a jeep, with a winding road indicated by a line going from the jeep to the alligator. Troy said that the alligator would kill the hunter. In light of his H-F-D, this might suggest fears that his partially hidden aggressive feelings, represented by the alligator, will win out over the hunter, who represents the ability to control those feelings.

Troy's sandtray (Figure 60), on the other hand, does not depict such aggressive feelings. Instead, it is rather barren, giving a feeling of isolation. A lone farmer stands in an empty field, which is partially walled in. Troy said that he would have continued the wall around the field, if
59a. Troy--Stimulus Drawing Assessment, Original

59b. Troy--Stimulus Drawing Assessment, Enhanced
60. Troy--Sandtray

61. Troy--Hamster
there had been more of that wall available for him to use. The house to the right of the farmer is a precarious combination of craft sticks stuck vertically in the sand with two soccer goal baskets balanced on top for the roof. This house would not afford much protection from the elements. A parking area is indicated to the left of the field by an arbor that has been laid on its side. A bridge in front of the house goes over a small body of water. A car approaching the bridge was said by Troy to be the farmer's wife coming home with their son, an only child. In my work with twins, I have found that they often imagine families with only one child. This would seem to be a reflection of a desire for more individual attention.

While the center of this tray is as empty as the farmer's garden, the bridge leads directly to the center. Perhaps the arrival of the nurturing feminine, the wife/mother in the car with the child, is needed for the centering of the self to occur. The driveway from the bridge to the parking area has been marked with lines made with a small broom. The broom was used in the field as well, as if preparing the garden for planting. This might suggest that the ground is being prepared to receive and direct the forces that would transform the emptiness into a nurturing environment.

Troy was not asked to complete a Kinetic-Twin-Drawing because he had had such difficulty with the other assessment tasks. He was asked, however, to make himself as an animal,
using modeling clay. This proved difficult for him as well. He decided to make a hamster (Fig. 61), because, he explained, he has had four hamsters as pets. The figure is crudely shaped, with no effort made to delineate any features, other than the markings of the fur. Toothpicks were used for the legs and tail, giving it a precarious appearance. Troy was as unsuccessful at creating an expression of himself using the modeling clay, as he had been using a pencil.

Troy completed several other projects. They were all highly structured, usually craft oriented. This included a necklace of glass beads, which he gave to his mother, and a set of shelves made with skill sticks (Figure 62). A figure he made out of corks and wire (Figure 63) showed his interest in devising ways to put things together. These projects increased Troy's self-confidence while providing tactile stimulation. Increased tactile stimulation can help define body sensations, which results in a more clearly defined body image (Rubin, 1984).

Troy spent most of four sessions working on one project in particular. Using craft sticks, he showed a great deal of determination in his efforts to build a boat (no photo available). His original plan was to build a boat that would actually float. This was a tremendous undertaking. To complete the boat that he had envisioned would have required much more time than he had available to him in the sessions.
62. Troy--Shelves

63. Troy--Cork Figure
There was a great deal of trial and error involved in this process, as he tried different ways of joining the sticks together. He would spend a substantial amount of time on a section, only to decide that another method would work better. He would then throw out the old section and start over again.

In working on this boat, Troy pushed through many episodes of frustration. While the end product remained important to him, I believe that he valued the process as well. He accepted the reality that the boat would not be suited for actually going in the water, and decided he would make a stand for it instead. He spent the entire last session working to complete his boat. When he left with it, he was immensely pleased with his accomplishment. Troy, on his own, had developed a project that served his needs and enhanced his self-esteem.
Bill was the secondborn twin. He was described by his mother as having lower self-esteem than his twin. She also told about the three boys going to Choices for Change for a ten session group program. Bill only went three times, refusing to go back when the topic of anger was addressed.

Bill had seemed to be an angry young man during the interview session, but in the first session, which he attended with Troy, he seemed only vulnerable. He could not even complete writing his name in color on his folder. He had printed his name in large letters using pencil, and then began going over the letters with a red oil pastel. He had not finished the first letter when he turned the folder inside out and wrote his name in small letters, using the pencil so lightly that the lines are hardly visible. All of Bill's drawings were drawn with extremely faint lines, which is indicative of a generalized feeling of inadequacy and a fear of defeat (Buck, 1970). Most are so faint that they cannot be seen in the photographs, and enhanced versions of these are shown along with the originals.

When asked to draw a house, a tree and a person, Bill requested a ruler, which he used for the walls and roof of the house (Figures 64a, original & 64b, enhanced). The tall, thin house suggests vulnerability (Hammer, 1980) and the small door and extended eaves of the roof suggest evasiveness (Buck, 1970). The "worm's-eye view" perspective of looking
64a. Bill--House-Tree-Person Drawing, Original

64b. Bill--House-Tree-Person Drawing, Enhanced
65a. Bill--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Mother),
Original

65b. Bill--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Mother),
Enhanced
up at the house, which is positioned on a hill, usually represents a feeling of rejection and/or a desire to withdraw (Buck, 1970, p. 110). The tree is leaning toward the house, which might indicate dependency, as the trunk reflects the ego-strength of the individual (Hammer, 1980). The crown of the tree conveys a sense of anxiousness and insecurity in the way that lines of shading have been scribbled over the faint, tentative lines of the branches. The branches represent the individual's resources for seeking satisfaction in the environment (Buck, 1970), and a treatment such as this would suggest that Bill is feeling frustration at his inability to reach out in a direct manner.

Bill identified the person, who is standing at the mailbox, as himself. He had erased a letter drop he had drawn in the door and replaced it with the mailbox. The function of a mailbox is to receive mail, which is marked with the occupant's identity. In this sense it seems feasible that this added "irrelevant" detail is expressing Bill's need to receive an identity, which would include his identity as a "male." The figure, itself, supports this idea in that the trunk has been left unclosed between the legs. This can indicate a conflict regarding sexuality (Jolles, cited in Wenck, 1986), which an undeveloped sense of identity could create. The difficulty which many twins face in developing a clearly formed body image is also a source of anxiety related to masculinity for male twins (Albon et al., 1986). The rounded trunk and limbs, which give the figure a
snowman like quality, is suggestive of emotional deprivation (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). The omission of a neck implies impulsivity and poor inner controls (Koppitz, 1968).

This same type of figure appears in the Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Figures 65a, original & 65b, enhanced). Bill has drawn himself as the largest figure, standing between his twin on the right and his younger brother on the left. Only Bill and his twin are drawn with an incompletely closed trunk, suggesting that this conflict is specific to them. The mother, the smallest figure, is kneeling in the foreground with a camera, taking a picture of the boys. While she is shown facing the boys and interested in them, this activity serves to separate her from them. She has recently gone back to college, and this positioning might reflect Bill's experience of her busy schedule.

Bill has shown them all at the entrance to Disneyland, with a sign announcing Disneyland's thirty-fifth anniversary. Bill used a ruler to draw the road which extends across the whole page. He erased a dotted line he had drawn down the middle of the road, but left the line of the road cutting through the legs of all three boys. This implied severing of the legs from the body is suggestive of feelings of insecurity, which the slanting angle of the figures emphasizes (Koppitz, 1968). The road also serves to compartmentalize the family, with the mother depicted in a separate compartment from the three children.
Bill was asked to complete another K-F-D which would include his father (Figures 66a, original & 66b, enhanced). The entire page is filled with a baseball diamond at a stadium. A game is in progress with players in the field and on the bases. A batter has just hit a ball that is seen high in the air at the top of the page. Finally, the family figures were added. They are shown as tiny figures sitting in the stands. The figures are "paper-based" in the bottom corner of the page, which would indicate insecurity (Buck, 1970, p. 109). The figures are poorly defined, lacking arms and with their legs cut off at the paper's edge, suggesting helplessness and a lack of autonomy (Buck, 1970). The facial features are also minimally presented, although Bill has the largest head and most defined features. Again Bill presents himself in the center between his two brothers, with Troy closest to the parent this time.

The figures in this drawing are almost inconsequential to the action in the stadium. In addition, the figures appear to be sitting lined up, one in front of the other, rather than side by side, suggesting that there is not much personal interaction within this family system (Koppitz, 1968). A ball in a K-F-D represents the energy within the family and often denotes feelings of competition (Burns & Kaufman, 1972). In this drawing the ball is shown flying away into the outfield. The action is encapsulated by a line encircling the whole field. This might indicate that Bill feels cut off from his own inner competitive drives. These
66a. Bill--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Father), Original

66b. Bill--Kinetic-Family-Drawing (Father), Enhanced
67a. Bill--Stimulus Drawing Assessment,  
Original

67b. Bill--Stimulus Drawing Assessment,  
Enhanced
apparently feel so overwhelming that they fill the whole page, while the members of his family are barely squeezed into the picture.

His Stimulus Drawing assessment (Figures 67a, original & 67b, enhanced) also expresses the presence of feelings that threaten to overwhelm him. He chose pictures of a volcano and a fish. The outline of the volcano was drawn very faintly, perhaps showing his resistance to looking at the feelings in him which the volcano symbolizes. When a light line quality is in such high contrast to the aggressive content of the drawing, the implication is that aggressive impulses are being inhibited in social contact (Machover, 1957).

Bill drew the fish in the ocean at the bottom of the volcano. Then he indicated that the volcano was exploding, using darker lines which he drew coming out of the top of the volcano. Next he shaded the side of the mountain, saying that the lava was flowing down to the water where it killed the fish. Having gone that far, he went back to the SD cards and chose a whale and a mountain climber. He drew the whale in the water under the flow of lava, declaring that the lava had killed the whale also. The mountain climber was depicted as a sketchy stick figure inside of the volcano. Bill said that this person had been climbing in the mountain when the volcano erupted, and he would be killed also. Bill has expressed quite clearly the intensity of his inner feelings which threaten to explode and "kill" everything around him.
The large size of Bill's Human-Figure-Drawing (Figure 68) might also indicate the presence of feelings of aggression (Hammer, 1980). Indeed, the rounded figure with the arms sticking out horizontally from the trunk looks as though it had been blown up like a balloon. The body, legs and upper arms were shaded in an impulsive manner that would suggest the presence of aggressive impulses, as well as anxiety (Buck, 1970). Again, the omission of the neck suggests a feeling of being overwhelmed by those impulses (Buck, 1970). The large eyes that have been densely shaded also reflect anxiety and hostility (Machover, 1957). Short arms can indicate feelings of inadequacy (Wolk, cited in Wenck, 1986) and suggest withdrawal in an effort to inhibit impulses (Koppitz, 1968).

A highly significant aspect of this drawing, which is not visible in the finished product, is the sequence in which the figure was drawn. Bill started at the feet, working his way up the body, adding the head last. This sequence can indicate severe emotional disturbance (Machover, 1957) and is usually associated with poor interpersonal relationships (Koppitz, 1968). In this case, Bill might also have experienced a need to establish a "firm footing" before dealing with the rest of the body, which seems to hold such overwhelming feelings for him.

Bill completed two sandtrays. The first tray (Figure 69) shows a town with houses placed in a circle around the center of the tray. At first Bill said that this town was
68. Bill--Human-Figure-Drawing
69. Bill—Sandtray

70. Bill—Race Course
abandoned, but then decided that people would not leave such a "good" town. He has provided for the needs of the community with trucks to maintain the town, drinks for the town, a well, a library, a school, a church, houses and a car for each house. The formation of the town in a circle around the center of the tray suggests the presence of inner forces that can work together as a "community" to create the centering necessary for the development of a strong, healthy ego (Kalff, 1980).

There is a lake to the right of the town. In a first tray this corner is seen to represent the mother (Kalff, 1980). Here Bill has placed a lifeguard stand, and marked the area that is safe for swimming and an area for boating. The entrance of the lake to the river is blocked off to prevent swimmers from getting carried down the river. This might depict a need that Bill feels for protection from feelings that threaten to carry him away. He has made the area that is available for swimming very small, constricted, and close to the protection of the lifeguard, suggesting, perhaps, that a dependence on the mother for safety feels restrictive to Bill at this time.

Meanwhile, a river flows around the village. The flow of water in a tray is a positive sign of movement (Reed, 1975), however, Bill associates the movement with destruction, in that swimmers might get carried away by the current. Also, he shows a killer whale chasing two dolphins up the river toward the lake. He reported that the dolphins
will be trapped and the whale is going to get them. The same barrier that is intended to protect the swimmers will allow the whale to destroy the two dolphins. The whale and dolphin, with their ability to dive deep into the ocean, are both associated with accessing the unconscious (Amatruda, 1989). In this tray the whale appears to represent Bill's repressed aggressive impulses.

A mansion stands in the upper right corner. It has a wall around it, with a ladder for access. The ladder is like a drawbridge and can be pulled up when the man who lives there does not need it. Bill said that he wanted to be the man in that house. This man is rich and has everything he wants, including a boat and race cars. This is a guarded individual, however, who is walled off from and inaccessible to the community. This might be a representation of the way Bill is cut off from his feelings. Still, there are two bridges which cross the river. These offer the potential for the uniting of opposing energies, as represented by the community and the mansion (Bradway, 1985).

An interesting scene in the upper left corner had been removed by Bill shortly before completing the tray. The first thing he had done in the tray was to set up a camping scene in that corner. This included trees, a camper, a teepee, campfires, food, a lantern, and two pistols. In a first tray, this corner is seen to represent the father (Kalff, 1980). As Bill does not live with his father, the symbolism of camping seems a realistic appraisal of the
situation. His life with his father is outside of the community in which he actually lives. The campers seemed well provided for, although the need for pistols suggested a wariness. Bill decided to take out the camping area in order to have room for a race track on which the man in the mansion could race his cars. Racing is a highly competitive sport, and it is possible that Bill is showing the intense competition he feels in relation to his father.

Bill's second tray was a process piece that ended in complete destruction. The action was very convoluted with a basic theme of angry aggression. He began by making a ranch scene in the tray. There was a river on one side with a horse in a corral next to it. He dug a hole in the sand down to the blue bottom of the tray, carefully making it just the size for a well, which he then placed over the hole. This required many repeated attempts in order to get it just right. The well was in the center of the tray, which would suggest the potential to be healed by the depths of the unconscious (Amatruda, 1989). This was soon destroyed, along with everything else in the tray, after Bill placed a large crocodile in the river. The size of this figure relative to the other objects in the tray made it a monster.

The action began with the appearance of the crocodile, which Bill said was mad because "they wouldn't let it out." The crocodile killed the horse and ate it. It began knocking down and eating everything in the tray. Bill brought three human figures in, all of which got killed and eaten by the
crocodile after much horrific fighting. These figures were a clown, a skier and a man with a whip who is an animal trainer in a circus. The trainer suffered the most in the fight, taking the longest to get killed. Among other things he was buried in the sand for a pretend ten minutes before being uncovered, which Bill acted out by gasping for breath as the man would have.

In the process of all this fighting, the crocodile was flinging garden tools about. These included a shovel, a rake and a pitchfork. After killing all the men, however, the crocodile pinned itself down when the pitchfork landed in the sand over the crocodile's tail. Bill explained that the crocodile was stuck there for three years. This is the length of time that Bill's parents have been separated. During these years the crocodile killed all the animals that came its way, which included a baby alligator, a lizard, a foal and ducks.

After three years, Bill said that the crocodile was starting to get thirsty. Then the skier came by, and the crocodile got so angry, because it was reminded of the first skier, that it broke free. Another clown and trainer came by also, and all three were killed and eaten. This time the trainer's fate was even gorier, ending finally, after a long ordeal, with him being cooked alive and eaten.

Now the crocodile buried itself. Bill explained that the crocodile attacked the whole world and still did not get enough to eat. He quickly uncovered the crocodile and said
that it was going to the middle of the ocean, and Bill began scooping sand out of the tray. He wanted to take all of the sand out of the tray. With help, he emptied the sand into buckets. He cleaned every last grain out, meticulously brushing the corners with a miniature broom. Once the tray was empty, however, he did not even look at it again. Instead he made tunnels down into the sand in the bucket. He remained intensely absorbed in this process until the end of the session.

It was fortunate that Bill communicated his process as he went, because so much occurred without any lasting record of any of it. Such total destruction is a clear message telling of the intensity of the feelings which Bill has kept bottled up inside of himself. It is no wonder that he was afraid to talk about anger. The crocodile is the vehicle Bill used in this tray to represent his own anger. Bill referred to this pent up anger in describing why the crocodile was angry, "They wouldn't let it out." This also explained why the crocodile was so big, because it had been growing all the while it had been kept in the lake, which would refer to Bill's unconscious (Kalff, 1980), and not allowed out, or into consciousness.

The crocodile's anger was most focused on the trainer, a man with a whip. This could suggest that Bill was resentful at the need he has felt to attempt to tame his anger and keep it contained. The fact that the crocodile was pinned down for three years would indicate that this anger is closely
associated with his parents' separation. Also, Bill was three years old when his younger brother was born, possibly another cause of his anger. He did specifically choose several baby animals for the crocodile to eat. After killing and eating everything in the world, the crocodile still had not had enough to eat. This might describe how seriously deprived of nurturing Bill has felt.

Emptying the tray completely of sand is an unusual procedure, and could mean several different things. Bill said no more about this process once the tray was empty. It would seem that Bill had gone too quickly into the depths of his aggressive feelings. By displacing the sand from the tray into the buckets, he was perhaps defending himself from those feelings. Bill did not work in the sandtray again during the remaining sessions, choosing instead more structured, craft oriented media.

One project in particular seemed to be an attempt to work further with the themes presented in the sandtrays, within the safety of a more structured media. Gluing scrap wood onto a board, Bill designed a bike race course (Figure 70). The board on which he built the race course even has the appearance of a two dimensional sandtray in the way in which he has colored it to represent dirt and water. There was a race course in his first sandtray, and, here again, the symbolism would suggest a preoccupation with competition. He worked on this project during two sessions, finishing it in the last session. As he finished it up, he talked about it
being a dangerous course. There were many obstacles and water all around the track, so that, "if you missed and went off the track, you'd drown." After thinking about that he added, "But there's a lifeguard who'd save you." At which point he decided to make a lifeguard stand. The lifeguard stand was also present in the first sandtray, and it represents a positive resource which Bill is beginning to access to help him deal with the dangers which he feels lurk inside of him.
CONCLUSION: TROY AND BILL

Troy and Bill were both quite intimidated by the art materials. Their approach to the assessment tasks was tentative, and their involvement in all of the drawing tasks was minimal. Their work has elements that would be appropriate for a much younger developmental age group. Their H-F-Ds, in particular, showed a very poorly developed body image and sense of self. There was evidence throughout their work of feelings of inadequacy, insecurity, and vulnerability. Both also showed evasiveness, withdrawal and a sense of isolation in their work. Competition with each other and in relation to the father was expressed in both of their K-F-Ds, as was a sense of receiving inadequate nurturing within the family system.

Repressed anger seems to be a significant issue with both of these boys, although it showed itself differently in their work. Troy only alluded to his anger, once by drawing an angry friend for the HFD and once in the SD task where he stated that the alligator would kill the hunter. Bill, on the other hand, acted out his anger in the sandtray, showing quite dramatically the intensity of his feelings. Both boys experience a conflict between the anger they feel and their fears of being consumed by that anger.

Both boys preferred the safety and limits provided by more structured media. This may also reflect their entrance
into pre-adolescence, when increased self-consciousness often results in a desire for more craft-oriented tasks, which are less emotionally revealing. They both enjoyed building with craft sticks and scrap wood, and these projects appeared to enhance their self-esteem.
Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

The artwork and sandtrays completed by the children in this study support the findings of other authors who have worked with twins. In general it has been found that "being a member of a twin pair (either fraternal or identical) had profound effects on the personality development. By and large there is a mutual interdependency and failure to completely differentiate one's self from the twin, so that a complete self-representation is not found" (Joseph & Tabor, 1961, p. 276).

These disturbances begin at preverbal stages of the developmental process (Mahler, 1974). The mutual interidentification common to the twin relationship often results in the repression of feelings of hostility and jealousy. Left unexpressed, these feelings can also interfere with the development of self-identity (Joseph & Tabor, 1961). The use of art materials and sandtray facilitate the expression of these feelings and taps preverbal and unconscious material, making them valuable modalities for exploring the issues confronting twins in their development of a sense of identity.

Evidence of an inadequately formed body image and a confusion of identity appears in the art work and sandtrays
of the twins in this study. Aggression and competition were frequently expressed in association with indications of anxiety. Feelings of inadequacy, insecurity, restriction and dependency were also prevalent in their work. While this study has not proven these difficulties to be the result of the twinship itself, the repeated occurrence of these issues for all of the children would suggest some relationship to the twin situation, especially in light of findings by other authors. Furthermore, it seems likely that, due to developmental delays in the individuation/separation process, twins are more vulnerable to the effects of external difficulties such as divorce and the birth of a younger sibling.

While there was much that was similar in the art work of both children in each set of twins in this study, there were some interesting polarities, primarily in the affect of the work. This was most clearly and consistently seen in the sandtrays. In all cases, the firstborn twins created sandtray scenes with a barren, empty quality to them. While there were positive elements to be found in these, they all conveyed a sense of immobilized energies. On the other hand, the secondborn twins created dynamic scenes that clearly indicated an activation of inner forces.

Further study is needed to fully understand the significance of this finding. However, it might be hypothesized that within the twin relationship there is a
compelling drive in secondborn twins to "catch up," while firstborn twins actually inhibit their own individuation/separation process. This idea is similar to that of the "non-aggression pact" of which Albon et al. (1986, p. 242) speaks and to that of mutual interidentification as presented by Joseph and Tabor (1961). Indications of this type of equalizing interrelationship within the sandtrays of these children suggests that, during latency age, this mechanism affects the basic developmental process of the psyche. Further studies using art and sandplay with twins of various ages could help to track the development of the intertwin relationship.

It should be noted that in these four cases the firstborn twins were considered to be better adjusted, presenting fewer or less obvious behavioral indications of disturbance. The art work and sandplay, however, suggest that they, too, have experienced disruptions in their developmental process. While being the firstborn has apparently given them the advantage of having the preferred role, an insufficiently formed sense of identity was revealed in their work. Additional work with twins is needed to understand more fully the significance of birth order in the twin relationship.

The length of this study did not allow for a measurement of the success of art therapy and sandplay in facilitating the development of a sense of identity in twins. There were
indications, however, that these modalities, by offering access to preverbal and unconscious material, offer the potential for these children to activate the energies needed to complete the developmental tasks which appear to have been delayed as a result of the twin situation.
1 For the purposes of this thesis it was not important that the twins be genetically identical. Indeed, the zygosity of a set of twins, which defines whether they are identical, monozygotic, or fraternal, dizygotic, is difficult to establish absolutely. This requires extensive blood analysis and/or study of chromosomal markers (Creasy & Resnik, 1989). Identical twins result when a single egg splits after it is fertilized, while fraternal twins develop from two separate eggs that are dropped into the uterus and fertilized at the same time. Fraternal twins are, therefore, no more alike genetically than any other siblings. It is hypothesized that a third type, identical-fraternal twins, results when a single egg splits before it is fertilized (Assali, 1972). These twins would have identical genes from the mother but not from the father.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A: Letter

May 18, 1990

3426 Montecito Avenue

Santa Rosa, CA  95404

To the parents of twins:

I am offering an expressive arts experience this summer for twins between the ages of 7 and 12. Expressive arts is the use of art materials to enhance self-awareness and self-esteem. It also promotes healthy emotional and intellectual development. I am an artist and a graduate student in psychology. I have worked with children privately and in public and private schools. The work I have done with twins has been of particular interest to me, and I have decided to focus the work for my Master's Thesis in this area.

I will see each child once a week for either an individual one hour session or a joint one and a half hour session, for a total of six sessions each, to be held in my studio in Santa Rosa. There will be no fee. For more information and references call me at 545-0442. This is a wonderful opportunity for your children to have fun in a creative environment.

Sincerely,

Judy White-Wolff
APPENDIX B: Announcement

Printed in "Kid Konnection," June, 1990

TWINS, 7-12 YRS OLD: Summer art experience, for Master's thesis project. Once a week for 6 weeks, no fee. References available. For information call Judy White-Wolff, 545-0442.
APPENDIX D: Questionnaire

Date: ______

Clients: __________________________________________

Birthday: ________________________________________

Family

Father: __________________________________________

Mother: _________________________________________

Occupation: ______________________________________

Marital status—married / separated / divorced

If separated or divorced:

Age of twins:

Twins' reactions (sad, angry, fighting)

Custody arrangements:

Step-parents:

Occupation:

Age of twins, first meeting:

Age of twins when married:

Adjustment to situation:

What kind of support received:

Relationship with twins:

Siblings (name and age):

How do they get along with twins:

Others living in home:

Birth—full term / premature

Weights:

First born:

Time between:

Complications:

Family's response:
Early Childhood:
What kind of support for mother/father: _____________________________

Biggest problems for parents: ________________________________________

Ways coped with difficulties: ______________________________________

Developmental progress (esp. language): _________________________________

Similarities: _________________________________________________________

Differences: _________________________________________________________

School experiences
Preschool- together / separate: _______________________________
   age: __________________________
   socialization skills: ____________________________
   motor development- slow / average / fast
   description: ___________________________

Elementary school: ___________________________
   Kindergarten- together / separate
   age: ___________________________
   socialization skills: ____________________________

   Progression through grades: ____________________________

   Developmental delays: ____________________________
      when: ____________________________
      each child's response: ____________________________
      parent's response: ____________________________

   Academic strengths: ____________________________

   Academic weaknesses: ____________________________

   Classmates response- same / different to each twin
      description: ____________________________
Periods of Separation:
Visiting / vacations / hospitalization / other
Description: ____________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Each child's response: ________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Would like more / would rather not:
Would like more / would rather not: ___________________________________
Parents' feelings about: ________________________________________________

Interests- same / different / competitive with each other
Sports: ______________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Hobbies, other activities: ______________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Friends- same / different / both: ________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Response to twins: ____________________________________________________

Pets: _________________________________________________________________

Art- like / neutral / dislike: ____________________________________________
like / neutral / dislike: ________________________________________________
Experience: __________________________________________________________

Materials preferred: ____________________________________________________

Typical imagery: ______________________________________________________

3 Wishes: _____________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX D: Stimulus Drawing Cards

The following thirty-six Stimulus Drawing cards are those that were chosen by the children in this study. There are a total of fifty cards which had been available to them. The images on these cards were designed by Rawley Silver (1989) for *Stimulus Drawings and Techniques in Therapy, Development and Assessment*. These cards have been reproduced with the permission of the author.
REFERENCES


