

Emotions and representations of “the city” after the 2009 earthquake in L’Aquila: children, education and social reconstruction in a post-catastrophe context

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Abstract

This article relates the results of a research study carried out on children and pre-teens (aged 7-13) from the city of L’Aquila three years after a devastating earthquake that caused the death of hundreds of people and left thousands displaced. We tried to verify to what extent, three years later, the idea and the representation of this city was marked by the catastrophic event and the resulting conditions of life, and how the emotions and desires of children from L’Aquila diverged from those of their peers, living in other territories not hit by such devastation. We submitted a test to 204 children from L’Aquila and to a control group of 106 children from other territories. The research results highlighted that for children who had suffered a catastrophic event, the traumatic experience and the resulting conditions of urban life weakened their relationship with their city, thus alternating the general concept they have of the place they live in.

L’articolo riporta i risultati di una ricerca svolta tra i bambini e i preadolescenti aquilani (7-13 anni) a tre anni di distanza dal terremoto che ha distrutto la città e provocato numerose vittime. Si è cercato di verificare quanto, a tre anni dal sisma, l’idea e la rappresentazione della città fosse segnata dall’evento e dalle condizioni di vita negli anni successivi, e quanto le emozioni e i desideri dei bambini aquilani divergessero da quelli dei loro coetanei di altre realtà non terremotate. È stato somministrato un test a 204 bambini aquilani e a un gruppo di controllo di 106 bambini di altre realtà. La ricerca ha evidenziato come nei bambini che hanno subito un evento catastrofico, tanto l’esperienza traumatica, quanto le condizioni di vita urbana, agiscono come fattori di indebolimento del loro rapporto con la città e di alterazione del concetto più generale di città.

Keywords: emotions, representation of the city, emergency, catastrophe, children’s drawings, citizenship education

Parole chiave: emozioni, rappresentazione della città, emergenza, catastrofe, disegno infantile, educazione alla cittadinanza

Introduction

The issue regarding the relationship between children and their dwelling space has been examined by different disciplinary perspectives that have created a corpus of knowledge and orientations that are strictly connected and certainly interesting from an educational point of view.

Especially during the 70's, particular attention was given to the influence of socio-environmental aspects in the processes of child development and growth. Afterwards many researchers worked on an idea of pedagogy able to connect the traditional problems concerning *child-at-school* or *child-in-family*, with a wider vision including the entire territory they lived in, considered as an important educational "agent". The idea of an "integrated educational system" (Frabboni, Guerra, 1991) that strongly proposed the theme of continuity in education, re-evaluating all the potentialities of the extra-school, has opened pedagogy to a wide array of different and innovative interests.

Concerning the specific theme of representation of the city from the child's point of view, many studies carried out with a psychological-environmental approach, explain how the representations of the city are not only influenced by individual factors and cognitive processes, but also by the mode and quality of social life in the urban space.

Age is certainly one of the most important factors in explaining this kind of mental representation according to a cognitive mapping that selects and interconnects information. Piaget and Imhelder (Cohen, 1985) underlined that the child's mind needs many years to develop the ability to represent the environment in a system of spatial objective relationships, where the different elements are contemporarily present: from the more eye-catching ones, singly represented and leading to a representation of the environmental space in the form of a map only at the end of the childhood period.

According to Perussia (1979), the representation of the city changes with age: as children grow, we can observe drawings that are more organized and rich in details. The contextual factors can at the same time influence the type of representation and the level of complexity. Therefore the accuracy of the representation may depend on the immediate environmental reference: in a comparative research, carried out in different countries, Lynch (1977) showed that children who live in historical centers have the tendency to produce, through their drawing, a more ar-

ticulated and complex vision of the city in comparison to drawings produced by children living in the suburbs.

In Italy, Gaeti and Venini (1982) observed, through a study on two groups of children from Milan, that the children who live in a city center have a more complete representation of the city according to its characteristic elements, while children from suburbs have a more confused idea, with elements typical of non-urban spaces (isolated houses, lawns, woods). Hart (Cohen, 1985) observes that the central nucleus of the representation of the city is one's own home and its immediate proximities and that a positive experience of the environment can also produce an acceleration of the natural development in 5-6 year-old children. According to Axia (1986), the ability to understand what a city is and to represent it, appears at 5-6 years of age. Such abilities also develop according to the opportunities of exploring the urban space; the degree and quality of the experience succeed, at least partly, in neutralizing the age factor: Five year-old children that have a rich experience can build maps and more exhaustive and complex representations of the city than eight year-old children who do not have a good relationship with their own urban space.

The impact of such studies is nowadays enhanced by new approaches on the representation of the urban space, no longer seen as a mere cognitive construction, but also as the result of a complexity of factors that refer to culture, society, to individual and collective memories, so as to consider the idea of map not only in its "geographical" meaning, but also its emotional one (Pittamigli, Knolls 2003). According to Liotta (2005), the places become meaningful thanks to the emotions that they arouse and to the affections that are poured on them. The past, the experience of particular events, situations, relationships make a place remarkable and meaningful for the memory of the individual or the group and, therefore, the external space contemporarily becomes inner and psychic space, since it is experience, memory, sentimental value. In general it has to be said that the place we live in has the power to intervene on the realization of the needs and the aspirations of the individual and the citizen, to confer identity, to promote affiliation to a territory and to a community (Turco, 2010; Calandra 2012).

The city, as a general system in which education develops and from which many of its aspects takes form, is declined by Frabboni in many "possible" cities: the neoliberalist logics and the urban politics draw configurations that are specified in the "city-market", in the "crumbled city", in the "hostile city" (in which some ages of life are handcuffed and confined in the spaces, in the times, in the products of markets (Frabboni, Montanari, 2006, p. 12); an educational city is set instead as the educational and social alternative.

There are many different strengths in the city, working on the wealth of the community and the growth of the individuals, through the recognition of specific rights: the right to socialization, communication, autonomy, movement,

knowledge, imagination, cooperation-solidarity. All this happens while the real city induces to loneliness and separation, produces dependence, doesn't grant aggregative spaces and exalts competition, individualism, etc. (Ibid).

The children's involvement in the processes of management, transformation and urban re-qualification is considered nowadays an interesting frontier by various authors (Tonucci, 1980, Talu 2014), and by different initiatives promoted in public sphere.

Motivations and context of the research

After an earthquake swarm lasting for months, on April 6th 2009, a 6.3 (Richter scale) earthquake destroyed L'Aquila, causing the death of 309 people, leaving more than 1600 wounded, and around 66.000 homeless. The effects of the earthquake on the social life were immediately projected on a long duration temporality: one year after the earthquake, only 25% of the population, after many months spent in relief campsites or in receptive structures up to 150 kilometers away, is able to return to his/her own residence; still in 2015 the historical center remains devastated and the suburbs partially reconstructed. The housing policies adopted have preferred investing in new housing complexes rather than in rebuilding, this has deeply transformed the urban space: around a destroyed historical center and a partially inhabited suburban area, 19 new installations, circularly built around the city, mostly rather far from the center and deprived of services have "redrawn" the face of this historical city of central Italy, traditionally organized and "united" around its historical center (Palma, 2012). The trauma of the earthquake, but also the housing policies adopted, on which there is the shade of *shock economy* (Klein, 2007), the deterioration of the quality of social life has determined situations of stress and social and psychological uneasiness, recorded by many studies with different disciplinary approaches (Calandra, 2012, Isidori, Vaccarelli 2013). The sense of dwelling and of territoriality has changed, going towards a *multitopic* dwelling, a fragmented way of living, incoherent and marked by social and urban fractures (Calandra, 2013, p. 13). But also an *atopic* dwelling (Allevi 2013), that brings to a refusal of one's place of residence, carelessness, indifference. Our research is based on studying the representations of their city by children from L'Aquila, comparing the results with those obtained from a control group of children residing elsewhere. Particularly, on a general plan, the study hypothesized that: 1) three years after the earthquake, children from L'Aquila still carry the signs of the traumatic event, measurable through a study of emotions and recurrent thoughts and their comparison with the control group; 2) children from L'Aquila have the tendency to produce representations of the city with different characteristics in comparison to those of the control group, perceptible to the ex-

perience of the earthquake and its aftermath 3) children from L'Aquila represent through their drawings forms of urban uneasiness that concern them as individuals and as citizens.

Methodology, tools, sampling

The group we studied consisted in 204 students from primary and middle schools. A research tool was created to study the followings aspects (Tab. 1): feelings and recurrent thoughts; representation and idea of city before and after the earthquake (drawing); future expectations. The questions were formulated with open answers, in order to allow the children to express themselves in the freest and most unconditioned possible way . A content analysis form was then created to study the drawings (Att. 1). Considering that children are able to represent their city at the age of 5-6 (Axia, 1986), the study considered children included between 7 and 13 years old. A control group made up of 106 students from two cities of central southern Italy (Rieti: 48, Aprilia: 58), that only for some aspects share similar characteristics with L'Aquila before the earthquake (ex. Demographic) . The children answered the test in the spring of 2012, therefore 3 years after the earthquake.

Table 1. *The tool: Test on “The City”*

CHILDREN FROM L'AQUILA	CHILDREN FROM OTHER CITIES
First page	
Age – School – Class – City <i>Answer to these questions without thinking too much:</i> If I think about a nice thing, I think about If I think about a bad thing, I think about	
Second page In this space make a drawing of your city before the earthquake What thoughts came to your mind while making the drawing?	Second page In this space make a drawing of your city What thoughts came to your mind while making the drawing?
Third page In this space make a drawing of your city after the earthquake What thoughts came to your mind while making the drawing?	Third page What things do you hope for your city? Are there things that can be improved? Answer freely Can you write the best things that represent your city? Can you write the worst things that represent your city?
Fourth page What things do you hope for your city? Are there things that can be improved? Answer freely Can you write the best things that represent your city? Can you write the worst things that represent your city?	

On the first page of the test, the children are given two questions (for those from L'Aquila and not):

1) *If I think about a nice thing, I think about...*; 2) *If I think about a bad thing I think about...*

For these first two questions, we were careful to not mention the word “earthquake” and children were instructed to not look through the other pages of the test, in which the word “earthquake” was present. Comparing the answers given by children from L'Aquila with the answers of the children from other cities, we saw that - three years following the earthquake - the tragic event conditioned the inner experience of children from L'Aquila. Moreover, in another questionnaire, not considered in this article, compiled by teachers, containing information related to housing conditions, socio-economic levels, and, for children from L'Aquila,

levels of trauma and impact of the earthquake. The two groups are homogeneous in respect to sex, age, and socio-economic condition, while contextual and structural condition is obviously different; for the group from L'Aquila, this condition shows elements of precariousness in respect to the housing matters and to the use of urban spaces (Table 2).

Table 2. *Characteristics of the studied groups*

		Group from L'Aquila	Group not from L'Aquila
Sex	Male	49,3%	50,7%
	Female	49,2%	50,8%
Average age	between 7 and 13	9,33 St dv. 1,26	9,35 St. dv. 1,25

Table 3. *Comparison by age*

Age	From L'Aquila		Not from L'Aquila		Sum	
	v.a.	%	v.a.	%	v.a.	%
7	10	8,6%	9	8,5%	19	8,6%
8	23	19,8%	20	18,9%	43	19,4%
9	28	24,1%	26	24,5%	54	24,3%
10	29	25,0%	27	25,5%	56	25,2%
11	26	22,4%	24	22,6%	50	22,5%
Tot.	116	100,0%	106	100,0%	222	100,0%

Drawings represent an extremely interesting field for the analysis of children's past and of their inner world. Above all the youngest ones can express their emotions, their own deep feelings through their drawings more than they could succeed in doing so through the oral language (Federici, 2005). Used in psychodiagnostic techniques, a drawing shows aspects that would be latent, certainly always

susceptible to interpretation, and it also allows to verify how children reorganize and re-elaborate their personal experience, their relationship with the world and with meaningful people, through the “projections” on a sheet of the internalization of such experiences. From a pedagogic point of view, the drawing, in a sort of “narration” through the use of the space, the way to present characters, the use of color, allows us to work on dimensions that do not necessarily refer to the deep inner world or to matters of exclusive competence of the psychological sciences.

It allows us also to explore “more exterior” dimensions that tell us many things about the personal reinterpretation of the social experience, about how to represent the city and to understand, with specific emotions, the differences between a “before” and an “after” related to a particularly meaningful event. An initial research study on drawings by children from L’Aquila was developed by the “Marilena Ferrari” Foundation - FMR (Dallari 2010) in 2009, therefore immediately after the earthquake; from it we can understand the importance of drawings, also in absence of the use of words, to promote and to proceed toward the elaboration of trauma and resiliency in children.

The drawings proposed (object of our study) were assigned with two indications : 1) “Draw your city before the earthquake”; 2) “Draw your city after the earthquake”. The second incitement is certainly more ambiguous than a question like: “Draw your city today.” The meaning of “after” was in fact left to the free interpretation of the children.

We proceeded towards a qualitative and quantitative content analysis, through the elaboration of a series of forms that allowed us to gather and organize the data obtained (Attachments 1, 2).

The concept of “the city” that we can perceive through the representations in the children’s drawings depends on their age, in fact the younger they are the more they tend to represent only isolated elements (their home for example) considering the city-system in its complexity.

This is an important element in the considerations that will be formulated in our qualitative and quantitative analysis.

Thoughts, positive emotions and fears in children from L’Aquila and from other cities: data comparison

We analyzed the data related to the first two incitements which, through the percentage differences and chi square calculation allowed us to underline the significant differences between the groups.

For analysis convenience, we shall not report the detailed Fisher test results signal only the significant differences (with $P \leq 0.05$). To the open incitement “If I think about a nice thing, I think about...”, the subjects have often given more

than one answer. The categories used for gathering the answers are specified in table 4. Both for the children from L'Aquila and for those from other cities the most frequent choice referred to "Feelings, emotions and connections, positive values", but with a significant different percentage weight within the respective groups: 49,0% of children from L'Aquila compared to the 62,9% of other children, with a significant chi square. This reveals that the in the former positive thoughts converge towards other elements that can be set in relationship with the earthquake. We find in fact that the voice "Future" is present in 7,3% of the answers given by children from L'Aquila and in 0,8% of those given by children from other cities; the Fisher test is significant in this case as well. Moreover some voices concern exclusively children living in the earthquake aftermath ("my city before the earthquake", "Hope that dead people live again, to cure the people", "home").

This represents an extremely interesting datum, since it allows us to hypothesize that children's thoughts, in a situation of post-trauma (after three years from the earthquake), are still conditioned by the event, and are revealed through hope (future) or "nostalgia" (the house, the city before the earthquake) contents and through fantasies of safety. The datum related to the positive thoughts on pets (present in 6,3% of children from L'Aquila, compared to 21% of the children from other cities) can be considered another "structural" datum: the reorganization in the post-earthquake period of the family and social life (relocating, housing precariousness) may have led to families not being able to have pets in the home.

Table 4. *If I think about something nice, I think about...*

	Children from L'Aquila % of answers	Children not from L'Aquila % of answers	Sig. Fisher's test
Feelings, emotions and bonds, positive values....	49,0	62,9	YES
Activities, free time and sport	23,8	23,4	NO
Holidays/ playing time/ parties	23,3	24,2	NO
Nature and environment (lawns, sea, mountains)	14,6	19,4	NO
City or life before the earthquake	12,4	-	YES
School	7,8	8,9	NO
Objects, tools, toys, food	7,8	11,3	NO
Future	7,3	0,8	YES
Animals	6,3	21,0	YES
House	5,6	-	YES
Hope that dead people live again; to cure people	1,5	-	NO
Commercial places (Café, shops,.....)	0,5	-	NO

Following the same data analysis method, to study the children's negative thoughts (Tab. 5), we observed some interesting and significant differences between the two groups,

The first important datum is related to the earthquake. It must be stated however, that we administered the test a few days after the earthquake in the territories of the Emilia Region and this evidently conditioned the answers and the data obtained, even from the children from other cities. Nevertheless, there is a significant prevalence of the word "earthquake" in the answers given by children from L'Aquila (29,2%) compared to those from other cities (13,7%).

In the former the earthquake of Emilia may have recalled in first person the earthquake in L'Aquila and therefore it could have strongly conditioned the children's answers, even if it is reasonable to think that the high result is for the most part independent from the Emilia event considering that the earthquake they experienced is still a vivid memory and a frequent topic of discussion for adults and that they are exposed to visible signs of the devastated city. The ideas connected to death, illness, accidents, constitute for both the groups a frequent negative thought with no notable significant differences.

On the other hand, unexpectedly, the feelings and the negative emotions, also in relationship to family bonds (separations, divorces), are more evident in the control group, as are thoughts concerning social and political phenomena such as crime, mafia, war. It would seem that children from L'Aquila (above all those that aged between 4 and 5 years old in 2009) retained sediments of the traumatic experience, meaning that they have a more significant inclination towards fear of the dark, nightmares, or toward the *fear of fear*.

Such datum can also be read in relationship to what emerges regarding the fear of atmospheric phenomena which is not free from the experience of the earthquake: in fact in the drawings, and especially in those of the youngest children, we can see that the earthquake is represented in association with atmospheric signs. This, not being verified in the contingent circumstance of the earthquake of 2009, allows us to imply an interpretation (maybe moved by "ancestral" feelings) in which we attempt to explain the natural catastrophe in terms of "disastrum" (from latin, the *adverse stars*).

Table 5. *If I think about something bad I think about...*

	Children from L'Aquila % of answer	Children not from L'Aquila % of answer	Sig. Fisher's test
Earthquake	30,2	13,7	YES
Death/Disease/Pain/Accidents	29,7	29,8	NO
Feelings and negative emotions (hate, abandonment, sadness, anger...)/Bonds (distance, separations ...)	27,2	34,7	YES
Darkness /Nightmares/Irrational fears/Horror movie	18,5	5,6	YES
Extra-earthquake natural Phenomena (storm/rain...)	12,6	4,8	YES
School	9,7	5,6	NO
Crime/Mafia/War/Decay	13,6	33,8	YES
People/ Bad people	5,3	6,5	NO
Poverty	4,4	3,2	NO
House	3,9	13,7	YES
Dangerous animals	3,4	4,8	NO
Future (can not be fulfilled)	0,5	-	NO

If we consider the age variable, we can observe in at least two cases a significant association with the type of fears and negative thoughts. If the thought of the earthquake invades 25,2% of the cases, we can observe that - in the distribution by age of this subgroup (Table 6) - that it represents a fear, fairly distributed in the first two age segments (7-8, 9 -10). Despite the level of significance of the chi square not being particularly prominent (above all because of the substantial homogeneity among the second and the third age segments), we can notice that it is above all children who lived through the traumatic experience at a younger age

(between 4 and 7) who are most affected. The older children are more “equipped” to elaborate the trauma; therefore it is evident that age can represent a risk factor to be taken into consideration for the younger children.

We can see a significant association between age segments and the fears of the dark or other connected fears (nightmares, monsters, etc.) (Table 4). They are distributed otherwise not only between the two groups (from L’Aquila and not, Table 5), but also among the age segments. Once more, among children from L’Aquila, the youngest are more affected by such fears, probably due to the fact that the traumatic experience was experienced during the night and therefore characterised in a more significant way.

Table 6. *Fear of the earthquake and the age factor*

	Fear of the earthquake					
	YES		NO		Sum	
Age segment	v.a.	%	v.a.	%	v.a.	%
7-8	23	31,5%	50	68,5%	73	100,0%
9-10	12	20,3%	47	79,7%	59	100,0%
11+	17	23,0%	57	77,0%	74	100,0%
Total	52	25,2%	154	74,8%	206	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Sig. asint. (2 vie)
Pearson chi square test	2,780a	2	,291

Before and After in the drawings of children from L’Aquila

The content analysis has considered different variables. We tried “to interview” the drawings through analysis procedures that we can find in attachment 3.

We considered: the breakup degree between the two drawings, the use of colors, the presence and the characteristics of the people/subjects represented, the setting (environmental characteristics, meteorological characteristics), etc. To synthesize, only the most explicative data shall be shown. In terms of the interpretation of the directions (“Draw your city after the earthquake”), an important percentage of subjects, 13,6%, represented the “scene” immediately after the earthquake (scenes of destruction, victims, wounded, escape and cries for help). This means that there is still a strong presence, three years after the earthquake, of images, emotions, events connected with the most traumatic moment of this experience. The signs of the earthquake are underlined by almost all the subjects, even three years after the event (67,0%). In these three years there is no real reconstruction of the urban fabric, but rather a new configuration given by the new housing complexes changing city’s identity. Nevertheless, the drawings, in this case, were still directed towards the destroyed city rather than its new order. Only the 2,4% represented the new urban configuration, while in 32 cases (17,0%) the moment of the represented scene was not clear. This confirms our idea that the generation surviving the earthquake, uses it as essential element to describe the city, and therefore there is a strong risk that the earthquake shall become a main feature of the city.

At the same time, the low number of subjects that representing the new urban configuration leads to considering that the strong territorial dislocation does not allow for a representation of the city as a whole: the 19 new housing areas actually make up a series of new-towns more than an integrated system, perceived in a unique urban space, and this fact produces a “multitopic” sense of living (Calandra 2013).

Comparing the drawings belonging to “the before” and “the after”, we aimed at identifying what elements of a “break” were present, through the analysis and the interpretation of the graphic styles, of changes of landscape or background, of the use of color, of the quantity and quality of the represented objects.

Such indicators – object of interpretation and scale allowed us to elicit indirect information on the changing of representation of the city from before and after the earthquake. We can find (Table 7) the most important degree of breakup in the representation of landscapes or background (average score = 2,92), followed by the quantity and by the quality of the represented colors (2,83) and from the graphic styles. Such elements represent a middle-high break degree, as confirmed by the variation coefficients. So, the representations of the city basically follow what actually happened between perception and reality. As far as the use of the color we find a middle-low break degree, that deserves, trough further data, an in-depth analysis.

Table 7. *Comparing the two drawings, where is the break degree?*

“Break” degree (scale from 1 to 4)	Average (St. Dv)	Variation coefficient
Graphic styles (marking, outline, ...)	2,43 (,841)	34,6%
Changing of the landscape or background	2,92 (,888)	30,4%
Use of color	2,08 (,982)	47,2%
Quantity and quality of represented “objects”	2,83 (,859)	20,3%

Through the application of the not linear correlation coefficient of Spearman, we obtained further interesting information. The considered variables, besides those already taken in examination, concern the age, the degree of trauma (scale from 1 to 4), the complexity of the housing situation (scale from 1 to 4), indirectly recorded through the questionnaire given to the teachers, that was prepared in order to get information about every single student (Table 8).

It is recorded, without pointing out the data, that the 4 “break” indicators are strongly correlated among them, and this means that they have the tendency to contemporarily define the distance between the representations of the city before and after the earthquake.

First of all we observe a significant positive correlation between the age and the degree of trauma, recorded by the teachers starting from the elements to their disposition (in 27 cases teachers didn’t know how to record). This has to be read in relationship to the age of the subjects during the earthquake and surely to their ability to verbalize their memories compared to a past event, experienced in different moments of their development: children that are now 6-7 years old were 3-4 years old and for them the memory of the earthquake is surely different from the subjects that were 8-9-10 years old. Moreover we have to consider the limit of the indirectly recorded index: naturally teachers have available “visible” or verbalized (by their students) elements, that (above all for the youngest children) is probably less important than latent and less explicit elements. Caution is compulsory also for the datum on the fears of children and particularly on the fear of the earthquake, that seems to be more frequent in the segment of lower age. If the age, naturally, is not connected with the housing situation (that we consider here as “structural” data, connected to the family situation), we find instead that basically the older the children are the more the differences, in the perception of children between the representations of the city before and after the earthquake are clear

(in the styles, in the landscape, and in the quality and the quantity of objects). We can see a negative and also strongly significant correlation between their age and the change in the use of colors. This underlines, in this case, an inversion of tendency implying a more stable use of color in the oldest subjects and a great “break” in the youngest subjects. This is likely to be connected with the tendency in the youngest children to represent emotional states (more latent) through color and in the oldest ones to have a greater adherence to reality. It doesn't surprise the strong positive correlation (0,455 with $P=0000$) between degree of trauma and housing situation: Those living in temporary housing solutions were certainly affected in a sharper way because it had a greater impact in terms of destruction and consequences on the individual and family life. It is also interesting to note the negative correlation between the use of color, housing condition (-0,193) and degree of trauma (-0,236): the more the housing condition is complex and problematic, the more the use of the colors tends to be stable. This is a difficult interpretation datum, that allows us to hypothesize, once more with caution, that behind the greatest stability in the use of the color there is a more general emotional need of stability compared to a situation that, through the graphic signs, the landscape, the quality and the quantity of the represented objects, is identified as actually changed.

Table 8. *Age- Housing situation – Degree of trauma-Degree of “break” in the graphic styles, in the representation of the landscape, in the use of the color. Spearman Correlations*

	Age	Housing situation	Trauma degree	Graphic styles	Landscape	Use of color	Quantity of objects
Age	1	0,014	,146*	,180**	,171*	-,255**	0,128
Sig.	.	0,85	0,05	0,01	0,01	0,00	0,06
Housing situation	0,014	1	,455**	-0,074	-0,036	-,193**	-0,039
Sig.	0,85	.	0,00	0,32	0,63	0,00	0,60
Trauma degree	146*	,455**	1	0,046	0,04	-,236**	0,04
Sig.	0,05	0,00	.	0,52	0,58	0,00	0,51
Graphic styles	,180**	-0,074	0,046	1	,499**	,511**	,435**
Sig.	0,01	0,32	0,52	.	0,00	0,00	0,00
Landscape	,171*	-0,036	0,04	,499**	1	,351**	,775**
Sig.	0,01	0,63	0,58	0,00	.	0,00	0,00
Use of color	-,255**	-,193**	-,236**	,511**	,351**	1	,360**
Sig.	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	.	0,00
Quantity of objects	0,128	-0,039	0,047	,435**	,775**	,360**	1
Sig.	0,06	0,60	0,51	0,00	0,00	0,00	.

Comparing the groups: the drawings by children from L’Aquila and from other cities

To compare the two groups, it was necessary to extract from the sample of children from L’Aquila a group with characteristics similar - considering sex and age - to those of the group of children not from L’Aquila.

Therefore, we compared a group of 116 subjects from L'Aquila and 106 subjects from Aprilia (58) and Rieti (48). The sex percentage differences (49,3% males in the first group and 49,2% males in the second group) and the average age differences (9,33, st.dv. 1,26, in the group of children from L'Aquila and 9,35, dv.st. 1,25 in the group of children not from L'Aquila), are irrelevant and they allow to establish - at least for the considered variables - a parameter of homogeneity. A control on the non homogeneity was made on the two subgroups of children from Aprilia and Rieti, on the most significant variables (sex, age, type of representation of the city) without giving results signaling any significant differences. This allowed us to gather them in a single control group, even if keeping in mind that the subjects were from different urban realities. An extremely interesting datum appears in comparing the children from L'Aquila and those from other cities, and this datum confirms our research hypothesis: the experiences of the earthquake, of the evacuation, of the re-arrangement in a strongly altered urban reality, significantly influence the representation of the urban space, not only in comparison to the peculiar characteristics of a city (earthquaked or not, rich of history or less rich, characterized in base to different factors), but also and above all to the general idea of city as a complex and organized system. The drawings of children diverge in this direction: in the form of analysis, we wonder if "the city is represented as a whole" (Table 9). Children not from L'Aquila have the tendency to represent the city as a complex and articulated system (groups of houses, roads, infrastructures...) more than children from L'Aquila. 32,4% of children from L'Aquila drew a single house as exclusive representative element of the city (also in order to signal an emotionally and socially remarkable theme compared to 4% of children of the group of control).

Vice versa, 25% of the children of the control group represented the city gathering a complex articulation, compared to 15,7% of children from L'Aquila. The chi square test reveals a statistic significance equal to 0.000, therefore the maximum degree of significance. To verify if this depends on the particular situations (degree of trauma and housing condition) we calculated the coefficient of non linear correlation of Spearman (degree of trauma observed by the teacher and degree of complexity of the representation of the city) and the chi square (housing situation and degree of complexity of the representation of the city) without nevertheless getting significant results.

We can state that, together with the traumatic experience and with the "strong" theme of the "house", it is the more general life condition to determine this "subtraction" of complexity attributed to the urban structure: it fails the most general idea of city through the daily life on a space that is not anymore perceived in its complex as a coherent and organized space. This could indirectly be confirmed by the range of the used colors, that is meaningfully wider (with a sufficient level of statistic significance) in the group of children not from L'Aquila (Table 10).

Table 9. *Is the city represented as a whole? Comparison between the two groups*

	From L'Aquila		Not from L'Aquila		Total	
Yes, in the drawing we find connections to complex set	20	17,4%	28	26,4%	48	21,7%
Yes, we find connections to simple set	26	22,6%	25	23,6%	51	23,1%
No, there are only isolated elements (ex. The house, the school, the church...)	24	20,9%	33	31,1%	57	25,8%
No, there are the house as an exclusive element	42	36,5%	4	3,8%	46	20,8%
Other	3	2,6%	16	15,1%	19	8,6%
Total	115	100,0%	106	100,0%	221	100,0%

Chi square

	Value	df	Sig. asint. (2 vie)
Pearson chi square test	42,764a	4	,000

Table 10. *The use of colors – Comparison between the groups*

	From L'Aquila		Not from L'Aquila		Total	
No use	59	50,9%	32	30,2%	91	41,0%
Superficial use	40	34,5%	19	17,9%	59	26,6%
Wide use, but in a lowered range	9	7,8%	7	6,6%	16	7,2%
Wide use, in an adequate range	8	6,9%	48	45,3%	56	25,2%
Total	116	100%	106	100%	222	100,0%

Chi square

	Value	df	Sig. asint. (2 vie)
Pearson Chi square	43,946a	3	,000

A detailed study of the datum is possible through the comparison among the elements represented in the two groups (Table 11). We can generally affirm that the subjects from L'Aquila have the tendency to represent the city with less complexity and articulation compared to the subjects of other cities: once more a meaningful presence of the single house stands out as a representative element of the city; furthermore a great presence of scattered lawns and trees, compared to the smaller presence of well identifiable parks and play areas, signals the fact that in the after-earthquake the subjects no longer identify organized, functional, recognizable and shared spaces and places of reference and socialization. Moreover, the tendency to mostly represent, by the group of the subjects not from L'Aquila, institutions (hospitals, barrackses, schools) or elements that recall the articulation and the use of the urban space (streets), allows us to affirm that the subjects from L'Aquila still feel the effect of a structurally altered urban situation and that they have difficulty in mentally representing the idea of the city.

Table 11. *Which elements are represented? – Comparison between the groups*

	% from L'Aquila	% Not from L'Aquila	Fisher test	Sig.
Single house with other elements (not buildings)	41,7	23,4	YES	
Scattered lawns and trees	41,7	28,2	YES	
Housing complex or buildings	36,9	39,5	NO	
Churches	23,8	29,8	LIGHT	
Streets	18,0	23,4	YES	
Café, shops	10,2	11,3	NO	
Cars	8,3	10,5	NO	
Identifiable parks or play areas, flowerbeds	5,8	10,5	LIGHT	

Public means of transportation	5	0	NO
Fountains	4,4	2,4	NO
Historical-artistic buildings (excluded churches)	3,9	0,8	NO
Squares	2,9	3,2	NO
School	1,9	19,4	YES
Signage	1,9	0	NO
Sport complex/stadium	1	3,2	NO
Shopping centre	1	0	NO
Other institutions (Municipality, Barrackses, Police station, Hospital....)	0,5	7,3	YES
Cinema/Theatre	0	1,6	NO
Other:	8,3	7,3	NO

The weather represented in the drawings is another interesting element of comparison between the two groups (Table 12), and it also allows us to underline some substantial differences inside the group of children from L'Aquila (Table 13). A neutral representation of the weather (representation without identifiable weather elements) prevails in the group of subjects of other cities (74,4% against 56,4%), while the subjects from L'Aquila distinguish themselves for a great prevalence in the representation of "a clear sunny day" (31,4% vs 16,5%). There is another important datum that could be neglected if read inside a frame of "normality":

Five subjects from L'Aquila (2,5%) represent the city with a rainy/stormy weather. Also in this case we can make some deductions that refer to the way of "feeling" the city and to the way to perceive the weight of the situation. The sunny day within which the city is represented before the earthquake signals the difference between *before* and *after*: this means that the children of the after-earthquake often have the tendency to have a positive memory of their city, to define the "sun" as an element, perhaps of nostalgia, referring to an "idealised" past and to the city as a place of the memory more than a place of life. Vice versa the 5 sub-

jects that represented the rain or the storm, in accord with the meanings that is attributed to such factors in psycho-diagnostic environment (the rain as a sign of the environmental stress), could have extended the traumatic experience also to the *before*, that was however characterized by a meaningful seismic swarm. Inside the group from L'Aquila it is interesting to observe (Table 13) as in the second drawing ("Draw your city after the earthquake") the tendency to represent the city with rain / storm significantly grows up (from 2,5% to 7,9%), so as the presence of clouds without rain, that could also assume the meaning of threat/danger and environmental stress.

Table 12. *What type of weather is represented? – Comparison between the groups*

	From L'Aquila		Not from L'Aquila		Total
Indefinable	63	54,3%	75	70,8%	138
A rainy/stormy day	3	2,6%	1	2,8 %	4
A cloudy day without rain	1	0,9%	1	1,0%	2
A clear day without the sun	14	12,1%	13	12,3%	27
A clear sunny day	35	30,2%	16	15,1%	51
Total	116	100,0%	106	100,0%	222

Chi square

	Value	df	Sig. asint. (2 vie)
Pearson Chi square	12,542	4	,014

Table 13. *What type weather is represented? - Comparison among the drawings in the group of children from L'Aquila (274 subjects)*

	Drawing "before earthquake"	Drawing "after earthquake"	Diff. %
Indefinable	56,4%	65,1	8,7
A rainy/stormy day	2,5%	7,8	5,3
A cloudy day without rain	0,5	9,4	8,9
A clear day without the sun	9,3%	14,1	4,8
A clear sunny day	31,4%	3,6%	27,8

Comments on the data and pedagogic perspectives

The data show some significant differences between the group of subjects from L'Aquila and subjects from other cities. The basic structural conditions, beyond the traumatic and post-traumatic past, seem to be crucial factors in directing the forms and the contents of the representation of the city through the drawings: both the emotional past and the urban configuration of the after-earthquake are factors that explain why children from L'Aquila have the tendency to give less articulated and complex representations of the city compared to the control group and to exaggerate, emotionally, through feelings connected to the sense of fear, of nostalgia or of risk, the overall definition of the concept of city. Such results seem coherent with those of other researches that underline as the representation of the city through the drawings is indeed connected to the experience of life of the subjects and the quality of the context in which they place themselves, in addition to inner factors connected to the development of the cognitive processes. Because of the peculiarities of the earthquake and the after-earthquake of L'Aquila, that also are connected with the political and housing choices, it is evident the need to focus, in the childhood and preteen educational path, on questions related to citizenship, starting from those related to the urban and territorial spaces. It is evident the need "to reconstruct" (in the subjects and in their imagination), the same idea of city. So children could build a concept that works as a useful parameter for a sense of the future citizenship. They could also be connected with places no longer frequented due to lack of reconstruction (for example the historical center), as

they represent the historical, symbolic, spatial and cultural points of reference, so important in building the identity of the city of L'Aquila. In this sense there were many projects that tried to find answers to such needs, starting from the body and from the space (perceived, represented, lived) and that allowed the children to find out the dimensions of the city, its rules for civil life, their "rights" to demand (Vaccarelli, 2012). Today, the children of the post-earthquake period, also those that have not suffered the trauma of the event because born after it happened, live the social, territorial and political effects of it and they continue to live in a strongly altered reality without having a true awareness of it. The children belonging to this "generation without a city" (Vaccarelli, 2012) cannot build a memory and therefore a representation of their city as a non-altered urban and social space. They direct the process of identification and construction of their citizenship on an idea of city that is the fruit of the politics of the post-emergency and on an earthquake experience that threatens to become an indelible identity sign. This becomes an incitement to re-think the educational intervention in post-emergency as important not only for the "reconstruction" of the idea of the city - necessary to promote any form of education for citizenship - but also for other matters, that we did not treat directly in the article, that are strongly implicated in the adopted perspective: the resilience (in its centre there is the individual, his/her energies, his/her adaptation and his/her life projects), resistance, seen in an ethical and political dimension that marks the path to the construction of the social and community identities and that pays its attention and its pedagogic intentions on the idea of citizenship (Contini, 2009; Mantegazza, 2003).

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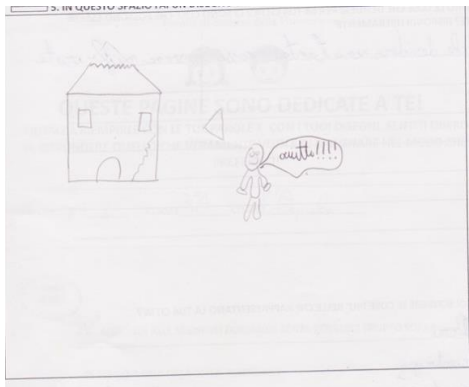
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Attachment 1



Examples of qualitative analysis on the drawings



We have chosen the drawings of 8 different subjects that we consider symbolic of the different positions and emotional orientations towards the city that children from L'Aquila obtained starting from the experience of the earthquake and post-earthquake. We propose the following summary forms that contain a short qualitative analysis, identifying, through some key words, the emotions, the feelings, and sometimes the attitudes that children have towards their own city, considered before and after the earthquake: the loneliness, the fear, the sense of destruction, the nostalgia, the “absence”, the negation, the “saturation point”, the need to situate themselves in the urban space.

Form 1 – The loneliness	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
	
<p><i>Information about the child: Girl, nine years old, normal housing situation, low degree of trauma, good advancement.</i></p> <p>The main theme, comparing the two drawings, is the loneliness. The city is absent, also in the first drawing, where there are natural scattered elements (tree, lawns) that don't recall an urban space (see also Axia, 1986). Nevertheless the first one shows a past vision based on the game, on the open air, on the presence of a sunny light and on a positive emotional mood and climate. The second drawing, representing an interior scene, points out the alteration that the earthquake and the post-earthquake housing politics produced in the social network and in the use of the urban spaces: the split of social groups (in this case it is reasonable to think of the neighborhood relationships) and the loss of the spatial references like the traditional aggregation places, has determined a sense of loneliness and isolation underlined by the differences in the use of color.</p>	

Form 2 – The fear	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
	
<p><i>Information about the child: Boy, eight years old, temporary housing situation, difficulty to save himself, middle-high degree of trauma, good advancement.</i></p> <p>There are many children that interpreted the school work “Draw your city after the earthquake” starting from the scene that they lived the night of April 6th 2009. In this case, the two drawings reproduce in this perspective the <i>pre</i> and <i>post</i> earthquake. The colors used in the first drawing are nevertheless extremely interesting, beyond any psychodiagnostic consideration: the black and green are in fact the representative colors of the city of L’Aquila (the black color of the mourning, the green color of hope) and they are colors that the city inherits in its emblems since the L’Aquila 1703 earthquake, that destroyed the city. In the first drawing we find therefore the city before the earthquake, with a mark that however recall the same earthquake, almost to underline the theme of the risk, of a daily life threatened by something that the city “harbours” under itself. In the second drawing, with an only implicit and almost invisible destruction, emerges the cry for help, therefore the fear that goes with the past and the memory and, finally, the idea of city that emerges from this representation. The total absence of the color, the hanging of the figures, the centrality of the cry for help, seem to strongly mark this feeling of fear.</p>	

Form 3 – The distruction	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
	
<p><i>Information about the child: Boy, ten years old, temporary housing situation, difficulty to save himself, middle degree of trauma, not sufficient advancement.</i></p> <p>The drawings seem a “photographic” image in sequence of <i>before</i> and <i>after</i>. In this case it is not easy to understand how the post-earthquake has been interpreted, considering that three years after the earthquake the city still presents itself to the children with scenes of destruction. The drawing of the pre-earthquake city, despite the absence of people, gives the idea of a comfortable city (the hotel) and a presence of daily life (the green house with the curtains). The drawing of the post-earthquake provides confusion and turn upside down: like in a dismantled and remixed puzzle, only the colors can recreate the sense of the previous scene. Only the green house is standing, but the windows have disappeared and therefore the sense of the daily life and of liveableness. Moreover we can underline the absence of people in both the drawings, and this produces a feeling of emptiness associated with the experience of the earthquake.</p>	

Form 4 – The nostalgia	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
	
<p><i>Information about the child: Girl, eight years old, third class, normal housing situation, low degree of trauma, good advancement.</i></p> <p>The house, the sun irradiating the flower through the ray, the child's smile suggest a positive and vital idea of the pre-earthquake, while the house is the only reference to the idea of the city. In the second drawing we can find elements of strong "break": the house has disappeared, a sun covered by the clouds doesn't irradiate anymore through its ray the flower, that is more-over represented as dried out and lifeless. In the drawing of A., the presence of the rain, according to Fay (Crocetti 2009), could point out a strong environmental stress and the lack of a shelter and an inadequate system of psychological defenses. It is evident, through the representation of the tears, the child's sadness. If in the first drawing the city is represented only by the house (only a house on a lawn), in the second drawing it totally disappears: the lawn also disappears, but we notice that the flower now leans against a hillock of earth, weak sign, perhaps, of the telluric movement. What remains of the earthquake and of the city is a feeling of sadness and nostalgia.</p>	

Form 5 –The absence	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
	

Information about the child: Girl, ten years old, temporary housing situation, low degree of trauma, very good advancement (info given by the teacher).

The turn upside down of social life is the hearth of this drawings. The city is not represented by houses or buildings, but by scenes of daily life and elements that really refer to this direction: the car, the shop, the urban space seen as a place of consumption and fruition of the free time. In the first drawing the scene is dominated by two people that walk, accompanying a dog to the leash, with a cat that freely wanders. The second drawing underlines the absence of people: the abandoned state of shops, the presence of two stray cats. This indicates not properly the integration between culture and nature but the advancement of the second. It emerges an idea of suspension of social life. It is a deserted city, that describes itself only through the signs of its near past. The themes of the loneliness and the nostalgia recur.

Form 6 – The denial

In this space draw your city before the earthquake






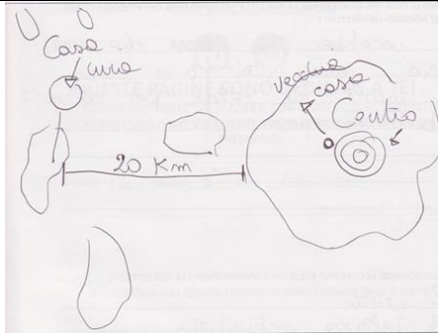
In this space draw your city after the earthquake



Information about the child: Boy, eight years old, normal housing situation, low degree of trauma, good advancement.

Actually the cases of children adopting denial or minimization attitudes to face the earthquake theme are not infrequent. The denial reaction suggests a repression need and a defense mechanism that the subject builds around the trauma. Twenty-four children, the 11,6% of the total, have not drawn substantial variations to the objects represented in the drawing of the pre and after earthquake. The drawings of B., eight years old, suggest only some variations in the use of colors. Four houses and a road are the represented urban elements. The city remains substantially the same before and after the earthquake, to signal the absence of a real turn upside down.

Form 7 – the saturation	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
 <p>3. IN QUESTO SPAZIO FAI UN DISEGNO SULLA TUA CITTÀ PRIMA DEL TERREMOTO.</p> <p>4. CHE PENSIERI TI SONO VENUTI IN MENTE MENTRE FACEVI IL DISEGNO?</p> <p>NON NE VOGLIO PARLARE!</p>	 <p>5. IN QUESTO SPAZIO FAI UN DISEGNO SULLA TUA CITTÀ DOPO IL TERREMOTO.</p> <p>6. CHE PENSIERI TI SONO VENUTI IN MENTE MENTRE FACEVI IL DISEGNO?</p> <p>NON NE VOGLIO PARLARE!</p>
<p>Information about the child: Girl, thirteen years old, temporary housing situation, middle degree of trauma, very good advancement.</p> <p>It is necessary to consider what the author writes in reply to the open question: “I don’t want to speak about it”. In this case we can see an avoiding strategy (more than denial or minimization) which is frequently observed in the world of children and teenagers. The subjects, in the post-earthquake years, have been exposed to many situations (formal and informal), in which the “earthquake” theme has been central. The “saturation” hides however a trauma but it’s visible, at least in this case, through the not verbal communication: drawings can tell what words don’t want to express. In the first drawing we can see one of the most damaged primary schools (“Edmondo De Amicis”), situated in the historical center and housed in a fifteenth-century building. The change of the scene is evident, flagged by the presence (in a case) and by the absence (in the other) of children, by the different use of color, by the black line that, in the second drawing, suggests confusion, destruction, cancellation. The smile of the first drawing is inverted in the second, denoting the passage from a serene and happy time, to one sad and dark.</p>	

Form 8 – Situating in the urban space	
In this space draw your city before the earthquake	In this space draw your city after the earthquake
	
<p><i>Information about the child: Girl, 13 years old, temporary housing situation, middle degree of trauma, very good advancement.</i></p> <p>The drawings by M. (thirteen years old) are well organized and represent the city as a complex and articulated system. It is extremely interesting to notice that in the first case the city is considered in a precise cross section, that is the historical center: we can recognize the “<i>portici</i>”, a typical meeting place for many generations of people living in L’Aquila, with a remarkable presence of citizens, shops and an evening setting (indicated by the presence of the moon) that gives to the drawing a melancholy atmosphere, but that at the same time realistically points out the context of meetings. The second drawing has been drawn in the form of a map. We can see the historical center, the house where she lived before the earthquake, the housing complex where her house (“my home”) is now, as well as other housing complexes. It is interesting that M. expresses implicitly a denounce: the distance from the centre to her new house (20 km). The girl collects her thoughts and situates herself in the urban space in a realistic way, she is able to represent the new urban situation, she knows very well what happened and she notices the break between the “concrete and daily” city and the “abstract” and cold city, seen almost as an air view or cartographic representation (therefore far from the daily life).</p>	

Attachment 2

Forms for the analysis of the drawings

REPRESENTATION OF THE CITY BEFORE THE EARTHQUAKE

NUMBER OF DRAWN HOUSES _____

REPRESENTED ELEMENTS :

- They cover a narrow area of the space - to Specify :
- They cover the whole space to disposition

THE SCENE TAKES PLACE

- Indefinable
- At night
- To the sunset / Twilight
- In the daytime

WHAT IS THE WEATHER LIKE?

- Indefinable
- Stormy/ rainy
- Cloudy without rain
- Sunny with some clouds
- Without clouds and sun
- A sunny day

HOW IS THE USE OF COLOURS?

- Wide use, in a suitable range
- Wide use, but in a low range
- Approximate use
- Colours have not been used

MAIN COLOURS ARE:

ARE THERE URBAN ELEMENTS IN THE DRAWING (SIGNS,STREETS, SQUARES, FOUNTAINS, PARKS, BUS, CARS, SHOPS)?

- Yes, many elements
- Yes, moderately
- No

WHAT ELEMENTS ARE REPRESENTED?:

- Historical-artistic (excluded churches) buildings
- Churches
- Single house
- Housing complexes or buildings
- School
- Other institutions (Common, Barrackses, Police station, Hospital, etc.)
- Cinema / Theater
- Stadium
- Streets
- Shopping centre
- Cafe, shops
- Squares
- Parks / playgrounds
- Lawns / Trees
- Private cars
- Public means of transport
- System of signs
- Fountains
- Other:

ARE THERE NATURAL ELEMENTS IN THE DRAWING (TREES, ANIMALS, MOUNTAINS, WATER...)?

- Yes
- No

PEOPLE NUMBER

REPRESENTED PEOPLE ARE...?

- Only adults
- Adults and children
- Only children

HAVE PEOPLE AN EXPRESSION?

- Happy/smiley
- Neutral
- Sad/angry/scared

WHAT ARE REPRESENTED PEOPLE DOING?

- Playing
- Working
- Driving
- Walking
- Other: _____

THE DRAWING makes you think to:

- Loneliness
- Destruction
- everyday routine
- Serenity
- Joy
- Sadness
- Order
- Disorder
- Other

REPRESENTATION OF THE CITY AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

HOW IS THE “AFTER” EARTHQUAKE INTERPRETED?

- The scene clearly represents the moment immediately after the earthquake
- The scene clearly represents the months following the earthquake (tent city....)
- The scene clearly represents the signs of the earthquake
- The scene represents the new urban configuration (C.A.S.E. Project, map,)
- It's not clear the moment of the represented scene

IS THE CITY GLOBALLY REPRESENTED?

- Yes, in the drawing we find references to important complexes (ex. groups of houses, roads.)
- Yes, in the drawing we find references to simple complexes (ex.. 2-3 houses)
- No, there are only isolated elements (ex. the house, the school, the church...)
- No, there is only the house as a n element
- Other: _____

NUMBER OF DRAWN HOUSES_____

SIGNS AND EFFECTS OF THE EARTHQUAKE

1. Cracks on the walls

- 2. Presence of ruins
- 3. Victims' presence
- 4. Blood's presence
- 5. Rescuers' presence
- 6. Presence of wounded
- 7. Chaotic situation / Panic / Disorder
- 8. Help request (in the form of cartoons)
- 9. Survivors' escape
- 10. Others.....

ELEMENTS ARE REPRESENTED...

- 1.They cover a narrow area of the space - to Specify :
- 2.They cover the whole space to disposition

THE SCENE TAKES PLACE

- Indefinable
- At night
- To the sunset / Twilight
- In the daytime
- Stormy/ rainy
- Cloudy without rain
- Sunny with some clouds
- Without clouds and sun
- A sunny day

HOW IS THE USE OF COLOURS?

- Wide use, in a suitable range
- Wide use, but in a low range
- Approximate use
- Colours have not been used

MAIN COLOURS ARE...

ARE THERE URBAN ELEMENTS IN THE DRAWING (SIGNS,STREETS, SQUARES, FOUNTAINS, PARKS, BUS, CARS, SHOPS)?

- Yes, many elements
- Yes, moderately
- No

WHAT ELEMENTS ARE REPRESENTED?:

- Historical-artistic (excluded churches) buildings
- Churches
- Single house
- Housing complexes or buildings
- School
- Other institutions (Common, Barrackses, Police station, Hospital, etc.)
- Cinema / Theater
- Stadium
- Streets
- Shopping center
- Cafe, shops

- Squares
- Parks / playgrounds
- Lawns / Trees
- Private cars
- Public means of transport
- System of signs
- Fountains
- Other:

ARE THERE NATURAL ELEMENTS IN THE DRAWING (TREES, ANIMALS, MOUNTAINS, WATER...)?

- No
- Yes, they have a central presence
- Yes, but they are just a context
- If so, which? _____

NUMBER OF PEOPLE

REPRESENTED PEOPLE ARE...

- Only adults
- Adults and children
- Only children

HAVE PEOPLE AN EXPRESSION?

- Happy/smiley
- Neutral
- Sad/angry/scared

WHAT ARE REPRESENTED PEOPLE DOING?

- Playing
- Working
- Driving
- Walking
- Other: _____

THE DRAWING CALLS TO MIND:

- Loneliness
- Destruction
- everyday routine
- Serenity
- Joy

- Sadness
- Order
- Disorder
- Other

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