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POWER DISPARITIES AND THE STRUCTURE OF CHILDREARING:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF BESTSELLING CHILDREN'S BOOKS

by

ANGELA ANDERSON

Under the Direction of Ralph LaRossa

ABSTRACT

The lack of sociological research on adult/child stratification in children's books and the impacts books make in the lives of children and adults, especially in regards to socialization, are important reasons to investigate this medium. Through a conflict and feminist perspective, as well as utilizing a cultural diamond framework, this research examines the representations of power disparities between adults and children, and the structures of childrearing within the cultural object of 64 bestselling children's picture books from 1993 to 2008. I employed content analysis to evaluate appearances of gender, age, race, parental behaviors, and childrearing structures. My findings demonstrate that gender and age disparities prevail, non-white main characters remain invisible, males as main adult characters exhibit higher rates of parental behaviors, and concerted cultivation child rearing structure is present in illustrations. Future research should focus on other aspects of the cultural diamond to gain deeper knowledge of cultural meanings.

INDEX WORDS: Children's books, Picture books, Gender disparities, Power disparities, Adult, Children, Structure of childrearing, Concerted cultivation, Natural growth, Cultural diamond

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ANGELA ANDERSON

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2011

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Angela Marie Anderson
2011

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Georgia State University

August 2011

DEDICATION

To my nephew, Court, and nieces, Kayla and Kaitlynn:

May this work demonstrate to you that with resiliency, determination, and persistence, you too can achieve a final product even if it takes longer than expected. Make your voices heard, carve out a place in this world just for you, and strive for the best under whatever life circumstances you may encounter. I love you three with all my heart and look forward to watching you grow and mature into the people you want to be. Believe in yourselves as I believe in you.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In my previous career as a preschool teacher I read brightly colored picture books to children several times a day and often the same book repeatedly. Children took these books to “read” to themselves during quiet time or to “act out” during the course of the day. While reading and observing children’s interactions with these books, I noticed race and gender inequalities and stereotypes. For example, I saw very few non-white main characters and often heard girls tell boys during house play that they could not be the mommy but could only be the daddy. It wasn’t until I looked at the presence of inequalities between mothers and fathers in an academic setting that I noted power disparities between adults and children, such as control over the use of time or the use of money. I questioned the prevalence of these disparities. More specifically I wondered if authors and illustrators created relatively equal images between adults and children, or males and females, and if these images were consistent over time.

1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Adult/child stratification is a widely recognized phenomenon in sociological and literary studies (Handel, Cahill, and Elkin 2007; Zornando 2001). Interestingly, most sociological studies of children’s picture books focus on gender inequalities. Few of these sociological studies, if any, investigate power disparities between adults and children. Neither literary nor sociology scholars have incorporated Lareau’s (2003) specific structure of childrearing into their measures when investigating this medium. Furthermore, most published children’s books are written from an adult perspective without children’s voices (Zipes 1981). The lack of sociological research on the topic in children’s books, the impact that power disparities have on adults and children in U.S. society, and the ways in which children are socialized are three important reasons to conduct this research. Recognizing the differences in the representations of

adults and children is invaluable in understanding what images children (and many adults) are routinely subjected to and what they possibly internalize.

I demonstrate through the available literature that more studies need to consider the representations of power between adults and children as well as adult and child roles within children's picture books. For this thesis, I sought to investigate: (1) Who is portrayed more often: male or females (for purposes of this thesis, the pronoun "female" refers to women and girls and "male" refers to men and boys); adults or children? (2) Of main child and main adult characters, which group is portrayed more often in illustrations? (3) Do children resolve to get themselves out of a dangerous situation more often than children seek out an adult to assist them? (4) Do adults intervene in "saving the day" without children asking for adult assistance? (5) Which type of behavior do we most often find in children's books: dependence or independence? (6) Do adults metamorph into other beings so that children may escape adult domination? (7) Do children metamorph themselves into other beings as a result of adult domination? (8) Which parenting behaviors are displayed more often? (9) Which socialization technique is displayed more often?

1.2 RATIONALE BEHIND STUDYING CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Among other mechanisms, one way to transfer societal values to children is through books, which in turn teach children about social groups (Willett 2001). Books open up new worlds to children. Books expose children to a variety of experiences they might not otherwise have been subjected to in their own lives. For this reason, children's literature is viewed as one of the most effective ways to teach children about their culture and other cultures (Stewig 1992).

A book has "a powerful and direct effect on the reader; it has a socializing power because readers assume a one-to-one relationship with the characters and actions depicted in the work of

literature” (McGillis 1996: 12). Often, children’s books are used to help children better understand how their society functions and what is expected of groups associated with it. Books help teach pro-social behaviors, identify emotions, and how to treat other people. However, social attitudes and beliefs change over time. Interestingly, older books are often edited and republished to conform and reflect these new societal changes (Willett, 2001). Book reprints are often changed to be more realistic to present day ideas and values. This is one indication that books are an important socializing tool; otherwise images would remain constant over time.

Research shows that children at a very young age (around two to four years) begin to recognize skin color and socially constructed gender distinctions, and the power and privileges associated with them (Paterson and Lach 1990; Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001). Some children see images of themselves and their families within the illustrations and interpret what they see. Even those who rarely see representations of themselves or their families within the pages of books internalize the messages therein (Pescosolido, Grauerholz, and Milkie 1997). If children are exposed to books that have characters acting in stereotypical roles or appearing disempowered, children will use these as cues to understand what is expected of a specific group, how to treat that specific group, and how to behave if they are a part of that specific group. This repetitive exposure can influence self-esteem and perpetuate inequalities (Chavez 1985).

One could deduce from these studies that children also recognize roles between adults and children and the power and privileges associated with them. Though Lareau (2003) and Weininger and Lareau (2009) did not specifically address power and privilege between adults and children per se, they do discuss control over children’s time and other differences in childrearing or socialization between social classes. For example, they maintain that children from working class and poor families generally have more control over their free time whereas

free time for middle-class children generally is “scheduled” by their parents. This control over time or use of time implies power dynamics between children and adults. By taking these findings into consideration, we can identify if this same pattern exist in children’s picture books. It is essential to state that Lareau’s (2003) findings about the importance of social class on the type of childrearing strategies displayed by parents are in contrast with many other scholars (see Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler, and Slomczynski 1990). These researchers give more weight to individual responsibilities instead of social class. They found that social class has little to do with the types of childrearing strategies in which parents engage and does not explain the differences that exist between families of varying social classes (p. 8 and 30). However, Lareau’s (2003) findings still hold merit and should be applied to other research projects like this one as it will add to the dialogue.

For more than 30 years, liberal feminist theory within the social sciences has dominated research on children’s books (Clark and Fink 2004). In recent years, liberal feminist researchers found an increase in female representations within books awarded the prestigious Caldecott and King awards (see Clark, Lennon, and Morris 1993; Gooden and Goode 2001). Nevertheless, they found that gender stereotypes still exist within children’s picture books. Though analyzing children’s book from a liberal feminist model leaves many questions unanswered such as the socialization of children and adult/child stratification, their design of measuring depictions of gender is invaluable and essential to my research.

In conclusion, my study considered the socialization of children. I sought to investigate the representations of socialization of children, power disparities between adults and children, and gender of characters in bestselling children’s picture books from 1993 to 2008. To investigate power disparities between adults and children, I used a similar research design as

those studies using liberal feminist perspectives. In addition, I employed a “cultural diamond” framework (Griswold 1994) utilizing ideas from liberal feminist perspective and conflict theory. Furthermore, I draw on Lareau’s (2003) idea about the structure of childrearing in families.

2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Children are able to distinguish between traditional male and female toys much earlier than they are able to distinguish male and female people (Albert 1988). They listen to stories and observe book illustrations to pick up on cues about how to interact with the social world around them (Turner-Bowker 1996). Interestingly, socialization to gender equality may be hindered by the representations of gender stereotypes within children's picture books (Anderson and Hamilton 2005). Furthermore, representations of fathers and mothers offer formal and informal scripts of how each is expected to behave (LaRossa 2004). Similarly, children learn about the power and privilege of skin color. In this section, I first provide a general understanding of research conducted on children's books by presenting literature on the representations of gender, roles of fathers and mothers, and race within children's picture books. Second, I discuss the literature on power disparities between adults and children. Third, I present literature on the structure of childrearing. Finally, I present literature on my theoretical frame.

2.1 GENDER

It has been over 35 years since the groundbreaking study by Wietzman, Eifler, Hokada, and Ross (1972), which found that females were underrepresented in titles, main characters, and illustrations within prize winning children's picture books. Numerous studies have since replicated their study (or have been patterned after their study), often with slight variation (see Fitzpatrick and McPherson 2010; Flannery Quinn 2006; Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, and Young 2006; Gooden and Gooden 2001; Tepper and Cassidy 1999; Turner-Bowker 1996; Grauerholz and Pescosolido 1989; Chavez 1985). Each of these studies found that gender stereotypes and under-representations of females remain prevalent within the text and pictures of children's reading and coloring books.

Using a time series analysis (represented by decades) for the years 1900 through 1984, Grauerholz and Pescosolido (1989) randomly selected 2,216 children's books from the *Children's Catalog*. This catalog contains an extensive list of titles and is used in assisting librarians in purchasing books for their library collections. The researchers noted if males and/or females were present in the title, the gender and type of central character (e.g., adult, child, animal), and the gender of the author. Then they established ratios (males to females) using the number of books mentioning males and females and their character role such as the central or secondary character. With these ratios they found that there were unequal representations between males and females. However, in the earlier time periods (1900s, 1910s, and 1920s) and later time periods (1970s and 1980s) they found a more egalitarian representation in the titles and central roles between males and females. In addition, when stories focused only on adults or animals, males became more prevalent over time.

Using 83 Notable Children's Books obtained from the American Library Association, Gooden and Gooden (2001) investigated gender representations in titles, central characters, and illustrations between 1995 through 1999. They found an increase in females who were the central characters over this period. They also found that gender stereotypes decreased slightly. Stereotypical images, however, were still prevalent in the illustrations. Furthermore, compared to females, males were often depicted alone within illustrations.

Clark, Guilmain, Saucier, and Tavaréz (2003) were interested in investigating whether the changes in gender stereotyping reported in recent studies could be observed in earlier decades. They analyzed 84 Caldecott Award winning and runner-up books, called Caldecott honors, from 1938 to 1971 (divided into four time periods), and found a fluctuating pattern of the frequency in the number of representations of females and gender stereotypes. For example, the

late 1930s time period depicted female characters more often than any other time period, yet represented these females in gender stereotypical roles more often than any other time period. Conversely, the late 1960s time period depicted female characters less often than any other time period, yet represented these females in gender stereotypical roles less often than any other time period. The authors offered that gender relations varied depending on the gender norms of the time. In the late 1940s and 1960s, for example, women enjoyed a relatively higher status and economic position than women in other periods.

Using 200 books, 30 Caldecott Award winning and honors books from 1995 to 2001 and 170 non-award winning books gathered from various places, Hamilton, Anderson, Broadus, and Young (2006) investigated gender representations, character behaviors, settings, personality, and authors' gender. They found that males were two times as likely to be the central character and appear in the title of the story, and were depicted more often in illustrations than females. Conversely, females were portrayed as more nurturing and located inside a home or other building more often than males. In addition, the types of jobs held by male and female characters were stereotypical. Interestingly, when award winning books were compared to non-award winning, the researchers found no differences in the presentation of gender inequality.

Coloring books are another cultural object and are comparable to children's books. Focusing on a stratified random sample of clearly identified gendered characters (N=742) in 56 different coloring books, Fitzpatrick and McPherson (2010) found that male characters were more prevalent (59 percent, n=436) in coloring books than female characters (41 percent, n=306). They also found that 44 percent of male and 58 percent of female characters displayed stereotypical gendered behavior. Interestingly, they found that 53 percent of male characters engaged in gender-neutral behaviors compared to 36 percent of female characters.

Past research thus indicated that there has been some increase in gender equality. However, gender stereotypes and unequal gender depictions are still prevalent in children's picture books, regardless of their award winning status. The above studies reported findings on males versus females, adult male/females to child male/female, men to women, and boys to girls. What about specific roles such as a parent? A few of the studies presented here vaguely mention differences between mothers and fathers (see Hamilton et al. 2006). What does research say specifically about the representations of fathers and mothers?

2.2 FATHERS AND MOTHERS

Anderson and Hamilton (2005) investigated the representations of fathers and mothers depicted in 200 children's picture books using a sample of 30 Caldecott Award winning and honors books and 170 bestselling non-award winning books. They noted the fathers' and mothers' presence in books, their actions, the presentation of emotions, and if the text mentioned fathers and/or mothers. Furthermore, they noted pairing combinations of mothers and fathers with sons and daughters, how each nurtured the child, and the emotions they displayed toward the child. They found that there is an imbalance in the representations in portrayal of mothers and fathers. Fathers were depicted substantially less often than mothers, were unaffectionate and/or incompetent in some care giving task, and showed emotion less frequently than did mothers. However, they also found that mothers disciplined and displayed anger much more than fathers.

Flannery Quinn (2006) compared the representations of mothers and fathers over time using 271 Caldecott Award winning and honors books published from 1938 to 2000. She measured fathers' presence and interactions and found that fathers were depicted as often as mothers were depicted, but interacted with children less frequently. Similar to past research on

the culture of fatherhood (e.g., LaRossa, Gordon, Wilson, Bairan, and Jaret 1991), Flannery Quinn found a fluctuating pattern over time with regards to the interaction of fathers such as feeding or playing with a child. Though it was difficult to state why this fluctuation occurred, she suggested that it could be due to social trends “such as fertility and women’s labor-force participation” (2006: 92).

Utilizing an in-depth semiotic analysis of 46 best-selling children’s books to investigate how myths might help formulate our cultural knowledge of fatherhood, Flannery Quinn (2009) found that 11 percent of these books contained mother only characters, 5.5 percent contained father only characters, and 6.5 percent contained both mother and father characters. She also stated that of those books depicting father only characters (N=11), four of the books showed fathers taking a prominent or significant role in the story. In contrast, of those books depicting mother-only characters (N=22), 10 books showed the mothers taking a prominent or significant role in the story. Her findings suggest that fathers remain nearly invisible in best-selling children’s books.

When investigating changes in cultural objects over time, researchers have found that comic strips are comparable to books. Yasumoto (2005) replicated a study by LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, and Wynn (2000). She sampled 246 comic strips published from 1950 to 2004 in two Japanese newspapers on Mother’s and Father’s day to analyze gender disparities between mother and father characters over time. Similar to LaRossa et al. (2000), she found that the culture of fatherhood fluctuated over time. Moreover, she found that beginning in the 1990s, father characters were depicted as more nurturing and supportive than in previous decades (see also Yasumoto and LaRossa 2010; LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, and Wynn 2001).

Past research indicates that the culture of fatherhood has changed over time. In more recent decades, fathers have been depicted as more caring and nurturing, yet remain depicted as an insignificant part of child care, less affectionate, and remain nearly invisible when compared to mothers. Studies on gender disparities, including gender disparities between mothers and fathers, appear to miss one element: race. How do non-white characters compare to white characters?

2.3 RACE

Relatively few articles focus on the portrayals of blacks in children's picture books. Clark, Lennon, and Morris (1993) replicated the groundbreaking study by Weitzman et al. (1972), but updated the sample to include books illustrated by black illustrators. They compared Caldecott Award winners and honors books, (N=34) to King Awards winners (N=11). These awards are given to illustrators for outstanding pictures in children's books. Clark et al. (1993) found that both samples had an increase in female characters in recent years compared to the late 1960s as well as more egalitarian roles of males and females. Though the sample was small, females were represented more often than males in King Awards and Caldecott Award winning books. Additionally, black illustrators were more likely to depict females engaging in high levels of activities and create representations of the relationships shared between females.

Using a combined sample of Caldecott Award winning and honors books (N=1190) and non-award winning books (N=1023) from 1936 through 1993, Pescosolido, Grauerholz, and Milkie (1997) examined the visibility of black characters and how black characters have changed over time. They also explored whether these changes had to do with social or political conflicts (referred to as gatekeeping). They found that portrayals had changed over time and could be put into four different periods: (1) low depictions of blacks from the late 1930s to late 1950s; (2)

almost no images of blacks in books through 1964; (3) an increase in images of blacks in the late 1960s to early 70s; (4) a leveling off in the depictions of blacks in children's picture books after 1975. The authors contend these variations may be attributed to historical times when blacks challenged the dominant social norms, but it was difficult for them to determine this relationship. Additionally, they found that when images of blacks were provided, they were "safe" images, such as showing blacks in the background of illustrations. The researchers noted that it was rare to have images of black characters engaged in interracial interaction with other characters, portrayed in egalitarian roles, or have a part such that the reader could develop a connection to the black character (background character versus main character). Another rarity was the portrayal of black adults. Overall, images of blacks appeared more often in award winning books. Nonetheless, these images were not consistently maintained over time.

2.4 POWER DISPARITIES

Published works from many literary scholars argue that adults control the world of children's books. Some argue that children's literature must be approved and written by adults so that children will internalize messages that are sanctified by adults (Zipes 1981). Children's books are often written from an adult interpretation of what authors believe and want childhood to be about (Nodelman 1992, Zornado 2001, and Hunt 2004). Most books published are written by adults where the authors tend to see themselves as political agents advancing the dominant social norms and ideologies (Sipe 1999). In turn, the books are read and interpreted to children by adults (Thacker 2000). Therefore, children's books are used to maintain power and control over children (Nodelman 1992).

Most literary works provide a comprehensive interpretation of a few books. In Stallcup's (2002) research on power and fear in picture books, she noted that though most modern day

books no longer use violence to control children, they do use “real dangers” where only adults can protect them. In her analysis of earlier studies by other literary scholars, she synthesized them into three issues: 1) adult need to “comfort and protect” children and reassure themselves of being good nurtures and protectors; 2) adult anxiety toward the possibility of children rebelling against adult rules; and 3) adult need to socialize children into our (meaning adult) ideal other. In pictures books, children are shown in dangerous or frightful situations where they seek out adult assistance or the adult comes in to protect the child. Additionally, some children are portrayed as taking on adult-like characteristics, such as mimicking how an adult would speak.

Lassen-Seger (2006) compared research on images of children and teenagers who metamorph into something other than themselves. Many literary scholars found that children metamorph due to power imbalance between themselves and adults. For example, stories like *Cinderella* (step-child turns into a princess) and *Where the Wild Things Are* (child turns into the king in the land of the wild things) have children metamorphose into other beings to escape adult power. Lassen-Seger (2006) categorized three different images of the metamorphed child: 1) wild and uncivilized, 2) innocent playful and rebellious, and 3) victimized and lost. Though she did agree that children morph due to power imbalance, she also found that children morph to go off on adventures for pleasure. She stated, “the range of stories investigated shows that metamorphosis may bring fictive children both displeasure and pleasure, empowerment and disempowerment, and it can both subvert and affirm child/adult power relationships” (p. 269). She concluded that the images of a metamorphic child were fluid and not entirely caused by power differences.

From a sociological perspective, Handel, Cahill and Elkin (2007) discussed power disparities between children and adults in their book, *Children and Society: The Sociology of Children and Childhood Socialization*. They stated that adults use negative and positive sanctions, such as threats and rewards, to manipulate the child into doing as adults want, and they expect the child to comply with adults' wishes. In addition, children are dependent upon adults for many things. Due to this reliance, adults feel the need and the right to dominate children. However, children do find ways to rebel against adult authority, such as having temper tantrums or ignoring adult commands. Handel et al. (2007) explained that play is one way for children to work out the tensions they feel in family life.

2.5 STRUCTURE OF CHILDREARING

Children are socialized through many different mediums. They are socialized in families and schools, through interactions with peers, and the mass media to name a few. People of various social classes experience social realities differently depending on social stratifications, thereby creating variations in what they deem as desirable characteristics in their children (Kohn 1963).

In families, Lareau (2003) identified two types of childrearing or socialization techniques that are correlated with social class. Lareau found that working and poor class families tended to raise their children in what she called "accomplishment of natural growth" (hereafter referred to as natural growth). Parents and children in working class and poor families generally had a sense of powerlessness when dealing with institutions like schools and healthcare, and accepted situations without challenging the institution. Parents provided custodial care for their children and a watchful eye while allowing them to grow with minimal influence from parents. In natural growth childrearing, parents tended to tell their children what to do. Children from these

families tended not to argue with or question their parents but accepted their parents' wishes as stated. Children frequently were in charge of their own free time and tended to spend most of their time with family and neighborhood kids. However, their parents rarely orchestrated their children's play. Natural growth allowed poor and working class children the ability to use their imagination and be seen as independent from adults.

Lareau (2003) found middle class families tended to raise their children in what she called "concerted cultivation." In this mode of childrearing, parents tended to participate in their children's lives by designing a childhood that developed their child's skills and talents to make them into well-rounded individuals. Parents often advocated for and voiced opinions about their children when dealing with institutions like school and team coaches. Children from these families were more likely to challenge the authority of adults, and engaged in negotiations with them. Children frequently spent time with classmates or children from extracurricular school activities. However, their parents often planned their daily schedule and drove them to activities and functions. Concerted cultivation allowed middle class children the ability to experience a wide range of interests and activities. Interestingly, Lareau (2003) found that in her sample race had less to do with childrearing than did social class. Although she did find that race was an element, it did not play as strong of a part as she thought it would.

At professional meetings and presentations, Lareau was asked how her research findings related to Melvin Kohn's research on the psychological consequences of social class. From these inquiries, Weininger and Lareau (2009) sought to broaden previous research findings on Kohn's social division of labor and psychological functioning, specifically focusing on social class and childrearing values by using in-depth interviews and observation instead of self-reports

of behaviors by parents. Before exploring Weininger and Lareau's (2009) study, Melvin Kohn's life-long research must be briefly discussed.

Through the past several decades Kohn investigated how social class influenced parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices (Eshleman 2003). In earlier studies Kohn found that different social classes placed emphasis on different values (Kohn 1963). For example, obedience, neatness, and cleanliness were valued more by working-class parents, whereas curiosity, happiness, consideration, and self-control were valued more by middle-class parents. He also found that preferred behaviors fell into similar groupings: working-class parents gave more merit to behaviors that fell into "conformity to external restrictions," like following directions without questioning, and middle-class parents gave more merit to behaviors that fell into "self-direction," like working independently (Kohn 1963). These values, Kohn argued, were related to the type of occupations held by parents. Work typically categorized as middle-class requires self-direction and higher degree of skills, whereas work typically categorized as working-class requires collective action and less sophisticated skills. Kohn (1963) concluded that middle-class and working-class parents held different values based on differences in the conditions of their lives, which in turn influenced the parent-child relationship.

Recent studies of parent-child relationships have also examined whether the notion that social class and social stratification affects life circumstances which, in turn, affect values, which then affects behaviors (Eshleman 2003). Kohn and colleagues (see Kohn and Schooler 1983 and Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler, and Slomczynski 1990) investigated values and behaviors (referred to as psychological functioning) displayed by parents within different social classes and social stratifications. They defined social class as the "ownership and control over the means of production and control over the labor power of others" (Kohn et al. 1990:967) and defined social

stratification as the “hierarchical ordering of society as indexed by formal education, occupational status, and job income” (Kohn et al. 1990:965). Kohn and Schooler (1983) found that the influence of social stratification on one’s psychological functioning is not a result of occupational status or income level but instead the result of higher rates of being in jobs where one has control over what they do within the job (referred to as occupational self-direction). Kohn et al. (1990) conducted a cross cultural study of Japan, Poland, and the United States and took Kohn and Schooler’s (1983) study one step further. Kohn et al. (1990) found that the influence of social class on one’s psychological functioning is not an effect of ownership or control over means of production or control over people but instead the result of higher rates of being in jobs where one has occupational self-direction. This phenomenon occurred across all three cultures. In sum, one’s psychological functioning is a result of occupational self-direction, not a result of power over means of production, power over other people, occupational status, or income level. In other words, parents’ values and behaviors are a result of the control they feel within their jobs.

Using Lareau’s (2002 and 2003) sample, Weininger and Lareau (2009) extended Kohn’s research on childrearing practices and investigated how committed parents were to their childrearing values. Similar to Kohn’s (1963) findings, Weininger and Lareau (2009) found that childrearing practices were different between working-class and poor parents and those of the middle-class parents. Working-class and poor parents tended to use directive language with children, and value conformity and independence from children (adults interacted with other adults while children interacted with other children). Middle-class parents tended to encourage children to negotiate, self-direct, and engage in choice. Ironically, Weininger and Lareau (2009) found that though conformity is a desired value, working-class and poor parents were apt to

create an environment where children gained autonomy thereby reducing parents' ability to make children conform. Likewise, Weininger and Lareau (2009) found that though self-direction is a desired value, middle-class parents were apt to limit children's self-direction by controlling the child's environment and limiting choices. As Weininger and Lareau (2009) suggested, differences in childrearing values among social classes are not simple or clear-cut but are exceedingly complex.

In sum, research on representations of gender, fathers and mothers, and race demonstrate that there are disparities among these groups. Can the same be said for adults and children in children's picture books? Males are still portrayed more often than females indicating that males are seen as more important in U.S. society than females. The idea that frequency indicates importance can be transferred to other representations like adults and children. In children's books, who is portrayed more often: adults or children; males or females? Comparing main adult characters and main child characters, which group is portrayed more often in illustrations? Past research indicates that power disparities between adults and children are nothing new. With children's books, adults are involved in every step, from inception to conclusion. Adults write, illustrate, publish, buy, read, and often interpret children's picture books for children. Even the end of a book's life, such as when to pull it from the library shelf or throw it away, is decided by adults. In the story's narrative and illustrations the same idea is transparent: adult/child stratification is prevalent.

Though we know adult/child stratification is prevalent, past research on the topic leaves many unanswered questions. Past research demonstrates that adults are depicted as "heroes" for children in dangerous situations and that these children cannot "save" themselves from their own dangers (Stallcup 2002). However, how often does this occur? Do children resolve to get

themselves out of a dangerous situation more often than children seek out an adult to assist them, or do adults intervene in “saving the day” without children asking for adult assistance?

Additionally, it has been found that children morph into other beings for reasons beyond escaping adult power (Lassen-Seger 2006). Do children metamorph themselves as a result of adult domination (i.e., being sent to room as a punishment, being sent out to do chores, or do school work)? Do children metaphor adults into other beings as a way to escape adult domination? Finally, it has been found that one way for children to rebel against adult authority is to display independent behavior like disobeying adults (Handel et al. 2007). Which type of behavior is found most in children’s books: dependence or independence?

Regardless of the complexities, from these studies we learn that the structure of childrearing or socialization does vary between classes. Lareau (2003) specifically provided a typology of these differences and listed concepts that allow one to investigate the existence of natural growth and concerted cultivation. As of this writing, research has yet to be completed on children’s books utilizing Lareau’s typology on structure of childrearing. In relation to children’s books, which socialization technique is displayed more often, if at all?

2.6 THEORETICAL FRAME

The purpose of this study is to examine whether power disparities between adult and child characters exist and if Lareau’s socialization structure can be identified in children’s books. Conflict theory is useful in explaining adult/child and gender disparities. The basic tenet of conflict theory is that conflict is endemic in social interactions and is not necessarily good or bad (Farrington and Chertok 1993: 357-381; Eshleman 2003). According to the ideas of Marx and more contemporary conflict theorists, social relationships are full of competing interests over scarce resources, which result in social systems that generate inequalities. These inequalities

materialize, most notably in forms of coercive power, material wealth, and emotional ritual (Eshleman 2003: 19-20 and Collins 2005). Power (physical and verbal), material wealth (livelihood and luxuries), and emotional ritual (social solidarity) are intertwined, most of which are controlled by parents (Collins 2005). We find conflicts occur all the time within families: we hear children crying in anger when denied a toy from the store; we see children restricted when caught “sneaking” out of the house to attend an event they were forbidden to attend; and we learn about children who felt unloved because their parent was always away from home. In regards to gender, we see women being paid less than men; girls and boys performing different household chores (girls inside/boys outside); women do more household and child care duties than men; and men are traditionally viewed as head of the house. When resources such as money, use of time, and giving of emotions are limited, restricted, or unavailable in some capacity, conflicts tend to arise. Similarly when there are differences in gender roles and the existence of power inequalities are present, conflicts tend to arise.

There are several perspectives of feminist theory (e.g., socialist, radical, and liberal feminism). In general, feminism observes experiences of men and women through the lens of gender. Our impressions of ourselves, our behaviors, and where our gender stands in the social hierarchy “are all rooted in the operation of our society” (Macionis 2003: 345). Each theoretical perspective believes in the importance of change, expanding human choice, eliminating gender stratification, ending sexual violence, and promoting sexual freedom, not only for women, but also for men (Macionis 2003). These feminist perspectives have varying views on achieving these ideologies. For the purpose of this paper, I focus specifically on liberal feminism, which believes that men and women should be able to develop their interests and talents as they wish without fear of barriers. Liberal feminists believe this can be accomplished not only collectively

but also individually in the basic organization of society and families as long as legal and cultural obstacles are removed (Macionis 2003).

For the past 30 years, social researchers analyzing children's picture books have overwhelmingly used liberal feminism as their guiding theory (Clark and Fink 2004). Liberal feminism claims that men and women are equal, and argues that gender inequality exists due to "patriarchal and sexist patterning of the division of labor, and that gender equality can be produced by transforming the division of labor through the repatterning of key institutions – law, work, family, education, and media" (Ritzer and Goodman 2004: 315). According to Clark and Fink (2004), a liberal feminist approach to children's books is concerned with implicit or explicit representations of gender equality for boys and girls, as well as non-stereotypical portrayals of males and females. Liberal feminism allows researchers to code specific characteristics in order to measure whether gender disparities exist in children's books and the frequency in which they occur in specific books or during certain times. For this reason, I will use liberal feminism in addition to conflict theory, to guide my research. However, liberal feminism tends not to address non-gender socialization structure. Nor does this perspective generally consider or explain the relationship shared between children's books and the social world. Making meaning of cultural objects like children's picture books is important in understanding inequality (Lamont 2000).

The creation of meanings in the social world is a necessary element in understanding inequality (Lamont 2000). Additionally, symbols can be interpreted in various ways. Cultural objects such as books and comic strips are socially produced and can take on many definitions (Griswold 1994). In order to understand the meaning of a cultural object, we must consider the "actors" who play a part in the development of the many possible meanings that a cultural object

can represent. These many possible meanings can create conflict between and among “actors.” For example, a book’s message or illustrations may be viewed completely acceptable for children’s eyes by the author/illustrator and the publisher but, parents, librarians, or others may view it as completely unacceptable for children and lobby for it to be removed from public libraries. The resistance may place this book on the banned list, which restricts the book from being held by public libraries. Another example is the desirability of purchasing a book. A child may be drawn to its cover, but the parent may look at it and decide it is not worth purchasing. The denial of ownership may cause the child to rebel by crying or begging. The presence of conflicts over cultural objects is a compelling reason to investigate such items like children’s books.

According to Griswold (1994), cultural objects have a creator, and when made public, they have a receiver. The social world is also a part of the understanding of a cultural object. By social world, Griswold (1994:15) means “the economic, political, social, and cultural patterns and exigencies that occur at any particular point in time.” These four elements -- cultural object, creator, receiver, and social world -- and their relationships form a diamond shape that Griswold (1994:15) terms “The Cultural Diamond.” She states that “the cultural diamond is an accounting device intended to encourage a fuller understanding of any cultural object’s relationship to the social world.”

Strictly applying Griswold’s (1994) cultural diamond framework to children’s picture books would require me to understand every point on the diamond (creator, receiver, social world and cultural object) and every link shared between these elements. For the creator, I would need to consider what the author(s) and/or illustrator(s) meant by the text and the layout of the illustrations, and why they wrote the book and created illustrations. For the receiver, I would

need to understand why librarians, parents, educators, and children selected this book and how they understand the meaning of the book. Furthermore, I would need to know how children's books interact with the social world. For example, in a right wing cultural climate, a book could be limited in its accessibility to children simply by being placed on the banned book list and being unavailable at public libraries. Finally, I would need to consider how each element connects to other elements. I would have to consider why certain groups of people (receivers) cannot afford (social world) books (cultural object) written by a particular author (creator). Though this is a very simplistic example of the relations shared in the cultural diamond, it does demonstrate their interdependency.

Due to restrictions on resources and time, I am unable to consider every element and its linkage. For the purposes of my study, I focused specifically on the cultural object: children's picture books. My analysis and the data included inferences about cultural creators and receivers but I did not study creators and receivers directly. I also hypothesized about how the books both mirror and reinterpret the social world.

In sum, previous research indicates that power, gender, and race disparities are prevalent in children's picture books. Feminist theory suggests that those who are seen as more important will be present more often in illustrations. Additionally, conflict theory suggests that when resources are limited, those who hold more of it will control other groups. Lareau (2003) suggests that there are different characteristics of childrearing that are demonstrated between poor and working class and those of the middle class. Combining these perspectives, it is appropriate to ask questions about frequency of appearance, dominance and escapism, and socialization techniques.

3 METHODS

One could apply numerous research designs to investigate power disparities and the structure of childrearing. I chose to utilize content analysis as my research method and created a code sheet to explore gender and power disparities as well as structures of childrearing. This chapter chronicles the methods employed in my research design by recounting the steps in data collection, description of the coding process, and peculiarities in the operation of concepts and measurements of each variable.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

“Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (Weber 2004: 117). Text is not limited to words, but can also include any object, such as pictures and other images which holds meaning to someone or is produced to have meaning (Krippendorff 2004: 19). Accordingly, content analysis is an appropriate method to utilize while investigating cultural artifacts such as books and pictures (Babbie 1998: 309).

In some academic realms, content analysis is strictly reserved for quantitative analysis where the goal is to count and measure categories and variables (Neuendorf 2002: 14). In other academic realms, quantitative and qualitative analysis can both be employed with content analysis technique (Krippendorff 2004: 11). For this study, I focused mainly on the quantitative aspect of content analysis by counting categories of variables. I counted the number of adults and children in the books to determine who is represented most frequently while at the same time I analyzed under what sorts of situations children and adults metamorph into other beings. I used content analysis to make inferences from illustrations while utilizing the text to assist in deciphering what actions were taking place within the pictures.

My units of analysis, books and characters, derived from the cultural object point within the cultural diamond framework. The availability of books, the effectiveness books have in socializing children, and the importance children place on books (as opposed to cartoons or other mediums) were three reasons why I selected this cultural object to investigate. For the first unit of analysis, I am interested in the creation of books themselves. Specifically, I am interested in the characteristics of the book such as gender of the author and illustrator, the publisher, the location of the publishing company, when the book was published, and the time setting that the story takes place. These characteristics help me understand if certain variables, such as when the book was published, may be correlated to other variables, like the number of adults represented in the book. For the second unit of analysis, I am interested in the portrayal of the characters in the story. Specifically, I am interested in several ideas: who are the characters in the books (e.g., what is their gender and family role), what is the race and ethnicity of the characters, how often are adults and children represented in the illustrations, and what are the socialization strategies applied to the main child character (e.g., natural growth or concerted cultivation)?

To help limit my research population I focused on hard copies of bestselling books selling 200,000 or more copies between 1993 and 2008 that are not e-books. Because E-books are restrictive in their use, they were excluded. Only consumers who have access to computers are able to retrieve such books, and these books are relatively new, making it difficult to sample later years. I selected the years from 1993 to 2008 for a couple of reasons. First, there are two historical events (new millennium and 9/11) that could have impacted how books were written and illustrated. Second, I wanted an equal number of years to compare (eight years in Time Period 1 and eight years in Time Period 2). Finally, the list that I used to select my sample began

collecting bestselling statistics of children's books in 1993 thereby limiting the years I could investigate.

The list of bestselling books was obtained from *Publisher's Weekly*, a well respected trade news magazine within the world of publishing and writing. In addition to publishing this list in their magazine, *Publisher's Weekly* provides this information to the publishers of *The Bowker Annual Library and Book Trade Almanac*, a library science resource book. Every year since 1994 they have compiled a list of the bestselling children's books based on sales from the previous year (the bestselling list in the 1994 annual is for those books published in 1993). In the annual, the list is divided into four different bestselling categories: hardcover frontlist, hardcover backlist, paperback frontlist, and paperback backlist. In the publishing world, frontlist are newly published books, which then become backlisted about nine months after the book is first published (Greco, Rodriguez and Wharton 2007). The bestselling children's books list is further divided into subheadings of total amounts sold ranging from 75,000+ up to 500,000+. For every category of bestselling books from 1993-2008 only 200,000+ subheading is present. Therefore, my sample includes any books selling 200,000 or more copies.

From time to time, story book classics like *The Poky Little Puppy*, which was first published in 1942, will make the bestselling list. However, it is well documented that illustrations and text found in older books are changed to fit the social and political climate of the current time (Willett, 2001). As such, these books have just as much influence on children's socialization as books that are published during the year it makes the bestselling list. In addition, a book may make the bestselling list for multiple years. To take these two sampling issues into account and increase variation, books with the same title were only selected once during the sampling process.

Though the *Bowker Annual Library and Book Trade Almanac* contains a list of bestselling children's books, not all books listed were picture books (e.g., *Harry Potter* and *Hannah Montana*), and some books were non-narrative (e.g., *I am Not Going to Read Any Words Today*). I excluded five types of books in the sample. First, as previously explained, duplicate titles were not included. Second, only English-language books were analyzed (the coders and my primary language is English). Third, the book must have a narrative. Thus, books on counting, the alphabet, and vocabulary, for example were excluded. Fourth, books on the list had to be picture books and appropriate for children under the age of 9 years. Last, "lift the flap" type books slightly change the original picture; this slight change can alter the meaning of the illustration. Therefore, for consistency and ease of analysis "lift the flap" books were not analyzed.

There was a chance that a bestselling book could have been published prior to the year they made the bestseller's list (considered backlist). This could occur for a couple of reasons. First, the book could be a classic that has a wide following or could have come out in a new edition with updated pictures that are more colorful and more representative of different ethnic groups, or simply reflect current fashions (see Willett 2001). Second, it can take a long time to reach bestselling status. In my analysis, I considered publication years in addition to bestselling years. However, the primary focus of the analysis was on bestselling years.

From the bestselling list published in *The Bowker Annual Library and Book Trade Almanac*, I initially selected eight children's picture books from each year (two from each category) starting in 1993 through 2008, totaling 128 books in all. Though I had already selected my sample (described later), I encountered unforeseen circumstances and time restrictions that

forced me to consider a sample reduction from 128 books to 64 books. Below is an account of the rationale behind the new sampling process.

Deciding how to reduce the sample took some time. First, I investigated the sample size of other research focusing on children's books. Many samples varied in size from one book in literary studies, and from 10 to over 2,000 books in other disciplines (e.g. sociology) with a median sample size of approximately 138 books. Though reducing my sample size to 64 books is far below the approximated mean of other studies, the sample still provided variation in order to compare findings within itself and with other studies. Second, I found that research on gender disparities in children's books often reviewed award winning books such as the Caldecott Award. I thought, perhaps, this restrictive sample size – due to few awards given each year – limited the number of children exposed to these books, which in turn, reduced the books effect on internalized messages within the reader. I thought about how the four categories (frontlist hardcover, frontlist paperback, backlist hardcover, backlist paperback), when reduced, could maintain its representativeness. Finally, I decided that the best construction to collect my sample was to use frontlist categories. These two categories guaranteed an exact publication year to compare and contrast. In addition, I found that frontlist hardcover books cost more than frontlist paperback books. This meant that families from lower social economic backgrounds or child focused businesses on limited budgets could afford to purchase the paperback books more easily than the hardcover books, making them more available to children and thus more representative of published books.

To maintain variance and a more representative sample of published books, I decided to select from two categories: two children's picture books from each year in the frontlist hardcover books and two children's picture books from each year in the frontlist paperback books. The

final sample size of 64 children's books is an arbitrary number. As previously stated, studies utilizing content analysis in studies have varied in sample size from 10 to over 2,000 books. Considering the book titles were on the bestselling list, I thought I would easily find newer books in the Fulton County Public Library collection. However, I did not consider how many books were checked-out, on hold, or lost. Therefore, I bought book titles unavailable from the library collection and older publication years at different on-line bookstores.

Stratified sampling occurs when units are combined into homogeneous groups thereby making the sample more representative of the whole (Babbie 2005: 212-213). The lists from the Bowker Annuals were already conducive to stratified sampling. They divided books into years and then by categories based on the book status. My original sampling frame considered years (from 1993 – 2008) and four categories (hardcover frontlist, hardcover backlist, paperback frontlist, and paperback backlist) of those books selling 200,000 or more copies. Therefore, I selected eight books from each year from each of the four categories totaling 128 books or 32 books from each category. However, my final reduced sampling frame contained four books from each year within both frontlist hardcover and frontlist paperback categories totaling 64 books or 32 books from each category.

The list of books selling 200,000 or more copies is rank ordered starting from the highest number of copies sold in a given category to the lowest. For example, in 1994 paperback backlist there are 40 book titles selling 200,000 or more copies with the highest selling 642,000 copies and the lowest selling 201,600 copies. This list could have somehow biased my sample. To counteract this possibility, I renumbered the lists by entering the original placement on the bestselling list into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and created a random formula between 0 and 1. This formula rearranged booklist positions and removed the possibility of ranking bias.

From here, I selected a random sample. I used a table of random numbers to determine my starting point on the newly arranged booklist. Next, I decided the number of digits needed depending on my population size (e.g., for 1994 paperback backlist there are 40 books so I would need two digits). If the table of random numbers contains more digits than needed, I used the right digits of the group (e.g., if the number is 12410 and I only need two digits, I select the two right numbers of 10). Moving from the top number in the first column of the random number list down to the bottom of the page, then the next column, if I ran across repeat numbers or numbers too high, I skipped over them until I found a number that was applicable. I repeated this process until I acquired two books for each category and four for every year (see Appendix A).

Considering I was interested in change over recent times, *The Bowker Annual Library and Book Trade Almanac* list of bestselling children's books first published in 1993 allowed 16 years of change to occur. Though my sample was based on top selling picture books, this is not a true representation of all published books. Interestingly, most past research on children's books have focused on award winning books, thereby further limiting their selection from total published books. My sample, on the other hand, was more representative of published books read by children and adults. My sample was derived from top selling books and I felt confident that the books within this sample were readily available in numerous places such as libraries, homes, schools, and child care facilities. This easy access allowed ample opportunities for children and adults of all socioeconomic levels to come in contact with these specific books and therefore be influenced by them.

Shifting focus from books to characters, I considered characters' age, gender, role, and race. First, I was interested in the depictions of gender and age of all characters illustrated in

books. Most gender studies counted characters in books to determine which gender was represented most often. To add to this growing body of research, I decided to do the same. I operationalized gender and age by counting all characters that were clearly visible and contain some sort of gender or age identifier (e.g., bows, dresses, facial hair, pronouns, and etc.). Differentiating between genders and ages was sometimes difficult so an unknown category was created.

Second, I was interested in roles of characters. Authors and illustrators create varying roles for storybook characters. Some characters are portrayed in major or main roles (protagonist of the story), minor or secondary roles (some interaction with the main character), or background roles (no interaction with main character). From my experience with picture books, I knew that there is usually only one main character. I knew too that main characters were not always children. I somehow had to figure out a way to include adults and children. I decided to look for adult and child characters who had larger roles in the story compared to other characters of the same age group. These characters were identified as the main adult character or the main child character, and these characters may or may not have been the main character. I was not necessarily concerned with main characters that were not main adult or main child character. Considering past research included main characters, I felt it important to include age, gender, race, and type of character of the main character as well as the main adult and main child characters.

Finally, little research has been conducted on the portrayal of race in children's picture books. I was interested in analyzing the depiction of race in my sample. More specifically, I was interested in the race of the main characters, including main child and main adult characters. I know that classifying race by skin color alone was not always accurate. To help determine

race, I arrived at other identifiers by browsing children's library books. I decided that in addition to skin color, I would observe dress, food, story location, hairstyle, language, and other physical attributes.

3.2 CODING

Prior to the development of my final coding instrument and coding instructions, I randomly selected 20 children's books from Georgia State University's Children's Collection by picking every 20th book found on the shelf beginning with the closest row to the library entrance. I performed some dry runs of the initial coding instrument to locate any difficulties or issues. I found several problems such as types of books (i.e., science, music, and "lift-the-flap") and multiple main characters that could have led to sampling limitation or coding difficulties. From these dry runs I noted and changed my instrument and developed a coding guide to help eliminate future questions or conflicts.

In order to increase the reliability of my findings and establish inter-rater reliability, I involved a second coder in addition to myself for the coding process. Furthermore, a third coder was utilized to break any disagreements the second coder and I encountered. When the second coder and I were unable to resolve any differences in our coding, the third coder reviewed the book and coded the question in dispute. Disagreement between first and second coder occurred in seven books or 11 percent of the time. The final codes were based on how two of the three coders interpreted the book (see Appendix C).

Both coders were trained in analyzing children's picture books according to the coding instrument and coding guide (see Appendix B). Due to the content of the coding instrument and coding instructions, coders were aware of my interest in power disparities between adults and children and childrearing. However, coders were told not to read any literature on the topics. In

addition, the second coder and third coder were sociology students (undergraduate and graduate respectively) so I asked them not to overanalyze and try not to think like sociologists when interpreting their answers. Furthermore, some of the books were familiar to the coders. I asked them to only use the knowledge they gained from the book, and not to allow their previous knowledge of a story to influence their interpretations.

I first pre-coded to assess whether the post-test coding instrument and coding instructions were clear and concise by taking a sample of best-selling books not in my final sample and conducted dry runs accordingly. To establish inter-rater reliability rate, I determined the percentage of agreement between coders by keeping track of where disagreement occurred and the number of times this disagreement manifested. The inter-rater reliability during this first pre-coding was below 70 percent. In addition to computing the inter-rater reliability rate from this procedure, I could determine which variables needed to be addressed. I found that the most frequent disagreements evolved from the character counts and decided it was best to count characters together with the second coder. We discussed ambiguities about who counted as a character, clarified the definition of “sense of entitlement,” and included the addition of categories. With updated coding instructions and procedures set in place, we analyzed additional bestselling books not in the final sample. For the second pre-coding, the inter-rater reliability was 90 percent or greater. I felt confident at this point to begin coding the final sample. For the final sample, the inter-rater reliability averaged 94 percent.

In addition to inter-rater reliability, I preformed a test-retest on my results. I determined the percentage of agreement between my first and second codes by keeping track of where discrepancies occurred and the number of times this disagreement transpired. I randomly

selected 7 books (11 percent) from my sample to recode approximately two weeks after the initial coding process. My answers were consistent at an average of 97 percent.

3.3 MEASURES

In my analysis, I included several variables of common characteristics among books: title of book, author name(s) and gender(s), illustrator name(s) and gender(s), name of publisher, location of publisher, copyright and new edition dates (when applicable), and whether the book was award winning. These variables were filled in on the code sheet for the coders to help reduce time and easily keep track of surveys. However, the following variables of common characteristics among books were not entered, but instead determined by each coder: time setting of the story, front cover picture, if front cover picture was found in book, featured character of the front cover, back cover picture, if back cover picture was found in book, featured character of the back cover, title page, if title page had a picture, if title page was found in book, featured character of the title page, dedication page, and to whom the book was dedicated.

To determine who was given more important roles in children's books, I used six variables. For the first two variables, the coders counted the number of adults and children in each illustration (or what I defined as a "snapshot") beginning after the dedication and/or publication page (whichever came last). Before we counted the number of adults and children, we first determined which characters fell in the child and adult categories. Selecting age categories proved to be challenging. From my education and experience as an early childhood educator, I knew that most children began reading around six or seven years of age. Therefore, creating the "0-5 years old" category was easy. However, at what point do I stop considering a child a "child?" To parents, a child will always be their child regardless of their age and some power disparities are likely to exist. I thought about at what age responsibilities changed for

children. I also thought about how younger children viewed teenagers and how they interacted with them, such as doing what teenagers tell them to do. Through pre-coding, I noticed many main child characters appeared to be under 12 years of age. After much deliberation and pre-coding books, I selected the age of 12 to be my cut-off between adult and child age categories based on the fact that pre-teens generally begin babysitting and were therefore playing “substitute adult” for the person viewed as holding authority. The word “adult” referred to any person (human, animal, machine, or other) who appeared to be 12 years of age or over. The word “child” referred to any person (human, animal, machine, or other) who appeared to be under the age of 12 years. I thus looked at young adults (12-17 years of age) and older adults (18+) as well as younger children (0-5 years of age) and older children (6-11 years of age).

There were a couple of books that had the main child character transitioned into an adult, and the coders were instructed to count the age as the character appeared in the “snapshot.” When the second coder and I could not determine what age category applied to a character, the third coder determined the choice. By looking at the pictures and using the text to guide the coder’s decisions, the first and second coder counted every character together. The character had to be identifiable, meaning characters that were blurred or otherwise unidentifiable were excluded from the count. The category (adult or child) represented most often by the highest tally was considered more important.

The final four variables were based on the main adult and main child characters. The coder looked for the protagonist or the central figure of the story for both adult and child based on the previously stated age criterion for identifying an adult or child character. The main adult or main child character did not necessarily need to be the main character of the story, but each needed to have a larger role in the story than other characters of their same age category (i.e., the

author included them more often in pictures than other characters of the same age category or mentioned them more often in the text than other characters of the same age category). The age category was broken down to young children (0 to 5 years of age), older children (6 to 11 years of age), young adults (12 to 17 years of age), and older adults (18+). For the third variable, the appearance of main adult character in each “snapshot” was counted. When there were two main adult characters, the coder determined which one seemed to take a greater role. When both seemed equal, the first and second coders discussed together to reach a decision on whom was the main adult character. The third coder was only consulted when the first and second coder did not agree. When the main adult character appeared more than one time, each appearance was counted separately. For the fourth variable, the appearance of the main child character in each “snapshot” was counted. When there were two main child characters, the coder determined which one seemed to take a greater role. When both seemed equal, the coders discussed and brought in the third coder when a consensus could not be reached on the main child character. When the main child character appeared more than one time, each appearance was counted separately. For the fifth variable, based on the appearances of the main child and main adult characters, I calculated the total number of times the main child and main adult characters appeared together in the same “snapshot.” When they appeared more than one time, each appearance was counted separately. For the final variable, based on the appearances of the main child and main adult characters, I calculated the total number of times the main child and main adult characters appear without the other in “snapshots.” When they appeared more than one time, each appearance was counted separately. Similar to gender and race disparity research, if there were more adult characters than children characters, then adults were considered more

important. Likewise, if main child characters appeared more often than main adult characters, then children were considered more important.

To determine the physical appearance of the main character, the coders looked for the protagonist or the central figure of the story. The main character of the story was likely to be either the main adult or the main child character. Once the coders determined the main character, the coders selected what physical image or form the main character was depicted as, such as a human, animal, machine, or some other image.

Race and gender were two other variables taken into consideration. I was interested in the main adult and main child characters. As previously mentioned, an adult was considered 12 years of age and older and a child was considered under the age of 12. The main adult or main child character did not necessarily need to be the main character of the story, but each needed to have a larger role in the story than other characters of their same age group (over or under the age of 12). Coders took cues from pictures and text, such as height, participation in activities, relationships, and etc. To establish the race and ethnicity of the main child and main adult characters, I developed my racial categories around the 2000 Census. The Census utilized 63 racial categories (U.S. Census 2001). However, the U.S. Census (2001) stated that it was acceptable to use seven categories when showing all 63 categories was not feasible. The seven racial categories suggested by the U.S. Census and those used for this study were: 1) American Indian or Alaska Native, 2) Asian, 3) Black or African American, 4) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, 5) White, 6) Some other race, and 7) Two or more races. The coders looked beyond skin color. They took cues from the book such as facial features, hair texture and style, and other physical attributes. They also used cues such as types of food eaten, clothing style, story text, location of story and the use of language. To assist with the reliability of coding race,

coders listed what they used to help determine the main characters race and ethnicity. Similarly, to establish the main adult and main child characters' gender, coders used cues from pictures such as clothing, hair styles, and types of activities. Also, the text was used by noting pronouns and names of characters.

To measure the relationship between characters, I used one variable. The coders coded the relationship between main adult and main child character. Coders looked for words in text such as "mother," "child," "neighbor," "teacher," and etc. to determine the relationship between main adult character and main child character. Additionally, to help indicate the relationship shared between characters, the coders looked at images such as the adult tucking the child into bed, signs of affection and location of where the snapshot took place.

To measure parental behavior, I drew from a scheme used in a study by Coltrane and Allen (1994) and LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, and Wynn (2000). Coltrane and Allen (1994) developed four nurturant and supportive parenting behaviors: (1) serves or cares for child; (2) verbally or physically expresses affection to main child character; (3) verbally encourages main child character during task or activity; (4) praises main child character for a completed task or activity. LaRossa et al. (2000) added three additional nurturant and supportive parenting behavior to Coltrane and Allen's (1994) behaviors: (1) comforts or asks main child character about feelings and thoughts; (2) listens to main child character's problem; (3) purposefully teaches main child character. In their study, LaRossa et al. (2000) termed their three behaviors as nurturant and supportive parenting behavior II and termed Coltrane and Allen's (1994) four behaviors as nurturant and supportive parenting behavior I.

Furthermore, I included some of the activities that assisted LaRossa et al (2000) in their coding of these variables: (1) non-physically disciplines or punishes main child character; (2)

physically disciplines or punishes main child character; (3) plays with main child character; (4) plays sports with main child character; (5) engages in “rough and tumble” play with main child character; (6) tries to be an “equal” or “peer pal” to main child character; (7) does traditionally feminine household chores; (8) does traditionally masculine household chores; (9) does household chores that cannot be classified as traditionally feminine or traditionally masculine; (10) tries to show main child character what it means to “be a man”; (11) tries to show main child character what it means to “be a woman”; (12) engages in “positive” emotional interaction with spouse; (13) engages in “negative” emotional interaction with spouse; (14) physically abuses spouse. These activities helped shed light on power disparity and childrearing.

In addition to these seven supportive parental behaviors, I wanted to capture other behaviors that were not included in LaRossa’s et al. (2000) or Coltrane and Allen’s (1994) studies: (1) Negative interaction with main child character; (2) makes decisions for main child character; (3) gives main child character “the look” to display disapproval; (4) disapproves of main child character’s behavior; (5) refuses to help main child character; (6) refuses the help of the main child character; (7) helps the main child character; (8) forgives main child character’s behavior; (9) other. The incorporation of these elements not only captured behaviors that were considered positive and negative behaviors, they also pertained to behavioral characteristics listed in Lareau’s (2003) typology of childrearing.

Using a similar scheme as LaRossa et al. (2000) and Norton (1987), I constructed behaviors expressed by the main child character: (1) “negative” interaction with main adult character; (2) disobeys main adult character; (3) seeks comfort from main adult character; (4) verbally or physically expresses affection toward main adult character; (5) makes decisions all on own; (6) seems incapable of making decisions; (7) performs task or activity with little/no help

from main adult character; (8) refuses to help the main adult character; (8) refuses the help of the main adult character; (9) goes off on adventures without the accompaniment of main adult character or any adult; (10) plays only in or around the home; (11) plays while main adult character performs household chores; (12) tells main adult character what to do; (13) other.

In addition, I included three questions related to adult assistance when the child was found in a dangerous situation. Danger was considered anything that may have caused physical or emotional harm or distress to the child like interaction with a bully at school or being lost in the woods. I asked three questions: (1) if the main child character is in danger, does the child seek the assistance of an adult; (2) if the main child character is in danger, does an adult assist the child without the child asking; (3) if the main child character is in danger, does the child get out of the situation without the assistance of any kind from an adult. These variables were designed to measure the main child character's independence or dependence on adults.

In LaRossa's et al. (2000) scheme on nurturant and supportive parenting behavior I and II, I noticed that some of the activities or behaviors fit very well with Lareau's (2003) typology in childrearing, such as purposefully teaches child. Concentrating more specifically on Lareau's (2003) childrearing typology, I asked six questions to measure concerted cultivation and natural growth: (1) does the main adult character plan organized leisure activities for main child character; (2) does the main adult character talk with the main child character using reasoning and negotiation; (3) who does the main child character interact more with (determined by counting the number of instance in which each occur): playmate from her/his classroom and organized activities, or playmates from her/his extended family and the neighborhood; (4) does the main child character follow the main adult character's direction without complaint or

question; (5) does the main adult character advocate for main child character in institutional settings; (6) does the main child character display a sense of entitlement?

I used Lassen-Seger's (2006) analysis to measure children's metamorphisms and asked three questions: (1) does the main child character metamorph into another being; (2) if the main child character metamorphs into another being, into what do they change; (3) under what context does the main child character change. Though Lassen-Seger (2006) did not include adult metamorphing, I added this to my study by replacing main child character with main adult character: (1) does the main adult character metamorph into another being; (2) if the main adult character metamorphs into another being, into what do they change; (3) under what context does the main adult character change?

To measure the existence of taboo topics, I used Norton's (1987) study and added additional topics from current times like terrorism: (1) unacceptable parental or adult morality; (2) sexual development; (3) child nudity; (4) child physical abuse; (5) child sexual abuse; (6) child neglect; (7) profanity; (8) death; (9) illness; (10) disability; (11) divorce; (12) remarriage; (13) single parent; (14) unemployment; (15) money; (16) rape; (17) alcoholism; (18) drug abuse; (19) natural disasters; (20) war; (21) genocide; (22) terrorism; (23) pregnancy; (24) homosexuality; (25) imprisonment; (26) other.

I included four open-ended questions. First, to measure the types of messages conveyed by children's picture books, I asked the question: what is the message presented in the story? Second, I asked the coder to enter the context under which the main child character metamorphoses. Third, I asked the coder to enter the context under which the main adult character metamorphoses. Finally, I provided space for coders to add further comments about

the book if they felt it useful, such as reoccurring patterns not previously considered for this research.

4 BOOK CHARACTERISTICS

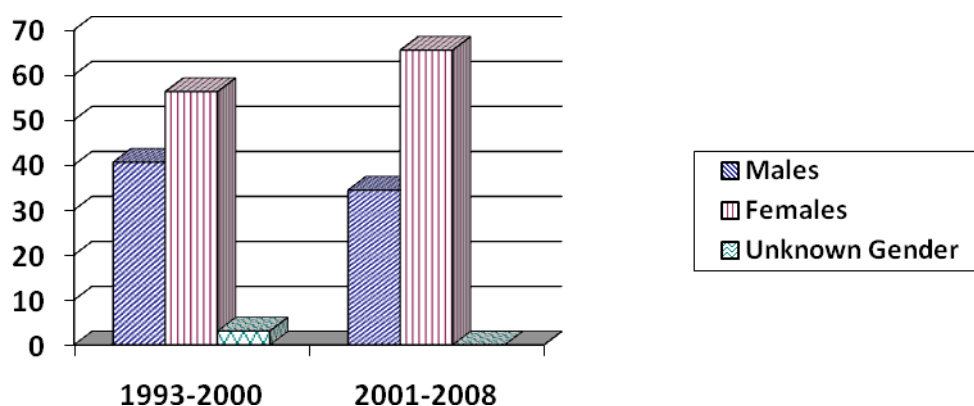
Children's picture books tend to contain common characteristics such as authors, illustrators, pictures, time settings of the story, and a storyline. In this chapter, I present overall findings on these characteristics as well as between Time Period 1 and Time Period 2. The chapter is subsectioned into four parts. The first section provides descriptive statistics on the authors and illustrators of books. The second section reviews the number of award winning books, and the length of books including the number of pages and illustrations in the sample. The third section provides findings on the storyline itself including the time setting of books, the context under which the main child and adult characters metamorph, taboo topics, the relationship between the main child character and main adult character. Finally, the fourth section concludes with a discussion on major findings found in this chapter.

4.1 AUTHORS AND ILLUSTRATORS

In this section I present findings on the number of authors and illustrators within my sample as well as their gender. Within my sample of 64 children's picture books, the combined total of all authors was 68. There were 64 first authors and four second authors. Of the four second authors, three were female second authors and one was a male second author. A review of gender among first authors found that 60.9 percent of the 64 books were written by female first authors, followed by 37.5 percent written by male first authors, with 1.6 percent written by an unknown gender. Dividing the sample by Time Period 1 and Time Period 2, female first authors outnumbered males in both time periods (see Figure 4.1). In Time Period 1, 56.3 percent of books were written by female first authors, 40.6 percent were written by male first authors, and 3.1 percent were written by first authors of an unknown gender. In Time Period 2, 65.5

percent of books were written by female first authors, and 34.4 percent were written by male first authors.

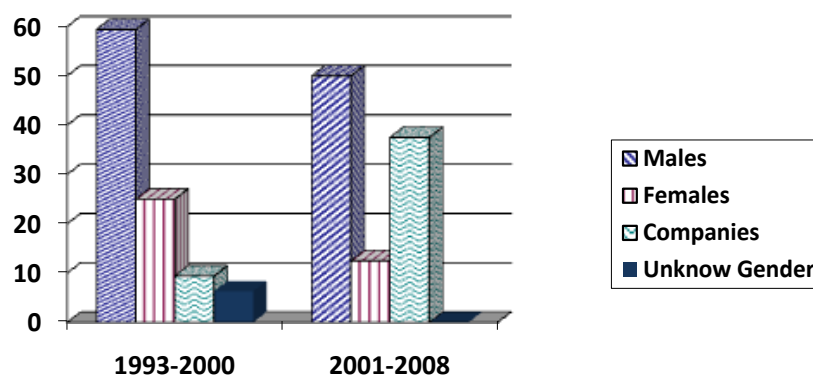
Figure 4.1 Percentages by Male, Female, and Unknown Gender First Authors in Books, 1993 to 2008



A review of the gender of illustrators found that 53 books listed only one illustrator, nine books listed two illustrators, and two books listed three illustrators. In all 64 books, 54.7 percent of books had males as the first illustrators, 23.4 percent of books listed illustration companies as first illustrators, followed by 18.8 percent of books had females as first illustrators, and 3.1 percent of books listed an unknown gender as first illustrator. For the nine second illustrators, 88.8 percent of books listed males as the second illustrator, and 11.1 percent of books listed females as the second illustrator. The two remaining third illustrators were a male and a company thereby being equal in the sample at 50 percent each. Separating the sample into Time Period 1 and Time Period 2, males as first illustrator outnumbered companies and females as first illustrators in both time periods (see Figure 4.2). In Time Period 1, males were 59.4 percent of first illustrators, followed by females who were 25 percent of first illustrators, then illustration companies with 9.4 percent of first illustrators, and two or 6.3 percent of first illustrators with an unknown gender. In Time Period 2, 50 percent of books listed males as the first illustrators, with

37.5 percent of books listed as illustration companies, and then 12.5 percent of books listed females as the first illustrator.

Figure 4.2 Percentages of Male, Female, Company, and Unknown Gender as First Illustrator in Books, 1993 to 2008.



4.2 AWARD STATUS, PAGES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Additional characteristics similar among books are award winning status, page numbers, and illustrations. Not all books, including bestsellers, are recipients of awards, such as the Coretta Scott King Award or Caldecott Medal, or receive honorable mentions. Within my sample, only one book (1.5 percent) achieved award winning status while 63 books were not award recipients or received honorable mentions. The one book in my sample that was an award winner received the prestigious Caldecott Medal.

Some other characteristics common in children's picture books were pages and illustrations. Table 4.1 displays a comparison of sums, means, medians, and minimum and maximum numbers for snapshots and pages. Overall, the average number of snapshots found across the sample of 64 children's books was 22.5. The range of snapshots varied from six snapshots to 61 snapshots with Time Period 2 presenting the narrowest range (from nine snapshots to 34 snapshots). Over time, snapshots decreased by 192 snapshots (from 808

snapshots to 616 snapshots). Overall, the average number of pages found across the sample of 64 children's books was 27.02 pages. The range of pages in all books varied from 12 pages to 79 pages with Time Period 2 presenting the narrowest range (from 15 pages to 29 pages).

Similar to snapshots, over time I found that the total pages in the sample decreased by 249 pages (from 989 to 740).

Table 4.1 Sum of Snapshots and Pages in All Books (by time period). N = Number of Books

	Overall 1993-2008 (N=64)	Time Period 1 1993-2000 (N=32)	Time Period 2 2001-2008 (N=32)
<u>Snapshots</u>			
Sum	1424	808	616
Mean	22.5	25.25	19.25
Median	20	21	18.50
Minimum	6	6	9
Maximum	61	61	34
<u>Pages</u>			
Sum	1729	989	740
Mean	27.02	30.91	23.13
Median	23	27	23
Minimum	12	12	15
Maximum	79	79	29

4.3 STORYLINE

Finally, I looked at other similar elements of children's books related to the storyline: time setting, taboo topics, shared relationship between main child character and main adult character, main child character adventures, and metamorphism of main child and main adult characters. I broke down time settings into three categories: past, present, and future. Within my sample, 75 percent of stories took place in the present, while 25 percent took place in the past. No storylines took place in the future.

In the sample of 64 books, I computed all taboo topics and found that at least one taboo topic had been discussed in 24 books or 37.5 percent of the sample. The occurrences of these

taboo topics were equally divided between the two time periods (12 occurrences in each time period). Overall, the most reoccurring taboo topic was “unacceptable parent or adult morality” such as public fighting, which occurred in 10 different books or 15.6 percent of the sample, followed by “death” in 9.4 percent of the books, and then imprisonment within 6.3 percent of books.

To analyze books containing both main adult characters and main child characters, my sample of 64 children’s picture books was reduced to a sample size of 42 books. Looking at the relationship between the main adult character and the main child character, the parent/child relationship outweighed other type of relationships such as teacher/student. Parent/child relationships represented 52.4 percent of the type of relationship shared between the main adult and main child characters followed by friends, who represented 11.9 percent of the relationship shared between the main adult and child characters. I collapsed the categories into more meaningful categories: parental and all other types of relationships. The parent/child relationship remained at 52.4 percent of relationships shared between these characters followed by “all other types of relationships,” which represented 47.6 percent of relationships between the main child and main adult characters.

In the reduced sample of 42 books, the main child character went off on an adventure without the accompaniment of an adult in 18 of those books (42.9 percent). Of these 18 adventures, eight adventures (44.4 percent) the child managed to get out of the dangerous situation without the help of an adult, four adventures (22.2 percent) resulted in an adult saving the main child character without the child asking for help, while four adventures (22.2) that the main child character went on without the accompaniment of an adult did not involve a dangerous

situation for the main child character, and in two adventures (11.1 percent) the main child character asked for adult assistance.

I measured the main child and main adult characters metamorphism rates, and explored what they transformed into and under what context. I found that of the 48 main child characters present in 64 books, only four main child characters (or 8.3 percent) metamorphed into another being. Three of these four characters metamorphed into better versions of themselves such as transforming into a superhero, and the other remaining character transformed into a child who could work in an adult career while remaining as a child form (i.e., a child form who is an astronaut). Of these four main child characters who metamorphed, the context under which they transformed varied from escaping their current situation, to impressing someone or fit in, to saving lives.

I found that of the 52 main adult characters present in 64 books, only 10 main adult characters (or 19.2 percent) metamorphed into another being. Of these 10 main adult characters, four transformed into a better version of themselves, three transformed into mirages, one transformed into stone, one transformed into a living person, and one transformed into their original form. Of these 10 main adult characters, the context under which they transformed varied. Four involuntarily changed (e.g., result of curse and chemical change), two transformed in order to save lives, two transformed to encourage the main child character, one transformed to recapture youth, and one transformed to become a more powerful person. Considering percentages standardize findings for both main child and main adult characters, I found that the main adult characters tended to metamorphed in stories more than main child characters. However, neither character transformed at rates that could adequately answer my research questions.

4.3 DISCUSSION

Authors and Illustrators

Though my research questions did not specifically ask about the gender of authors and illustrators of picture books or page/illustration numbers, my results may help contribute to the dialogue around children's books. Similar to other studies, female authors outnumbered males overall and over time, whereas male illustrators outnumbered company and female illustrators. One hypothesis I can submit about the discrepancy in the number of male and female authors could be the "feminization of childhood." Simplistically stated, Jenson (2005) explained that a change in family composition (i.e. divorce, single parenthood, separation) limits the father's involvement in the daily life of the child's. Thus, "children are increasingly left to mothers alone, which is an indication of a marginalization of childhood in society" (Jenson 2005). Furthermore, the responsibility of childrearing falls within mothers' domain and therefore is responsible for positive childhood outcomes (Jenson 1998). Considering women tend to be responsible for the socialization of their children and books are used as a socialization tool, it makes sense that women writers represent a majority of children's books' authors. Another explanation is that this feminization of childhood could also contribute to pay discrepancies. Authors of children's books are not paid nearly as well as authors of adult books (The Society of Children's Book Writers and Illustrators Illinois Chapter 2010). This follows pay trends that men make more money than women.

One hypothesis in the discrepancy between the genders of illustrators derives from conflict theory. The basic premise of conflict theory is that those in power will try to maintain their control over scarce resources. Considering males are seen as holding power in our society,

it makes sense that male illustrators would outnumber female illustrators and create illustrations that perpetuate gender stereotypes.

One hypothesis that may help to explain an increase of company illustrators while male and female illustrators decrease is the affiliation of publishing companies and movie studios. It is logical for movie studios to work with publishing companies to market their movies. For example, suppose Walt Disney Studios produces a new movie. To market the movie and keep consumers interested in the characters, the studio will use an imprint company like Hyperion Books for Children or an owned company like Disney Publishing Worldwide to produce books that continues the story or tells a narrow version of the movie. From this perspective, the characters are already developed by the movie studio with little need of other illustrators.

Pages and Illustrations

The primary finding for pages and illustration was a sharp drop in their numbers. The decrease in number of pages and illustrations could be due in part to publishing houses striving to cut costs in poor economic times and technological advances. A poor economy tends to lessen people's expendable income used to purchase books for children. Parents may utilize libraries and purchase used books to gain access to children's books. In addition, technological advances such as computer games and learning gadgets may compete with books or be used in place of books.

Independence and Dependence

Concentrating on my research questions, research question three asks, "Do children resolve to get themselves out of dangerous situation more often than children seek out an adult to assist them?" My findings suggest that main child characters do resolve to get themselves out of a dangerous situation more often than asking for adult assistance. It is important to note that

these numbers were small, making it difficult to suggest that this finding is representative of the population. Similarly, research question four asks, “Do adults intervene in ‘saving the day’ without children asking for adult assistance?” I found that adults do intervene in “saving the day” without children asking for adult assistance. But again, these numbers were small, making it difficult to generalize to the population or come up with a meaningful interpretation of the findings.

To measure independence or dependence of the main child character found in research question five, I asked the same two questions that involved danger found in research questions three and four as well as one additional question. In an attempt to measure independence or dependence of the main child, I found that the internal reliability of the three variables as an index resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha value of less than .70, the score for internal reliability of an acceptable value for indices. Therefore, I could not measure independence or dependence using this index.

Metamorphic Characters

One of the arguments about power disparities is that children characters metamorph to escape adult domination. Lassen-Seger (2006) found that images of a metamorphic child were fluid and not entirely caused by power differences. For research question seven, I asked if main child characters metamorphed into other beings as a result of adult domination. Though very few main child characters metamorphed in my sample, I found that they changed forms for other reasons than adult domination, such as to save people. In addition to metamorphic children, I looked at metamorphic adults. For research question six, I asked if adults metamorphed into other beings so that children could escape adult domination. Likewise, very few adults metamorphed in my sample, and those who did transformed into different beings for other

reasons than for the main child character to escape adult domination, such as a curse placed on them by another adult. Considering metamorphism rates were low, I cannot generalize to the population, but can support Lassen-Seger's (2006) findings that the contexts under which characters metamorph are fluid and not caused entirely by power differences.

In sum, female authors outnumbered male authors overall and throughout both time periods. This could be due to the "feminization of childhood." Male illustrators outnumbered company and female illustrators overall and throughout both time periods. However, company illustrators increased over time. This could be due to males attempting to maintain power and affiliation of publishing houses and movie studios. The number of pages and illustrations decreased over time, which could be due to a poor economy in the second time period and/or technological advances. The creation of an index to measure of independence and dependence failed to produce an acceptable score for internal reliability. Finally, metamorphism rates for main child characters and main adult characters were low and prevented any generalization to the population. However, the context under which metamorphism occurred is fluid and not entirely a result of escaping adult domination.

5 STORYBOOK CHARACTERS

In this chapter, I present findings on all the storybook characters found in my sample. The chapter is subsectioned into five parts. The first part provides descriptive statistics on the demographics of all characters depicted in books, such as gender and age. The second, third, and fourth subsections review the gender, race, and type of character forms for main characters, main child characters, and main adult characters. I then conclude the chapter with a discussion section presenting the major findings of the demographics of storybook characters.

5.1 DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALL CHARACTERS

In this section, I describe the number of characters, and the number of genders and ages of all characters in the sample. I divided these numbers by analyzing the appearances at two different units of analysis: the number of books and the number of snapshots in books. In my sample of 64 children's pictures books, there were 5,179 distinctive characters that appeared in books and snapshots. Separating these characters out by gender, I found that males appeared 2,396 times in books and snapshots, unidentified genders appeared 1,468 times, and females appeared 1,315 times in books and snapshots.

All Characters and Gender

Table 5.1 reports the number of gender appearances in snapshots overall and by time periods. I found that the mean for male appearances occurred most frequently overall and within the two time periods. In all snapshots, males appeared with a mean of 1.68 appearances per snapshot, followed by characters identified as an unknown gender with a mean of 1.03 appearances per snapshot, and female characters with a mean of 0.92 appearances per snapshot. In Time Period 1, male characters appeared most often with a mean of 1.79 appearances per snapshot, followed by characters identified as an unknown gender having a mean of 1.04

appearances per snapshot, and female characters with a mean of 0.79 appearances per snapshot. In Time Period 2, male characters appeared most often again with a mean of 1.54 appearances per snapshot, followed by female characters with a mean of 1.10 appearances per snapshot, and then characters with unknown gender having a mean of 1.01 appearances per snapshot. I found that across the two time periods that though males appeared most frequently, they decreased in number of appearances as did characters identified as an unknown gender, but female character appearances in snapshots increased slightly over time.

Table 5.1 Mean and Sum of Appearances from All Genders Depicted in Snapshots (by time period). N = Number of Snapshots.

	Overall 1993-2008 (N=1424)		Time Period I 1993-2000 (N=808)		Time Period II 2001-2008 (N=616)	
	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum
<u>Gender</u>						
Males	1.68	2396	1.79	1447	1.54	949
Females	0.92	1315	0.79	635	1.10	680
Unknown Gender	1.03	1468	1.04	843	1.01	625
<u>Difference in Means</u>						
Males vs. Females	0.76		1.00		0.44	
Females vs. Unknown	-0.11		-0.25		0.09	
Unknown vs. Males	-0.65		-0.75		-0.53	

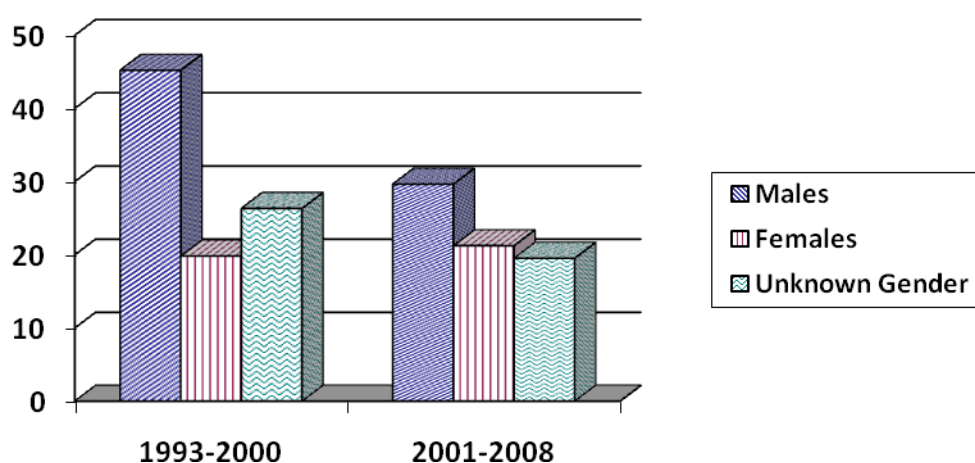
Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1 report the number of gender appearances in number of books overall and by time periods. I found that male appearances in books occurred most frequently with a mean of 37.44 appearances per book, followed by characters with unknown gender with a mean of 22.93 appearances per book, and female characters with a mean of 20.55 appearances per book. In Time Period 1, male characters appeared most often with a mean of 45.22 appearances per book, followed by characters with unknown gender having a mean of 26.34 appearances per book, and female characters with a mean of 19.84 appearances per book. In Time Period 2, male characters appeared most often again with a mean of 29.66 appearances per

book, followed by female characters with a mean of 21.25 appearances per book, and then characters with unknown gender having a mean of 19.53 appearances per book. I found that across the two time periods though males appeared most frequently, they decreased in number of appearances as did characters identified as an unknown gender, but female character appearances in snapshots increased slightly over time.

Table 5.2 Mean and Sum of Appearances from All Genders Depicted in Books (by time period).
N = Number of Books.

	Overall 1993-2008 (N=64)		Time Period I 1993-2000 (N=32)		Time Period II 2001-2008 (N=32)	
	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum
<u>Gender</u>						
Males	37.44	2396	45.22	1447	29.66	949
Females	20.55	1315	19.84	635	21.25	680
Unknown Gender	22.93	1468	26.34	843	19.53	625
<u>Difference in Means</u>						
Males vs. Females	16.89		25.38		8.41	
Females vs. Unknown	-2.38		-6.50		1.72	
Unknown vs. Males	-14.51		-18.88		-10.13	

Figure 5.1 Mean Number of Appearance by Male, Female, and Unknown Gender Characters in Books, 1993 to 2008.



All Characters and Age

Next, I considered the ages of all characters. As previously stated, I divided these numbers by analyzing the appearances at two different units of analysis: the number of books and the number of snapshots in books. In my sample of 64 children's picture books, there were 5,179 distinctive characters that appeared in books and snapshots. Separating these characters out by age, I found that adults appeared 2,193 times in books and snapshots, followed by children who appeared 1,741 times, and those identified as an unknown age appeared 1,245 times in books and snapshots.

Table 5.3 reports the number of gender appearances in snapshots overall and by time periods. I found that the mean for adult appearances occurred most frequently with a mean of 1.54 appearances per snapshot, followed by child characters with a mean of 1.22 appearances per snapshot, and those characters identified as an unknown age with a mean of 0.87 appearances per snapshot. In Time Period 1, adult characters appeared most often with a mean of 1.55 appearances per snapshot, followed by child characters with a mean of 1.29 appearances per snapshot, and characters identified as an unknown gender having a mean of 0.79 appearances per snapshot. In Time Period 2, adult characters appeared most often again with a mean of 1.53 appearances per snapshot, followed by child characters with a mean of 1.13 appearances per snapshot, and then characters identified as an unknown age having a mean of 0.98 appearances per snapshot. I found that across the two time periods adults appeared more frequently than children and characters with an unknown age. However over time, all three categories decreased in number of appearances in snapshots.

Table 5.3 Mean and Sum of Appearances from All Ages Depicted in Snapshots (by time period).
N = Number of Snapshots.

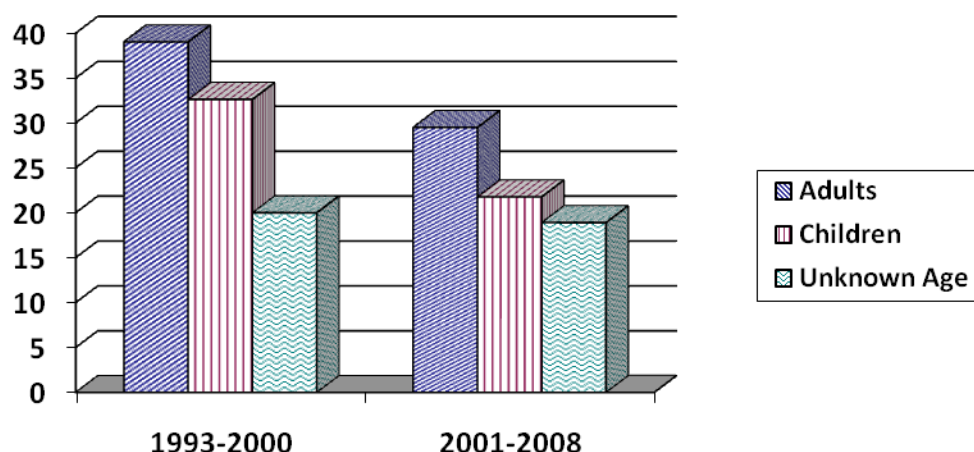
	Overall 1993-2008 (N=1424)		Time Period 1 1993-2000 (N=808)		Time Period II 2001-2008 (N=616)	
	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum
<u>Age</u>						
Adults	1.54	2193	1.55	1249	1.53	944
Children	1.22	1741	1.29	1044	1.13	697
Unknown Age	0.87	1245	0.79	640	0.98	605
<u>Differences in Means</u>						
Adults vs. Children	0.32		0.26		0.40	
Children vs. Unknown	0.35		0.50		0.15	
Unknown vs. Adults	-0.67		-0.76		-0.55	

Table 5.4 and Figure 5.2 report the appearance of age in number of books overall and by time periods. I found that adult characters appeared in books most frequently with a mean of 37.27 appearances per book, followed by child characters with a mean of 27.20 appearances per book, and characters identified as an unknown age with a mean of 19.45 appearances per book. In Time Period 1, adult characters appeared most often with a mean of 39.03 appearances per book, followed by child characters with a mean of 32.63 appearances per book, and characters identified as an unknown age having a mean of 20.00 appearances per book. In Time Period 2, adult characters appeared most often again with a mean of 29.50 appearances per book, followed by child characters with a mean of 21.78 appearances per book, and then characters identified as an unknown age had a mean of 18.91 appearances per book. I found that across the two time periods that adult characters appeared more frequently in books than children and characters with an unknown age. However over time, all three categories decreased in number of appearances in books.

Table 5.4 Mean and Sum of Appearances from All Ages in Books (by time period).
N = Number of Books

	Overall 1993-2008 (N=64)		Time Period I 1993-2000 (N=32)		Time Period II 2001-2008 (N=32)	
	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum
<u>Age</u>						
Adults	34.27	2193	39.03	1249	29.50	944
Children	27.20	1741	32.63	1044	21.78	697
Unknown Age	19.45	1245	20.00	640	18.91	605
<u>Differences in Means</u>						
Adults vs. Children	7.07		6.40		7.72	
Children vs. Unknown	7.75		12.63		2.87	
Unknown vs. Adults	-14.82		-19.03		-10.59	

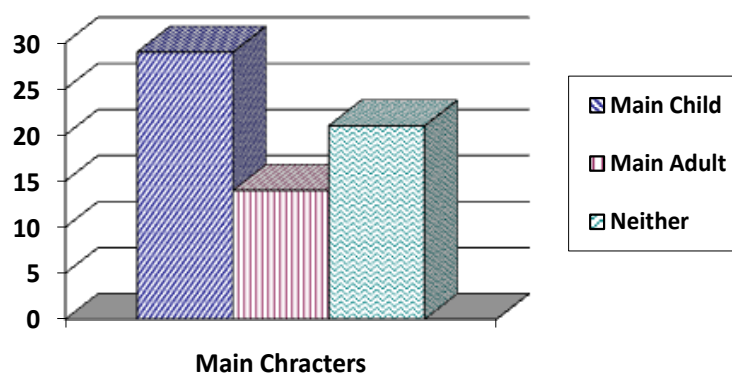
Figure 5.2 Mean Number of Appearance by Adults, Children, and Unknown Age Characters in Books, 1993 to 2008.



5.2 MAIN CHARACTERS

In this section, I consider the gender, race, and type of character forms found within main characters. Each of the 64 books in the sample contained a main character. Of the 64 main characters, I found that 29 main characters (or 45.3 percent) were also the main child characters, 14 main characters (or 21.9 percent) were the main adult characters, and 21 main characters (or 32.8 percent) were neither the main child characters nor main adult characters. Figure 5.3 breaks down the identity of the main characters in my sample.

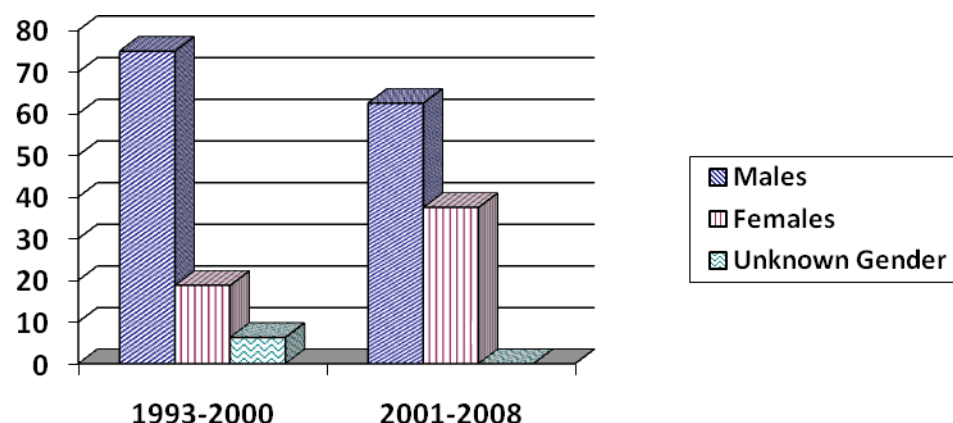
Figure 5.3 Number of Main Characters that were Identified as Main Adult, Main Child, or Neither Main Adult nor Main Child in the Sample of 64 Books



Gender

Depictions in gender of the main characters within the 64 books showed that 68.8 percent of main characters were male, 28.1 percent were female main characters, and 3.1 percent of the main characters were categorized as unidentifiable genders within books. Figure 5.4 reports the appearance of gender in number of books by time periods. In Time Period 1, I found that males represented 75 percent of main characters in books, females represented 18.8 percent, and 6.3 percent of main characters in books could not be identified as male or female genders. In Time Period 2, I found that males represented 62.5 percent of main characters in books, females represented 37.5 percent, and 0 percent of main characters in books could not be identified as male or female genders. Though there was a decrease over time, main characters were more likely to be male than female or an unidentifiable gender in both time periods. However, main characters depicted as female increased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2.

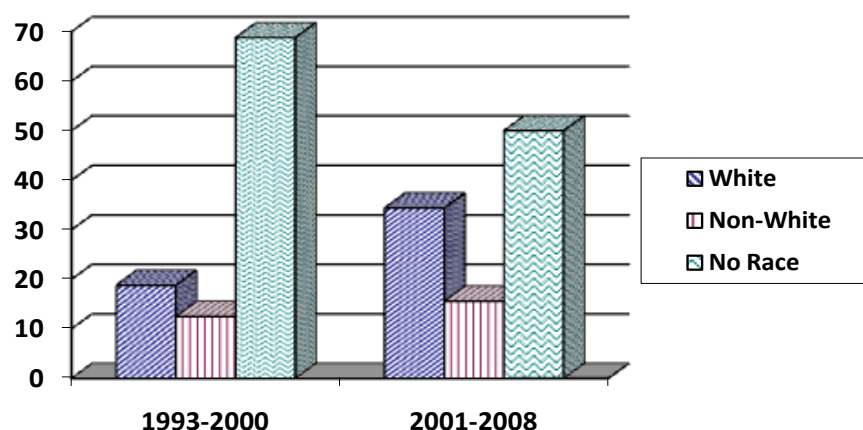
Figure 5.4 Percentage of Main Characters by Male, Female, and Unknown Gender Characters in Books, 1993 to 2008.



Race

Next, I considered the representations of race of the main characters within the sample. For race, very few main characters were non-white. Therefore categories were collapsed into more meaningful categories: white, non-white, and no race. Of the 64 main characters, 59.4 percent were identified as not representing any race (they were a machine or an animal), 26.6 percent were identified as white, and 14.1 percent of main characters were identified as non-white. In Time Period 1, 68.8 percent of main characters were identified as not representing any race, followed by 18.8 percent representing the white race, and 12.5 percent of main characters were identified as non-white. In Time Period 2, 50 percent of main characters were identified as not representing any race, 34.4 percent were identified as white, and 15.6 percent were identified as non-white. Overall, main characters were identified as not representing any race more often than white and non-white. Between time periods, non-white and white increased in representations of race in main characters while main characters identified as not representing any race decreased in their depictions (though still this category occurred more than non-white and white races). Figure 5.5 demonstrates the depiction of race among main characters between 1993 and 2008.

Figure 5.5 Percentage of Main Characters by White, Non-white, and No Race in Books, 1993 to 2008.

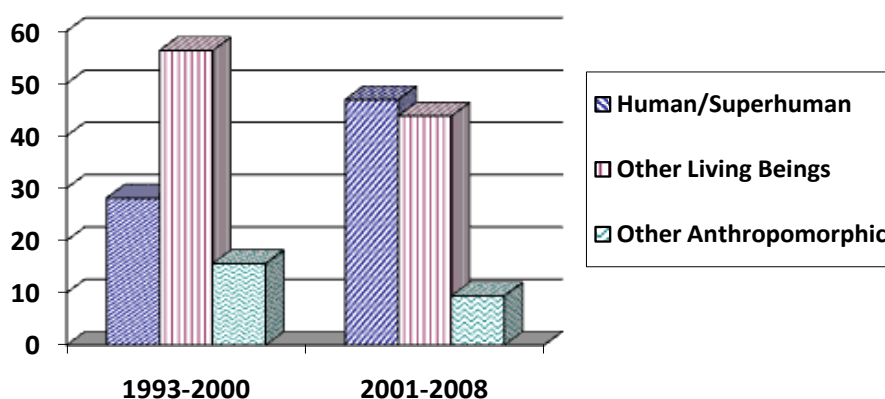


Type of Character Forms

For the types of character forms that represented characters in the story, the types were divided into three meaningful categories: Human/Superhuman, Other Living Beings (e.g., insects and monsters), and Other Anthropomorphic (e.g., teacups and cars). Of the type of character forms for the 64 main characters, 50 percent of main characters were portrayed as other living beings, while 37.5 percent were depicted as human or superhuman, and 12.5 percent of main characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic characters. Figure 5.6 demonstrates the depiction of character forms among main characters between 1993 and 2008. In Time Period 1, of the 32 main characters 56.3 percent were portrayed as other living beings, while 28.1 percent were depicted as human or superhuman, and 15.6 percent of main characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic characters. In Time Period 2, of the 32 main characters 46.9 percent were portrayed as human or superhuman, while 43.8 percent were depicted as other living beings, and 9.4 percent of main characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic. Overall, other living beings were portrayed as main characters more often than human or superhuman, and other anthropomorphic type of characters. Across time, I found that main characters

increase more in their depiction as human or superhuman from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 whereas main characters depicted as other living beings or other anthropomorphic decreased in their representations.

Figure 5.6 Percentage of Main Characters by Character Forms in Books, 1993 to 2008.



5.3 MAIN CHILD CHARACTERS

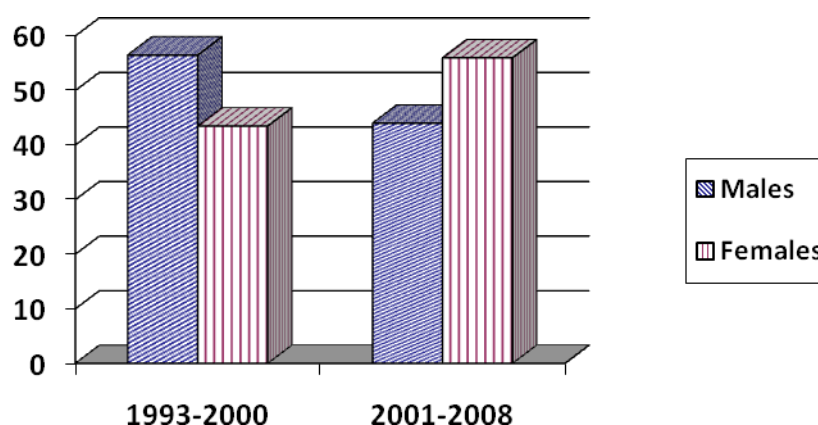
In this section, I consider appearance, gender, race, and type of character forms found within main child characters regardless of main character status. In the sample of 64 children's books, the main child characters were depicted in 48 books (or 75 percent of sample). Of these 48 books, main child characters were found in 749 snapshots (422 snapshots in Time Period 1 and 327 snapshots in Time Period 2). In 42 of these books (or 65.6 percent of sample), a main adult character and main child character appeared together in the story. There were a total of 998 snapshots in these 42 books. Of these snapshots, the main child character appeared in 675 snapshots (or 67.64 percent). There were 383 snapshots that portrayed main child characters in Time Period 1 and 292 snapshots in Time Period 2.

Gender

Focusing on the gender of the main child characters regardless of main character status, of the 48 books that depicted a main child character, male and female main child characters were

equally represented (50 percent each). Figure 5.7 reports the appearance of gender of the main child character in the number of books from each time period. Of the 23 books in Time Period 1, males were depicted as the main child characters more often (56.5 percent) than female main child characters (43.5 percent). Of the 25 books in Time Period 2, females were depicted as the main child character more often (56 percent) than male main characters (44 percent). Overall, male and female main child characters were equally represented. Over time, female main child characters increased in their depiction while males as main child character decreased.

Figure 5.7 Percentage of Appearance of Main Child Characters by Male and Female Characters in Books, 1993 to 2008.

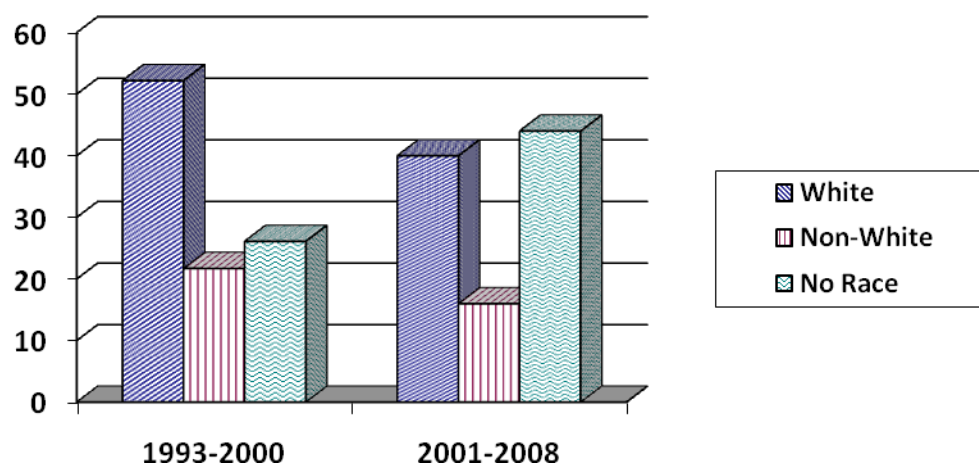


Race

Next, I considered the representations of race of the main child characters within the sample. Overall, of the 48 main child characters 45.8 percent were identified as white, 35.4 percent were identified as having no race, and 18.8 percent of main child characters were identified as non-white in the books with a main child character. Figure 5.8 reports the percentage of the main child character by race. In Time Period 1, of the 23 main child characters 52.2 percent were identified as white, 26.1 percent were identified as having no race, and 21.7 percent of main child characters were identified as non-white in books with a main child character. In Time Period 2, of the 25 main child characters 44.0 percent were identified as

having no race, 40 percent were identified as white, and 16 percent of main child characters were identified as non-white. Overall, white main child characters were represented in books containing a main child character more often than non-white characters and characters having no race. However from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2, white main child characters decreased as did main child characters identified as non-white, while main child characters that were identified as having no race increased.

Figure 5.8 Percentage of Main Child Characters by White, Non-white, and No Race in Books, 1993 to 2008.

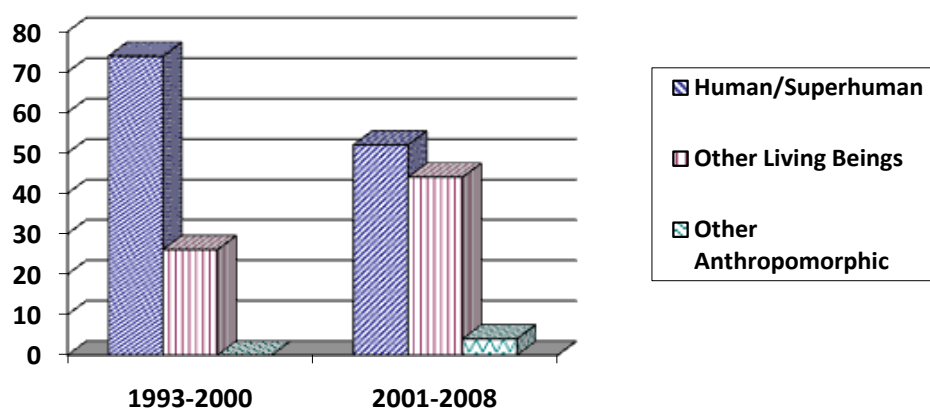


Type of Characters Forms

For the types of character forms that represented characters in the story, the types were divided into three meaningful categories: Human/Superhuman, Other Living Beings (e.g., insects and monsters), and Other Anthropomorphic (e.g., teacups and cars). For the type of character form of the 48 main child characters, 62.5 percent of main child characters were portrayed as human or superhuman, while 35.4 percent were depicted as other living beings, and 2.1 percent of main child characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic characters. Figure 5.9 demonstrates the depiction of character forms among main child characters between 1993 and 2008. In Time Period 1, of the 23 main child characters 73.9 percent were portrayed as human

or superhuman, while 26.1 percent were depicted as other living beings and 0 percent of main child characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic characters. In Time Period 2, of the 25 main child characters 52 percent were portrayed as human or superhuman, while 44 percent were depicted as other living beings and 4 percent of main child characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic. Overall, main child characters were depicted as human or superhuman characters more often than other living beings and other anthropomorphic type of characters. However, I found that main child characters portrayed as human/superhuman, or other anthropomorphic decreased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 whereas main child characters depicted as other living beings increased in their representations.

Figure 5.9 Percentage of Main Child Characters by Character Form in Books, 1993 to 2008.



5.4 MAIN ADULT CHARACTERS

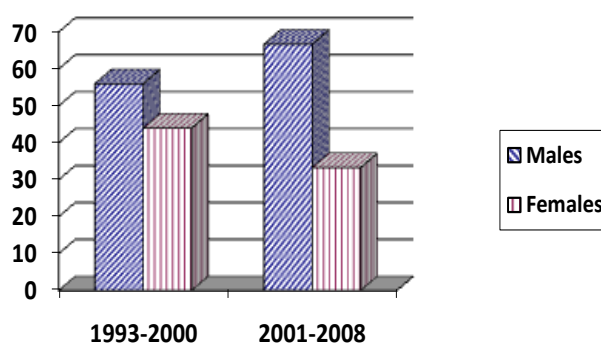
In this section, I consider appearance, gender, race, and type of character forms found within main adult characters regardless of main character status. In the sample of 64 children's books, main adult characters were depicted in 52 books (or 81.3 percent of sample). Of these 52 books, main adult characters were found in 435 snapshots (212 snapshots in Time Period 1 and 223 snapshots in Time Period 2). In 42 of these books (or 65.6 percent of sample), a main adult

character and main child character appeared together in the story. There were a total of 998 snapshots in these 42 books. Of these snapshots, the main adult character appeared in 297 snapshots (or 29.8 percent). There were 165 snapshots that portrayed main adult characters in Time Period 1 and 132 snapshots in Time Period 2.

Gender

Focusing on the gender of the main adult characters regardless of main character status, of the 52 books that depicted a main adult character, male main adult characters appeared more frequently (61.5 percent) than female main adult characters (38.5 percent). Figure 5.10 reports the appearance of gender of the main adult character in the number of books from each time period. Of the 25 books in Time Period 1, males were depicted as the main adult character more frequently (56 percent) than female main adult characters (44 percent). Of the 27 books in Time Period 2, males again were depicted as the main adult characters more frequently (66.7 percent) than female main adult characters (33.3). Overall, males as main adult characters are depicted more frequently than females and increase in their depictions over time while female main adult characters decrease from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2.

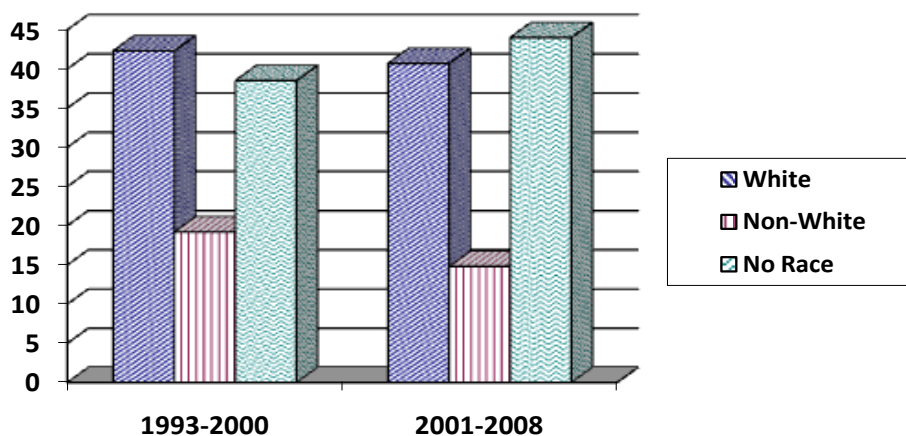
Figure 5.10 Percentage of Main Adult Characters by Male and Female Characters in Books, 1993 to 2008.



Race

Next, I considered the representations of race of the main adult characters within the sample. Overall, the main adult character was identified equally as white and having no race in 41.5 percent of the 53 characters, 17 percent were identified as non-white in the books with a main adult character. Figure 5.11 reports the race of main adult characters by percent. In Time Period 1, of the 26 main adult characters 42.3 percent were identified as white, 38.5 percent were identified as having no race, and 19.2 percent of main adult characters were identified as non-white in books with a main adult character. In Time Period 2, of the 27 main adult characters 44.0 percent were identified as having no race, 40.7 percent were identified as white, and 14.8 percent were identified as non-white. Overall, white main adult characters and those identified as having no race were represented equally in books, but more often than non-white characters. However from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2, white main adult characters decreased as did main adult characters identified as non-white, while main adult character that were identified as having no race increased from one time period to the next.

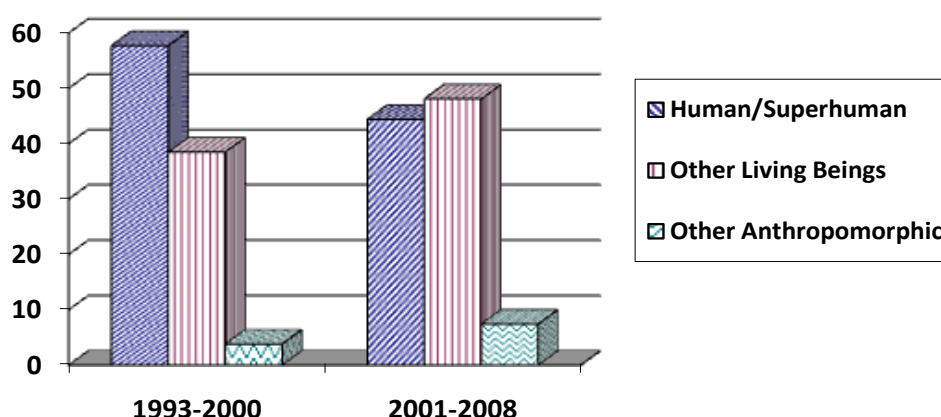
Figure 5.11 Percentage of Main Adult Characters by White, Non-white, and No Race in Books, 1993 to 2008.



Type of Characters Forms

For the types of character forms that represented characters in the story, the types were divided into three meaningful categories: Human/Superhuman, Other Living Beings (e.g., insects and monsters), and Other Anthropomorphic (e.g., teacups and cars). The type of character form of the 53 main adult characters, 50.9 percent were portrayed as human or superhuman, while 43.3 percent were depicted as other living beings, and 5.7 percent of main adult characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic characters. Figure 5.12 demonstrates the depiction of character forms among main adult characters between 1993 and 2008. In Time Period 1, of the 26 main adult characters 57.7 percent were portrayed as human or superhuman, while 38.5 percent were depicted as other living beings, and 3.8 percent of main adult characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic characters. In Time Period 2, of the 27 main adult characters, 48.1 percent were portrayed as other living beings, while 44.4 percent were depicted as human or superhuman and 7.4 percent of main adult characters were portrayed as other anthropomorphic. Overall, main adult characters were depicted as human or superhuman characters more often than other living beings and other anthropomorphic type of characters. However, I found that main adult characters portrayed as human or superhuman decreased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 whereas main child characters depicted as other living beings or other anthropomorphic decreased in their representations.

Figure 5.12 Percentage of Main Adult Characters by Character Form in Books, 1993 to 2008.



5.5 DISCUSSION

In this section I discuss major findings of the chapter focusing mainly on gender and age of all characters, main characters, main child characters and main adult characters. I must first address race. Though I did not include this topic as one of my research questions, it may be beneficial to include the finding for future research. Overall, authors and illustrators choose to depict main characters as having no race. Across time, main characters depicted as having no race decreased, while white main characters have increased more than non-white main characters. Past research indicated that there was a leveling off of depictions of non-white characters after 1975 (see Pescosolido, Grauerholz, and Milkie 1997). It is difficult in my sample to determine whether rates for non-white main characters are increasing or fluctuating. Conflict theory would suggest that the increase in white main characters is a reflection of power. If main characters are overwhelmingly represented as white or no race, then one can conclude that they are more powerful than non-white main characters. Perhaps depicting main characters as having no race is one way authors and illustrators can avoid the conversation of race in their books. Non-whites that did appear were depicted outside the United States. Creating books that

do not portray non-white characters for whatever reason dismisses the diversity of the United States and the reality of our world. We neglect a large segment of our population and continue to perpetuate stereotypes and virtually disenfranchise non-white groups.

Appearance of Gender

Past literature focusing on gender in children's books stated that characters represented most often are considered more important in a society. In U.S. society, males are valued more and are therefore portrayed more often than females in storybook pictures. However when compared against time, these researchers found that the number of males decreased across time while the number of females increased slightly. Based on their results, I questioned if I would find a similar pattern among my sample.

To answer the first research question about which genders were portrayed more often in children's books, my data indicated that of all characters, male characters were depicted more often in snapshots than the female characters were depicted. However, across time the appearances of female characters increased while the appearances of male characters decreased. These two findings are similar to other gender studies (see Grauerholz and Pescosolidao 1989; Gooden and Gooden 2001).

Though I did not specifically ask about the number of gender appearances of main characters, main adult characters, or main child characters in my research questions, I think it is important to discuss the genders of each. Overall and across time, males as the main characters were depicted more often than females as main characters. Looking more specifically at each time period, I found that the rates of depictions of gender also followed the trends in research. Males as main characters decreased in their depictions, while females as main characters increased in their depictions. Main characters reflected literature findings: overall there were

more depictions of male main characters than female main characters, but depictions of female main characters increased over time, while males decreased over time.

An analysis of gender for main child characters was mixed compared to other studies. Males and females as main child characters were depicted equally overall, but females as main child characters increased in their depictions across time while males as main child characters decreased in their depictions across time. Interestingly, this increase in depictions of females as main child characters exceeded the number of depictions of males as main child characters. Though my findings demonstrated a similar increase of female main child characters compared to other studies, my findings reflected a different story overall with genders being equally represented and with females surpassing male main child characters in the number of depictions across time.

Findings for main adult characters demonstrated yet another story. Similar to the depictions in gender of all characters and the main characters, I found that overall and across time male main adult characters were depicted more often than female main adult characters. Unlike the findings for females in the all characters and main characters categories, the rates of depiction for females as main adult characters *decreased* across time. In Time Period 1, there was a 12 percent difference between males and females, compared to 33.4 percent difference between males and females in Time Period 2. Findings for main adult characters are similar to other studies overall, but vary from other studies across time.

The discrepancy between the gender trends of the main child characters and the main adult characters are compelling and propagated questions. There is a general concern that girls are not represented enough in picture books. However, does increasing the number of depictions of girls to exceed boys create anything other than inequality of representation? Liberal feminist

would say that children's books should represent boys and girls, men and women equally.

Another question generates around the significant disparity between the depictions of males and females as main adult characters. If the trend is that the depictions of female characters are increasing while male characters are decreasing, what would cause an increase in the depictions of males as main adult characters while there is a decrease in the depictions of females as main adult characters, and what story does this tell? Past research on fathers found that fathers are not depicted as often as mothers. The increase could be an attempt to boost the number of fathers in stories. From a liberal feminist perspective, these results tell a story that adult males are significantly more important than adult females. However, unless these findings are looked at from every point on the cultural diamond, we will not begin to truly understand why these discrepancies are present.

Similar to other gender studies of children's picture books, my research demonstrated that inequalities still exist between the depictions of male and female characters. Additionally, overall these discrepancies decreased over time; depictions of female characters increased while depictions of male characters decreased. However, this was not replicated when characters were analyzed by a narrower role. It is important to separate out roles of characters to receive a full story that is being told.

Appearance of Age

Taking the idea that higher rates of depictions equate to more importance in a society, one can transfer this viewpoint to age instead of gender; more specifically, adults and children. Based on past literature, I questioned who were represented more often, children or adults. To answer the second half of the first research question about which age of characters were portrayed more often, my data indicated that, in general and over time, adult characters appeared

more often than child characters. When roles of characters are broken down, do we see similar results?

Though I did not specifically ask about the age of main characters in my research questions, I think it is important to discuss. Main characters tended to be children. However, there were more main adult characters (52 books) than there were main child characters (48 books). Interestingly, main child characters were illustrated more often in their books than main adult characters were illustrated in theirs. Even in stories with both types of characters (42 books), the main child characters were illustrated more often than main adult characters. Therefore, to answer research question two (of the main child and main adult characters, who was portrayed more often in illustrations within the same book), I found that main child characters appeared more often than main adult characters.

My guiding theories – conflict, feminist, and cultural diamond – inform me that these discrepancies may occur for a couple of reasons. To begin, not only does it take two adults to produce one child but there are two adults to dominate over the child; therefore more adult appearances seem likely to occur. In addition, adults' need for sense of control over children would give another reason to have more adults. The more adults, the more children can be controlled. Second, taking the idea from liberal feminist theory that those who are more important in society will be depicted more in children's books, adults are considered more important than children (as shown by control of scarce resources), therefore more adult appearances and more adults as main characters seem likely to occur.

From the cultural diamond framework, one needs to consider why the illustrator selected the images that they created for the story. In this case, perhaps the illustrators (who are mostly males) depict pictures of what they typically see around them, which one could argue is mostly

adults or males; therefore more adult appearances (as well as males) seem likely to occur. Also, one needs to consider why the author selected the main characters they crafted for their stories. The authors tend to be adults and writing books from a familiar perspective seem likely. In addition, authors know that children need to identify with the main character in order to maintain interest. Making the main character a child would likely increase the chances of this occurring. Therefore, the higher depictions of main child characters seem appropriate. All of these perspectives may explain the conflicting findings of adult depictions and main child character depictions

6 PARENTAL BEHAVIOR

In this chapter, I present findings on parenting behavior of the 42 books containing both main adult characters and main child characters. I investigated parental behaviors that built off of a scheme used by LaRossa et al. (2000) and Coltrane and Allen (1994), and cross tabulated them with two time periods and then with gender. First, I analyzed Coltrane and Allen's (1994) parenting behaviors – or what LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, and Wynn (2000) called Parenting Behavior I – by time period. Then I analyzed LaRossa's et al. (2000) three additional parenting behaviors – or what I call Parenting Behavior II – by time, followed by a combination of Parenting Behavior I and II (defined as Parenting Behavior III) by time. Next, I analyzed Parenting Behavior I, II, and III by gender. The final section of this chapter discusses major findings of parenting behavior among time and gender.

It is important to note that my sample did not contain enough mothers and fathers to use as comparisons to LaRossa et al. (2000) or Cotrane and Allen's (1994) studies. Though LaRossa et al. (2000) and Coltrane and Allen (1994) addressed parental actions, I expanded “parent” to encompass any character (identified as the main adult character) possessing authority over the main child character. This allowed me to compare my findings to theirs.

6.1 PARENTING BEHAVIOR AND TIME

Table 6.1 presents findings of the percentages of main adult characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior I and types of behaviors displayed in each time period. Parenting Behavior I was comprised of 4 behaviors (variables): 1) main adult character serves infants/child(ren), 2) main adult character verbally expresses affection toward main child character, 3) main adult character comforts the main child character, and 4) the main adult character encourages the main child character. Overall, 38.1 percent of main adult characters engaged in “serves

infants/child(ren)” and “verbal affection” parenting behaviors equally, followed by 23.8 percent who engaged in “comforts” parenting behavior, and 16.7 percent of main adult characters engaged in “encourages” parenting behaviors. In Time Period 1, 45 percent of main adult characters engaged in “verbal affection” with main child characters, followed by 40 percent who engaged in “serves infants/child(ren)” in stories, then 25 percent of main adult characters who engaged in “comforts” parenting behavior. Finally, 10 percent of main adult characters engaged in “encourages” parenting behavior. In Time Period 2, 36.4 percent of main adult characters engaged in “serves infants/child(ren)” in stories, followed by 31.8 percent who engaged in “verbal affection” with main child characters. Finally, 22.7 percent of main adult characters engaged equally in “encourages” and “comforts” parenting behaviors. Though “serves infants/child(ren)” and “verbal affection” behaviors were more frequently engaged in than the other two, both declined from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 as did “comfort.” However, main adult characters engaged in “encourages” behavior increased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2.

The engagement in any one type of Parenting Behavior I was depicted in 66.7 percent of main adult characters. In Time Period 1, 65 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior I. In Time Period 2, 68.2 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior I. The demonstration of any one type of Parenting Behavior I by the main adult character increased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 by 3.2 percent.

Overall, main adult characters demonstrated 0 of the 4 parenting behaviors and 1 of the 4 parenting behaviors equally at 33.3 percent each. Nineteen percent of the main adult characters engaged in 2 of the 4 behaviors, followed by 11.9 percent who demonstrated 3 of the 4

behaviors, and 2.4 percent of main adult characters engaged in 4 of the 4 types of Parenting

Behavior I.

Table 6.1 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Engaged in Parenting Behavior I (by time period). N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall 1993-2008 N=42 Percentage	Time Period 1 1993-2000 N=20 Percentage	Time Period 2 2001-2008 N=22 Percentage
<u>Type of Parenting Behavior I</u>			
Serves Infants/Child(ren)	38.1 (n = 16)	40.0 (n = 8)	36.4 (n = 8)
Verbal Affection	38.1 (n = 16)	45.0 (n = 9)	31.8 (n = 7)
Encourages	16.7 (n = 7)	10.0 (n = 2)	22.7 (n = 5)
Comforts	23.8 (n = 10)	25.0 (n = 5)	22.7 (n = 5)
Parenting Behavior I Present	66.7 (n = 28)	65.0 (n = 13)	68.2 (n = 15)
<u>Parenting Behavior I Demonstrated</u>			
Demonstrated 0 of 4 Behaviors	33.3 (n = 14)	35.0 (n = 7)	31.8 (n = 7)
Demonstrated 1 of 4 Behaviors	33.3 (n = 14)	30.0 (n = 6)	36.4 (n = 8)
Demonstrated 2 of 4 Behaviors	19.0 (n = 8)	20.0 (n = 4)	18.2 (n = 4)
Demonstrated 3 of 4 Behaviors	11.9 (n = 5)	10.0 (n = 2)	13.6 (n = 3)
Demonstrated 4 of 4 Behaviors	2.4 (n = 1)	5.0 (n = 1)	0.0 (n = 0)
Total Percentage	100 (N = 42)	100 (N = 20)	100 (N = 22)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are the number of Main Adult Characters who engaged in or demonstrated Parenting Behavior I. “Parenting Behavior I Present” measure includes only one demonstration of any type of Parenting Behavior I in the entire book.

Second, I analyzed the three parenting behaviors that LaRossa et al.(2000) added to Coltrane and Allen’s (1994) four parenting behaviors across time periods. Though they called all seven behaviors Parenting Behavior II, I distinguish their three behaviors from Coltrane and Allen’s. Therefore, Parenting Behavior II was comprised of 3 behaviors (variables): 1) main adult character praises the main child character, 2) main adult character listens to the main child character, and 3) main adult character teaches the main child character.

Table 6.2 presents findings of the percentages of main adult characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior II and types displayed in each time period. Overall, in the 42 books that have both main adult and main child character, 33.3 percent of main adult characters engaged in

“listens” to main child characters parenting behavior, followed by 14.3 percent of main adult characters who engaged in “teaches” parenting behavior, and 11.9 percent of main adult characters who engaged in “praises” parenting behaviors. In Time Period 1, 35 percent of main adult characters engaged in “listens” to main child characters, followed by 15 percent of main adult characters who engaged in “teaches,” then 10 percent of main adult characters who engaged in “praises” parenting behavior. In Time Period 2, 31.8 percent of main adult characters engaged in “listens” to main child character, followed by 13.6 percent of main adult characters who engaged in “praises” and “teaches” parenting behaviors equally.

The engagement in any one type of Parenting Behavior II was depicted in 52.4 percent of main adult characters. In Time Period 1, 50 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior II. In Time Period 2, 54.2 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior II. The demonstration of any one type of Parenting Behavior II by the main adult character increased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 by 4.2 percent.

For demonstration of behaviors overall, 47.6 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 0 of the 3 parenting behaviors, followed by 45.2 percent of main adult characters who demonstrated 1 of 3 parenting behaviors, then 7.1 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 2 of 3 parenting behaviors, and no main adult characters engaged in all three types of Parenting Behavior II. In Time Period 1, 50 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 0 of the 3 parenting behaviors, followed by 40 percent who demonstrated 1 of 3 parenting behaviors, then 10 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 2 of the 3 parenting behaviors. In Time Period 2, 50 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 1 of 3 parenting behaviors

followed by 45.5 percent who demonstrated not parenting behaviors, then 4.5 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 2 of the 3 parenting behaviors.

Table 6.2 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Engaged in Parenting Behavior II (by time period). N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall 1993-2008 N=42 Percentage	Time Period 1 1993-2000 N=20 Percentage	Time Period 2 2001-2008 N=22 Percentage
<u>Type of Parenting Behavior II</u>			
Praises	11.9 (n = 5)	10.0 (n = 2)	13.6 (n = 3)
Listens	33.3 (n = 14)	35.0 (n = 7)	31.8 (n = 7)
Teaches	14.3 (n = 6)	15.0 (n = 3)	13.6 (n = 3)
Parenting Behavior II Present	52.4 (n = 22)	50.0 (n = 10)	54.5 (n = 12)
<u>Parenting Behavior II Demonstrated</u>			
Demonstrated 0 of 3 Behaviors	47.6 (n = 20)	50.0 (n = 10)	45.5 (n = 10)
Demonstrated 1 of 3 Behaviors	45.2 (n = 19)	40.0 (n = 8)	50.0 (n = 11)
Demonstrated 2 of 3 Behaviors	7.1 (n = 3)	10.0 (n = 2)	4.5 (n = 1)
Total Percentage	100 (N = 42)	100 (N = 20)	100 (N = 22)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are the number of Main Adult Characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior II. “Parenting Behavior II Present” measure includes only one demonstration of any type of Parenting Behavior II in the entire book.

Lastly, I analyzed all seven parenting behaviors from Coltrane and Allen’s (1994) and LaRossa’s et al. (2000) studies and time periods. I called the inclusion of all seven behaviors Parenting Behavior III. Table 6.3 presents all books that depicted main adult and main child characters; 81.0 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior III. In Time Period 1, 80 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior III. In Time Period 2, 81.8 percent of main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior III. Overall, 38.1 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 1 of the 7 parenting behaviors, 19 percent demonstrated no behaviors, 16.7 percent demonstrated 3 of 7 parenting behaviors, while 11.9 percent demonstrated 2 of 7 behaviors. Even fewer characters engaged in more than four of the behaviors, as represented by 9.5 percent that demonstrated 4 of

7 parenting behaviors, 2.4 percent demonstrated 5 and 6 of the 7 parenting behaviors equally, and no main adult characters demonstrated all seven behaviors. In Time Period 1, 35 percent of main adult characters demonstrated at least 1 of the 7 parenting behaviors, 20 percent demonstrated no behaviors, while 15 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 2 and 3 of the 7 behaviors equally. Even fewer characters engaged in more than three of the behaviors, as represented by 10 percent that demonstrated 4 of the 7 behaviors, 5 percent demonstrated 6, and none demonstrated all of the 7 parenting behaviors. In Time Period 2, 40.9 percent of main adult characters demonstrated at least 1 of the 7 parenting behaviors, 18.2 percent demonstrated no parenting behaviors and 3 of the 7 behaviors equally, while 9.1 percent of main adult characters demonstrated 2 and 4 of the 7 behaviors equally. Even fewer characters engaged in more than four of the behaviors, as represented by 4.5 percent that demonstrated 5 of the 7 behaviors, and no main adult characters demonstrated 6 or all of the 7 parenting behaviors.

Table 6.3 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Engaged in Parenting Behavior III (by time period). N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall 1993-2008 (N=42) Percentage	Time Period 1 1993-2000 (N=20) Percentage	Time Period 2 2001-2008 (N=22) Percentage
Parenting Behavior III Present	81.0 (n = 34)	80.0 (n = 16)	81.8 (n = 18)
<u>Parenting Behavior III Demonstrated</u>			
Demonstrated 0 of 7 Behaviors	19.0 (n = 8)	20.0 (n = 4)	18.2 (n = 4)
Demonstrated 1 of 7 Behaviors	38.1 (n = 16)	35.0 (n = 7)	40.9 (n = 9)
Demonstrated 2 of 7 Behaviors	11.9 (n = 5)	15.0 (n = 3)	9.1 (n = 2)
Demonstrated 3 of 7 Behaviors	16.7 (n = 7)	15.0 (n = 3)	18.2 (n = 4)
Demonstrated 4 of 7 Behaviors	9.5 (n = 4)	10.0 (n = 2)	9.1 (n = 2)
Demonstrated 5 of 7 Behaviors	2.4 (n = 1)	0.0 (n = 0)	4.5 (n = 1)
Demonstrated 6 of 7 Behaviors	2.4 (n = 1)	5.0 (n = 1)	0.0 (n = 0)
Total Percentage	100 (N = 42)	100 (N = 20)	100 (N = 22)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are the number of Main Adult Characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior III. “Parenting Behavior III Present” measure includes only one demonstration of any type of Parenting Behavior III (a composite measure of Parenting Behavior I and II) in the entire book.

6.2 PARENTING BEHAVIOR AND GENDER

An additional cross tabulation was added to compare Parenting Behaviors I, II, and III and gender. I already presented the overall findings of main adult characters that engaged in each of the parenting behaviors. Though the overall percentages are included in tables for gender, I will not discuss these findings in the paragraphs below.

First, Table 6.4 presents percentages of main adult characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior I and types of behaviors displayed for each gender. For male main adult characters, 44 percent engaged in “verbal affection” with main child characters, followed by 24 percent who engaged in “serves infants/child(ren)” in stories, then 20 percent engaged in “encourages” parenting behavior, and 16 percent of male main adult character engaged in “comforts” parenting behavior. For female main adult characters, 58.8 percent engaged in “serves infants/child(ren)” in stories, followed by 35.3 percent who engaged in “comforts” parenting behavior, then 29.4 percent who engaged in “verbal affection” parenting behavior, and 11.8 percent of female main adult characters engaged in “encourages” the main child character parenting behavior. Within all books that depicted main adult and main child characters, 64 percent of male main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior I, and 70.6 percent of female main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior I.

Of the main adult characters, 36 percent of male main characters demonstrated 0 of the 4 parenting behaviors, 32 percent demonstrated 1 of the 4 behaviors, 24 percent demonstrated 2 of the 4 behaviors, 8 percent demonstrated 3 of the 4 behaviors, and 0 percent of the male main characters demonstrated all 4 parenting behaviors. Of the female main adult characters, 35.3 percent demonstrated 1 of the 4 parenting behaviors, 29.4 demonstrated 0 of the 4 behaviors,

17.6 percent demonstrated 3 of the 4 behaviors, and 5.9 percent of female main adult characters demonstrated all of the 4 parenting behaviors.

Table 6.4 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Engaged in Parenting Behavior I (by gender).
N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall (N=42) Percentage	Male (N=25) Percentage	Female (N=17) Percentage
<u>Type of Parenting Behavior I</u>			
Serves Infants/Child(ren)	38.1 (n = 16)	24.0 (n = 6)	58.8 (n = 10)
Verbal Affection	38.1 (n = 16)	44.0 (n = 11)	29.4 (n = 5)
Encourages	16.7 (n = 7)	20.0 (n = 5)	11.8 (n = 2)
Comforts	23.8 (n = 10)	16.0 (n = 4)	35.3 (n = 6)
Parenting Behavior I Present	66.7 (n = 28)	64.0 (n = 16)	70.6 (n = 12)
<u>Parenting Behavior I Demonstrated</u>			
Demonstrated 0 of 4 Behaviors	33.3 (n = 14)	36.0 (n = 9)	29.4 (n = 5)
Demonstrated 1 of 4 Behaviors	33.3 (n = 14)	32.0 (n = 8)	35.3 (n = 6)
Demonstrated 2 of 4 Behaviors	19.0 (n = 8)	24.0 (n = 6)	11.8 (n = 2)
Demonstrated 3 of 4 Behaviors	11.9 (n = 5)	8.0 (n = 2)	17.6 (n = 3)
Demonstrated 4 of 4 Behaviors	2.4 (n = 1)	0.0 (n = 0)	5.9 (n = 1)
Total Percentage	100 (N = 42)	100 (N = 25)	100 (N = 17)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are the number of Main Adult Characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior I. “Parenting Behavior I Present” measure includes only one demonstration of any type of Parenting Behavior I in the entire book.

Second, Table 6.5 presents percentages of main adult characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior II and types of behaviors displayed for each gender. For male main adult characters, 32 percent engaged in “listening” to the main child character parenting behavior, followed by 20 percent who engaged in “praises” parenting behavior, and 12 percent of male main adult characters engaged in “teaches” parenting behavior. For female main adult characters, 35.3 percent engaged in “listening” to the main child character parenting behavior, followed by 17.6 percent who engaged in “teach” parenting behavior, and 0 percent of female main adult characters engaged in “praises” the main child character parenting behavior. Within all books that depicted main adult and main child characters, 56 percent of male main adult

characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior II, and 47.1 percent of female main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior I.

Of the male main adult characters, 48 percent of male main characters demonstrated 1 of the 3 parenting behaviors, 44 percent demonstrated 0 of the 3 behaviors, 8 percent demonstrated 2 of the 3 behaviors, and 0 percent of the male main characters demonstrated all 3 parenting behaviors. Of the female main adult characters, 52.9 percent demonstrated 0 of the 3 parenting behaviors, 41.2 demonstrated 1 of the 3 behaviors, 5.9 percent demonstrated 2 of the 3 parenting behaviors, and 0 percent of the female main characters demonstrated all 3 parenting behaviors.

Table 6.5 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Engaged in Parenting Behavior II (by gender).
N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall (N=42) Percentage	Male (N=25) Percentage	Female (N=17) Percentage
<u>Type of Parenting Behavior II</u>			
Praises	11.9 (n = 5)	20.0 (n = 5)	0.0 (n = 0)
Listens	33.3 (n = 14)	32.0 (n = 8)	35.3 (n = 6)
Teaches	14.3 (n = 6)	12.0 (n = 3)	17.6 (n = 3)
Parenting Behavior II Present	52.4 (n = 22)	56.0 (n = 14)	47.1 (n = 8)
<u>Parenting Behavior II Demonstrated</u>			
Demonstrated 0 of 3 Behaviors	47.6 (n = 20)	44.0 (n = 11)	52.9 (n = 9)
Demonstrated 1 of 3 Behaviors	45.2 (n = 19)	48.0 (n = 12)	41.2 (n = 7)
Demonstrated 2 of 3 Behaviors	7.1 (n = 3)	8.0 (n = 2)	5.9 (n = 1)
Total Percentage	100 (N = 42)	100 (N = 25)	100 (N = 17)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are the number of Main Adult Characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior II. “Parenting Behavior II Present” measure includes only one demonstration of any type of Parenting Behavior II in the entire book.

Lastly, I analyzed all seven parenting behaviors (Parenting Behavior III) and gender. In Table 6.6 which represents all books that depicted main adult and main child characters, 84 percent of male main adult characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior III. Of female main adult characters, 76.5 percent of these characters engaged in any one type of Parenting Behavior III. For demonstration of Parenting Behavior II, 44 percent of male main

adult characters demonstrated at least 1 of the 7 parenting behaviors, while 16 percent of male main adult characters demonstrated 0 and 3 of the 7 behaviors equally, 12 percent demonstrated 2 of the 7 parenting behaviors, 8 percent demonstrated 4 of the 7 behaviors, then 4 percent demonstrated 5 of the 7 parenting behaviors, and no male main adult characters demonstrated 6 or more of the 7 parenting behaviors. For females, 29.4 percent of female main adult characters demonstrated at least 1 of the 7 parenting behaviors, 23.5 percent demonstrated none of the 7 parenting behaviors, while 17.6 percent of female main adult characters demonstrated 3 of the 7 behaviors, followed by 11.8 percent who equally demonstrated 2 and 4 of the 7 behaviors, 5.9 percent demonstrated 6 of the 7 behaviors, and no female main adult characters demonstrated 5 or all of the 7 parenting behaviors.

Table 6.6 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Engaged in Parenting Behavior III (by gender).
N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall (N=42) Percentage	Male (N=25) Percentage	Female (N=17) Percentage
Parenting Behavior. III Present	81.0 (n = 34)	84.0 (n = 21)	76.5 (n = 13)
<u>Parenting Behavior III Demonstrated</u>			
Demonstrated 0 of 7 Behaviors	19.0 (n = 8)	16.0 (n = 4)	23.5 (n = 4)
Demonstrated 1 of 7 Behaviors	38.1 (n = 16)	44.0 (n = 11)	29.4 (n = 5)
Demonstrated 2 of 7 Behaviors	11.9 (n = 5)	12.0 (n = 3)	11.8 (n = 2)
Demonstrated 3 of 7 Behaviors	16.7 (n = 7)	16.0 (n = 4)	17.6 (n = 3)
Demonstrated 4 of 7 Behaviors	9.5 (n = 4)	8.0 (n = 2)	11.8 (n = 2)
Demonstrated 5 of 7 Behaviors	2.4 (n = 1)	4.0 (n = 1)	0.0 (n = 0)
Demonstrated 6 of 7 Behaviors	2.4 (n = 1)	0.0 (n = 0)	5.9 (n = 1)
Total Percentage	100 (N = 42)	100 (N = 25)	100 (N = 17)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are the number of Main Adult Characters who engaged in Parenting Behavior III. “Parenting Behavior III Present” measure includes only one demonstration of any type of Parenting Behavior III (a composite measure of Parenting Behavior I and II) in the entire book.

6.3 DISCUSSION

In LaRossa et al. (2000) study, they first looked at Coltrane and Allen's (1994) parenting behaviors (Parenting Behavior I) and then added three more behaviors to those already in Parenting Behavior I. However, they did not measure the three separately from Parenting Behavior I. I took their research a step further by separately measuring behaviors and the number of behaviors demonstrated. This allowed me to analyze any differences between Coltrane and Allen's (1994) parenting behaviors and the three parenting behaviors from LaRossa et al. (2000), as well as how many behaviors were demonstrated by main adult characters.

Furthermore, it is important to note again that my sample size was comprised of few main adult characters that were fathers or mothers and limited my ability to make any significant contribution when comparing results to past studies on supportive and nurturing parenting behaviors. Instead, understanding that adults have authority over children and it can be argued that virtually any adult (characters who appeared over 12 years of age) can play a substitute parent, I compared main adult characters' parental behaviors to those of mothers and fathers found in LaRossa et al. (2000, 2001) and Yasomoto (2005) studies.

Parental Behavior and Time

Similar to LaRossa et al. (2000, 2001) and Yasomoto's (2005) findings, the percentages of nurturing and supportive parenting slightly increased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2 when behaviors from Parenting Behavior I and Parenting Behavior II were combined (Parenting Behavior III). Overall, 81.0 percent of main adult characters engaged in at least one type of Parenting Behavior III behavior. These findings indicated that parenting behavior was typically depicted in my sample. But which behaviors were displayed more often?

To answer which parenting behavior techniques were displayed more often (research question eight), I looked at the overall percentages. I found that there were two behaviors that were engaged in most by main adult characters: “serves infants and children” and “verbal affection.” Respectively, these were the highest behaviors engaged in by female and male main adult characters. Generally speaking, adults provide care to children and often times display affection. It makes sense that these two are portrayed most often by main adult characters.

The only type of Parenting Behavior I to increase over time was “encouragement.” This behavior increased from 10.0 percent in Time Period 1 to 22.7 percent in Time Period 2. Interestingly, the only type of Parenting Behavior II to increase over time was “praise” (from 10.0 percent to 13.6 percent). Encouragement and praise are often times intertwined and could be considered thematic. Their thematic relationship makes it logical that both would increase between Time Period 1 and Time Period 2. With this idea in mind, an increasing social construct that has grown over the years is the idea that every child is a winner. At schools, children are often times praised and encouraged simply for participating in activities like spelling bees or sports day. This could be one reason why these two behaviors increased over time.

Parental Behavior and Gender

Similar to Yasomoto’s (2005) findings, male main adult characters were engaged in parenting behaviors more than female main adult characters (84.0 percent and 76.5 percent respectively). This was also similar to what LaRossa et al. (2000, 2001) found during years 1990-1999. However, when behaviors were broken down between the presence of Parenting Behavior I and II, I found that male main adult characters displayed more types of behaviors in Parenting Behavior II than female main adult characters (56.0 percent versus 47.1 percent), and female main adult characters displayed more types of behaviors in Parenting Behavior I than

male main adult characters (70.6 percent versus 64.0 percent). As suggested by past research (see Yasomoto and LaRossa 2010; Yasomoto 2005, LaRossa et al. 2000, 2001), one reason male main adult characters were engaged in more parenting behaviors than female main adult character is the culture of fatherhood. As stated in a previous chapter, children's books are used to transfer societal values. Fathers being involved more with children is one value encouraged; therefore, an increase in the depictions of what fathers should be doing seem possible. However, it is more difficult to hypothesize about these findings without knowing which specific types of parenting behaviors are depicted by male and female main adult characters.

Comparing all types of parenting behavior, male main adult characters engaged in displays of "verbal affection" towards the main child character the most (44 percent), while engaged in "teaching" the main child character the least (12 percent). For female main adult characters, they engaged in "serving children or infants" the most (58.8 percent), while engaged in "praising" the main child character the least (0.0 percent). These results are opposite of what Anderson and Hamilton (2005) found. Though our measures were different, their findings showed that fathers were less affectionate than mothers. Conversely, not only did my findings show that out of all types of parenting behaviors, "verbal affection" was the highest percentage demonstrated by male main adult characters, but "verbal affection" was demonstrated by male adult main characters much more than female main adult characters (44.0 percent versus 29.4 percent). This difference could be a result of our measure.

Similar to past research (see Yasomoto and LaRossa 2010; Yasomoto 2005, Anderson and Hamilton 2005; LaRossa et al. 2000), my results demonstrated that females still provide child care more than males. From a conflict perspective, time and money are scarce resources. Men are typically paid more in the labor market than women, thereby making men's time more

valuable. This leaves unpaid or underpaid tasks, like childcare, to women. Therefore, conflict theory explains why females as main adult characters are depicted “serving children or infants” more than male main adult characters.

7 CONCERTED CULTIVATION

In this chapter, I present findings on the childrearing strategy of concerted cultivation. The chapter is subsectioned into three parts: concerted cultivation and time, concerted cultivation and gender, and discussion of major findings. Considering LaRossa (2004) and LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, and Winn (2000) parenting behaviors and activities fit very well with Lareau's (2003) typology in childrearing, I analyzed types of concerted cultivation behaviors demonstrated by main adult and main child characters by time period and then by gender. It is important to note that within the 42 books containing both a main adult character and main child character, there are instances when some concerted cultivation behaviors do not apply to characters. For example, main adult characters may not necessarily talk with the main child character and would therefore not engage in conversations where they would use reasoning with the child.

7.1 CONCERTED CULTIVATION AND TIME

Table 7.1 shows that of the 38 eligible main adult characters, 28.9 percent of main adult characters "used reasoning in conversation" with the main child character. Of the 42 eligible main adult characters, 7.1 percent "organized leisure activities" for the main child character. Of the 42 eligible main adult characters, 4.8 percent of main adult characters "advocated for main child character in institutional settings" type of concerted cultivation behavior. In Time Period 1, of the 18 eligible main adult characters, 33.3 percent of main adult characters "used reasoning in conversation" when speaking with the main child characters. Of the 20 eligible main adult characters, 5 percent "advocated for child in institutional settings" type of behavior. Of the 20 eligible main adult characters, none "organized child's leisure activities" type of concerted cultivation behavior. In Time Period 2, of the 20 eligible main adult characters 25 percent of main adult characters "used reasoning in conversation" when speaking with the main child

characters. Of the 22 eligible main adult characters, 13.6 percent “advocated for child in institutional settings” type of behavior. Finally, of the 22 eligible main adult characters, 4.5 percent of main adult characters “organized child’s leisure activities” type of concerted cultivation behavior.

Table 7.1 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Demonstrating Concerted Cultivation Behaviors (by time period).

	Overall 1993-2008 Percentage	Time Period 1 1993-2000 Percentage	Time Period 2 2001-2008 Percentage
<u>Type of Concerted Cultivation</u>			
Adult Organizes Child’s Leisure Activities	7.1 (n = 3) (N = 42)	0.0 (n = 0) (N = 20)	13.6 (n = 3) (N = 22)
Adult Uses Reasoning in Conversation with Child	28.9 (n = 11) (N = 38)	33.3 (n = 6) (N = 18)	25.0 (n = 5) (N = 20)
Adult Advocates for Child in Institutional Settings	4.8 (n = 2) (N = 42)	5.0 (n = 1) (N = 20)	4.5 (n = 1) (N = 22)

Notes: The percentages do not include any missing values. Therefore, the N inside the table denotes the number of eligible main adult characters in the sample (those who are not missing) and N denotes the number of eligible main adult characters who demonstrated each type of concerted cultivation behavior. The maximum number of N is 42 (books containing both a main adult character and a main child character).

Table 7.2 shows that of the 20 main child characters eligible, 50 percent of main child characters “negotiated with adult direction” during conversations. Of the 42 main child characters eligible, 33.3 percent engaged in “sense of entitlement” type of concerted cultivation behavior. Of the of the 24 main child characters eligible, 20.8 percent of main child characters “interacted more with class/extracurricular mates” type of concerted cultivation behavior. In Time Period 1, of the 8 main child characters eligible, 62.5 percent of main child characters “negotiated with adult direction” type of behavior. Of the 20 main child characters eligible, 30 percent demonstrated “sense of entitlement” type of concerted cultivation behavior. Of the 11 main child characters eligible, 18.2 percent of main child characters “interacted more with class/extracurricular mates” type of behavior. In Time Period 2, of the 12 main child characters

eligible, 41.7 percent of main child characters “negotiated with adult direction” type of behavior. Of the 22 main child characters eligible, 36.4 percent demonstrated “sense of entitlement” type of behavior. Finally, of the 13 main child characters eligible, 23.1 percent of main child characters “interacted more with class/extracurricular mates” type of concerted cultivation behavior.

Table 7.2 Percentage of Main Child Characters Demonstrating Concerted Cultivation Behaviors (by time period).

	Overall 1993-2008 Percentage	Time Period 1 1993-2000 Percentage	Time Period 2 2001-2008 Percentage
<u>Type of Concerted Cultivation</u>			
Child Negotiates with Adult Directions	50.0 (n = 10) (N = 20)	62.5 (n = 5) (N = 8)	41.7 (n = 5) (N = 12)
Child Interacts More with Class/Extracurricular Mates	20.8 (n = 5) (N = 24)	18.2 (n = 2) (N = 11)	23.1 (n = 3) (N = 13)
Child Displays Sense of Entitlement	33.3 (n = 14) (N = 42)	30.0 (n = 6) (N = 20)	36.4 (n = 8) (N = 22)

Notes: The percentages do not include any missing values. Therefore, the N inside the table denotes the number of eligible main adult characters in the sample (those who are not missing) and n denotes the number of eligible main adult characters who demonstrated each type of concerted cultivation behavior. The maximum number of N is 42 (books containing both a main adult character and a main child character).

7.2 CONCERTED CULTIVATION AND GENDER

An additional cross tabulation was added to compare concerted cultivation and gender. Though the overall percentages are included in tables for gender, I already presented the overall findings of main adult and child main characters that engaged in each of the concerted cultivation behaviors and therefore will not discuss these findings in the paragraphs below. As stated previously, within the 42 books containing both a main adult character and main child character, there are instances when some concerted cultivation behaviors did not apply to characters. Table 7.3 shows that of the 24 males eligible who “used reasoning in conversation” concerted cultivation behavior with main child characters, 29.2 percent of male main adult

characters “used reasoning in conversation.” Of the 25 males eligible to engage in “advocated for child in institutional settings” and “organized child’s leisure activities” types of concerted cultivation behaviors, 4 percent of male main adult characters equally demonstrated these types of behaviors. Of the 14 females eligible to who “used reasoning in conversation” concerted cultivation behavior with main child characters, 28.6 percent of female main adult characters demonstrated this behavior. Of the 17 females eligible to engage in “advocates for child in institutional settings” and “organizes child’s leisure activities” types of concerted cultivation behavior, 5.9 percent of female main adult characters equally demonstrated these types of behaviors.

Table 7.3 Percentage of Main Adult Characters Demonstrating Concerted Cultivation Behaviors (by gender). N = Number of Main Adult Characters

	Overall Percentage	Male Percentage	Female Percentage
<u>Type of Concerted Cultivation</u>			
Adult Organizes Child’s Leisure Activities	7.1 (n = 3) (N = 42)	4.0 (n = 1) (N = 25)	11.8 (n = 2) (N = 17)
Adult Uses Reasoning in Conversation with Child	28.9 (n = 11) (N = 38)	29.2 (n = 7) (N = 24)	28.6 (n = 4) (N = 14)
Adult Advocates for Child in Institutional Settings	4.8 (n = 2) (N = 42)	4.0 (n = 1) (N = 25)	5.9 (n = 1) (N = 17)

Notes: The percentages do not include any missing values. Therefore, the N inside the table denotes the number of eligible main adult characters in the sample (those who are not missing) and n denotes the number of eligible main adult characters who demonstrated each type of concerted cultivation behavior. The maximum number of N is 42 (books containing both a main adult character and a main child character).

Table 7.4 shows that of the 11 male main child characters eligible to engage in “negotiates with adult direction” concerted cultivation behavior, 54.5 percent of male main child characters “negotiated with adult direction” type of behavior. Of the 21 male main child characters eligible to engage in “sense of entitlement” concerted cultivation behavior, 38.1 percent of male main child characters demonstrated this type of behavior. Of the 10 male main

child characters eligible to engage in “interacts more with class/extracurricular mates,” 10 percent of male main child characters demonstrated this type of concerted cultivation behavior. Of the 9 female main child characters eligible to engage in “negotiates with adult direction,” 44.4 percent of female main child characters “negotiated with adult direction” type of concerted cultivation behavior. Of the 21 females main child characters eligible to engage in “sense of entitlement” behavior, 28.6 percent of female main child characters demonstrated this type of concerted cultivation behavior. Finally, of the 14 female main child characters eligible to engage in “interacts more with class/extracurricular mates,” 28.6 percent of female main child characters demonstrated this type of concerted cultivation behavior.

Table 7.4 Percentage of Main Child Characters Demonstrating Concerted Cultivation Behaviors (by gender).

	Overall Percentage	Male Percentage	Female Percentage
<u>Type of Concerted Cultivation</u>			
Child Negotiates with Adult Directions	50.0 (n = 10) (N = 20)	54.5 (n = 6) (N = 11)	44.4 (n = 4) (N = 9)
Child Interacts More with Class/Extracurricular Mates	20.8 (n = 5) (N = 24)	10.0 (n = 1) (N = 10)	28.6 (n = 4) (N = 14)
Child Displays Sense of Entitlement	33.3 (n = 14) (N = 42)	38.1 (n = 8) (N = 21)	28.6 (n = 6) (N = 21)

Notes: The percentages do not include any missing values. Therefore, the N inside the table denotes the number of eligible main adult characters in the sample (those who are not missing) and n denotes the number of eligible main adult characters who demonstrated each type of concerted cultivation behavior. The maximum number of N is 42 (books containing both a main adult character and a main child character).

7.3 DISCUSSION

Middle class values tend to be idealized as the social norm in our society. I wanted to find out which of Lareau’s (2003) childrearing or socialization techniques (concerted cultivation or natural growth) was depicted more often in picture books (research question nine). Based on Lareau’s (2003) typology, I developed three questions for main adult characters’ behaviors and

three questions for main child characters' behaviors. Of the three variables used to measure main adult characters' concerted cultivation behaviors overall, the variable engaged by main adult characters the most was "talked to the main child character using reasoning and negotiation." However, the demonstrations decreased over time, but remained the most occurring demonstration of concerted cultivation behavior. Of the three variables used to measure main adult characters' concerted cultivation behaviors by gender, the variable engaged most by both male and female main adult characters was "talked to the main child character using reasoning and negotiation." I attempted to combine the three variables into an index, but my Cronbach's alpha value was less than .70 and therefore internal reliability was not established. I cannot conclude anything other than which typology or behavior was demonstrated most often.

For concerted cultivation behaviors of children, of the three variables used to measure main child characters' concerted cultivation behaviors by time, the variable engaged by main characters the most overall was "negotiates with main adult character's directions." However, the demonstrations decreased over time, but remained the most occurring concerted cultivation behavior demonstrated by the main child character in each time period. Of the three variables used to measure main child characters' concerted cultivation behaviors by gender, the variable engaged most by both male and female main child characters was "negotiates with main adult character's directions." I attempted to combine the three variables into an index, but my Cronbach's alpha value was less than .70 and therefore internal reliability was not established. I cannot conclude anything other than which typology or behavior was engaged in most often.

Interestingly, it seems logical that if the main adult characters engaged in conversations with the main child character using reasoning and negotiation, that the main child character

would use negotiation when the main adult character gave directions. Unfortunately, my questions were asked in such a way that could not capture natural growth behaviors. I cannot say with any certainty that if concerted cultivation was not present, then natural growth occurred. For future research, questions need to be developed that look at both childrearing structures. For example, I asked “does the main adult character plan organized leisure activities for main child character?” If the answer was “no,” this does not mean natural growth occurred. I should have constructed an additional question to measure natural growth, such as “does the main child character plan their own leisure activities” or developed categories that would have allowed me to determine the occurrence of natural growth.

Disregarding Lareau’s (2003) typology of childrearing, what do my findings indicate? From Time Period 1 to Time Period 2, main adult characters organized children’s leisure activities increased from 0.0 percent to 13.6 percent. According to conflict theory, time and money are considered a scarce resource. Perhaps the current economic climate and time constraints (needing to work more hours due to economic hardship) forced parents to control leisure activities for children. Additionally, I found that female main adult characters organized children’s leisure activities more than male main adult characters. This ties in with the percentages found in the previous chapter about women serving children and infants more than men. Organizing activities can be considered part of child care.

From Time Period 1 to time Period 2, portrayals of main child characters who negotiated with adults decreased from 62.5 percent to 41.7 percent. For gender, male main child characters were depicted as negotiating more with adults than female main child characters. This caused me to consider depictions of gender for main child characters over time. As presented in chapter 5, main child characters who were male decreased from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2, while

female main child characters increased. Generally, girls are socialized to not argue and be more passive than boys. Therefore, the increase in females as main child characters would correspond to a decrease in child negotiations from Time Period 1 to Time Period 2.

8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Sociological studies of children's picture books mainly focus on gender inequalities. These studies do not include power disparities between adults and children nor do they address Lareau's (2003) specific structure of childrearing found within children's picture books. Recognizing the differences in the representations of adults and children is invaluable in understanding what images children and adults are routinely subjected to and what they possibly internalize. My research adds to the dialogue of inequalities by incorporating another dynamic between adults and children: power disparities and structure of childrearing.

In this study, I considered the following research questions: (1) Who is portrayed more often: male or females; adults or children? (2) Of main child and main adult characters, which group is portrayed more often in illustrations? (3) Do children resolve to get themselves out of a dangerous situation more often than children seek out an adult to assist them? (4) Do adults intervene in "saving the day" without children asking for adult assistance? (5) Which type of behavior do I most often find in children's books: dependence or independence? (6) Do adults metamorph into other beings so that children may escape adult domination? (7) Do children metamorph themselves into other beings as a result of adult domination? (8) Which parenting behaviors are displayed more often? (9) Which socialization technique is displayed more often, if at all?

8.1 SUMMARY

Book Characteristics

In my sample, children's books were mostly written by female authors and illustrated by male illustrators, yet decreased in pages and illustrations over time. However, there was an increase in the number of companies that were credited as illustrators, while there was a decline

in the number of males and females credited as illustrators. Higher rates of female authors could be explained by “feminization of childhood.” A change in family composition over time has left children mostly under the care of mothers, and children are therefore increasingly socialized mainly by women. Considering children’s books are a tool of socialization, it makes sense that authors of these books are frequently women. In addition, I found that there was a higher percentage of male illustrators. From a conflict perspective, one could argue that males hold power in our society and creating illustrations that perpetuate gender stereotypes would help them to maintain this position in society. Furthermore, an increase in companies as illustrators may be due to movie studios working with publishing companies to capitalize on children’s movies. Several books from my sample came from children’s movies. These characters were already developed by movie studios thereby eliminating a need for outside illustrators. One reason for the decline in pages and illustration could be due in part to publishing houses striving to cut costs during poor economic times and technological advances.

To answer my third research question, I found that main child characters did resolve to get themselves out of dangerous situation more often than asking for adult assistance. To answer my fourth research question, adults did intervene in “saving the day” without children asking for adult assistance. However, my findings for both of these questions contain numbers that were small making it difficult to suggest that these findings were representative of the population or come up with a meaningful interpretation. Also, these variables helped to create an index that measured the main child character’s independence or dependence on adults (research question five). Unfortunately, the index resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha value of less than .70. Therefore, I could not measure independence or dependence using this index.

One argument about power disparities is that children characters metamorphed to escape adult domination. For research question seven, I asked if children metamorphed. My findings indicated that children rarely metamorphed, and when they did, they changed for other reasons than to escape adult domination. Similarly, I looked at adult metamorphic rates (research question six). Likewise, I found adults rarely transformed, and they metamorphed for other reasons than for children to escape adult domination. Unfortunately, my numbers were small and I cannot generalize to the population. However, this supports Lassen-Seger's (2006) findings that images of metamorphic child were fluid and not entirely caused by power differences. Future research might consider investigating specific books where child and adult characters metamorph into other beings to grasp a deeper understanding behind these transformations.

Storybook Characters

Similar to past studies, non-white races as main characters (including main child characters and main adult characters) were virtually missing from story books. In fact, my findings demonstrated that overall and over time these characters did not represent any race; they were depicted as animals or anthropomorphic beings. Non-white main characters were virtually nonexistent; most of this is due to the portrayal of characters. Overall, main characters were depicted frequently as non-human beings. However, over time humans as main characters increased their rates while non-human main characters decreased in numbers. Conflict theory would suggest that the increase in white main characters is a reflection of power. Also, main characters depicted as having no race may be one way to dismiss the conversation of race in books; race becomes invisible.

In research question one, I asked which gender was portrayed most often. I found that, similar to other studies, males were depicted more often than female characters, but across time females increased in their depictions while male characters decreased. I also found that characters who were portrayed most often was related to the role that the character played, more specifically main characters, main child characters, and main adult characters. Main characters were depicted more as males overall and across time. The depiction of female main characters did increase across time, but did not equal or surpass male main characters. When characters were portrayed as the main child characters, males and females were depicted equally overall; but across time female main child characters were depicted more frequently than male main child characters. When characters were portrayed as main adult characters, I found that males were portrayed more frequently overall, but across time their depictions increased while females as main characters decreased. Liberal feminist would say that for equality to be present, boys, girls, men and women need to be equally depicted. My research indicated that gender inequalities still exist between male and female characters. It also indicated that there is a need to separate out roles of characters prior to counting gender in order to understand the full story being told.

As for age, when all characters regardless of roles were combined, I found that adults were depicted in illustrations more often than children. When characters were separated out according to their roles, I found that children were main characters of stories more often than adults. Interestingly, main adult characters were more frequent than main child characters. However, main adult characters were depicted less frequently than main child characters. This disparity might be a result of an author's attempt to create main characters that children can identify with and maintain interest, while illustrators may create pictures that reflect adult authority.

Parental Behavior

My sample size comprised of few main adult characters that were fathers or mothers, which limited my ability to make any significant contribution when comparing results to past studies on supportive and nurturing parenting behaviors. Instead, I argued that virtually any adult can play a substitute parent, and can therefore be used when comparing past studies on supportive and nurturing behaviors. I found that parenting behavior was depicted between time periods and among genders.

In my sample, the only type of Parenting Behavior I to increase over time was “encouragement.” Interestingly, the only type of Parenting Behavior II to increase over time was “praise.” Encouragement and praise are often times intertwined and could be considered thematic. With this idea in mind, an increasing social construct that has grown over the years is the idea that every child is a winner. At schools, children are often times praised and encouraged simply for participating in activities like spelling bees or sports days. This could be one reason why these two types of parenting behaviors were the only ones to increase over time. However, of the two types of parenting behavior, which type was engaged in most often?

Comparing all types of parenting behavior, male main adult characters engaged in displays of “verbal affection” towards the main child character the most, while female main adult characters engaged in “serving children or infants” the most. My findings demonstrated that females still provide child care more than males. From a conflict perspective, time and money are scarce resources. Men are typically paid more in the labor market than women, thereby making men’s time more valuable. This leaves unpaid or underpaid tasks, like childcare, to women.

Past literature indicated that the frequency for supportive and nurturing parenting behavior by father characters increased over time; my results showed a similar increase with adult male characters. The culture of fatherhood may be one reason male main adult characters were depicted as demonstrating more parenting behaviors than female main characters. We value father's involvement with his children; therefore, an increase in the depictions of what fathers should be doing seem possible.

Concerted Cultivation

I wanted to find out which of Lareau's (2003) childrearing or socialization techniques (concerted cultivation or natural growth) was depicted more often in children's books. I attempted to combine three variables into an index, but my Cronbach's alpha value was less than .70 and therefore internal reliability was not established. The most I can say is that concerted cultivation occurred across time and was used by both main adult and main child characters. My questions were asked in such a way that could not capture natural growth behaviors. Therefore, I cannot discuss childrearing techniques as presented by Lareau's (2003).

Abandoning Lareau's (2003) typology of childrearing, I found that main adult characters increasingly organized children's leisure activities over time. I also found that female main adult characters organized children's leisure activities more than did male main adult characters. This tied in with the percentages found in the Parental Behavior chapter. I found that women served children and infants more than men. Organizing activities for children can be considered part of child care, making this finding understandable.

In addition, I found that main child characters who negotiated with adults decreased over time. Analyzing gender, my findings showed that male main child characters were depicted as negotiating more with adults than female main child characters. This prompted me to reanalyze

my findings on the gender of the main child character over time. Interestingly, I found that the number of male main child characters decreased over time, while the number of female main child characters increased. These findings reflect the idea that, in general, girls are socialized to not argue and be more passive than boys. Therefore, the increase in females as main child characters would correspond to a decrease in child negotiations over time.

8.2 STUDY STRENGTH AND LIMITATIONS

A notable strength of this study was the use of stratified random sampling. I randomly selected books from a list that was already stratified: frontlist hardcover and frontlist paperback. Frontlist best-selling books selling more than 200,000 copies provided a stratification sample by time analysis. Concurrently, the size of the sample limits my findings, although the patterns I observed (particularly those pertaining to gender) were generally in accord with what was reported in other studies of children's books. However, selecting books that included both a main child and main adult character would have been beneficial.

I employed stratified sampling, which allowed my sample to be more representative of bestselling children's books. However, if I had used purposive sampling, my sample size would have remained at 64, rather than the 42 books included in the study. The decrease in my sample size meant less variability. Future research may want to use purpose sampling to avoid the issue of sample size.

As with any research, the question of subjectivity is often a concern, especially in content analysis. The analysis of illustrations is from an adult perspective and may not symbolize how a child would perceive illustrations. To increase reliability and validity, I pretested the coding instructions and initiated a test-retest to verify reproducibility. I trained the coders until pre-code inter-rater reliability measured 90 percent or greater, and asked them to code only the

information in the book, not use their knowledge gained from their experiences. However, some variables could be considered more subjective than others (e.g., what constituted a dangerous situation for a child, given it was coded from an adult perspective).

Finally, considering there are few, if any, studies about power disparities between adults and children and structure of childrearing in children's picture books, my study is somewhat unique. Operationalizing variables that have not been used in the study of children's picture books, however, also created measurement challenges, and some of the codes I created did not yield the kind of result I had hoped. Other researchers should be able to gain from what I did find and, also as a matter of measurement, what I did not find.

8.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research is needed to explore power disparities and the structure of childrearing found in children's picture books, as well as other media content, in order to understand what unspoken messages are presented to child and adult readers. Understanding how adults and children are portrayed and what types of childrearing structures are presented allows researchers to know whose stories or voices are being excluded from mass media. This understanding will inform publishing houses which voices need to be heard more and be reflective of diversity within picture books.

In addition, I suggest that future research explore child-on-child power differences in children's books. Presently, we find that bullying is depicted and addressed on television shows, and we hear and read news reports about suicides and violence that stem from bullying. Furthermore, to combat bullying, we find that schools adopt anti-bullying programs and campaigns. However, how often is bullying found in children's books? Again, if children's

picture books are used as a socialization tool, much can be gained from studying bullying in children's picture books.

I employed stratified sampling, which allowed my sample to be more representative of bestselling children's books. However, if I had used purposive sampling, my sample size would have remained at 64, rather than the 42 books included in the study. The decrease in my sample size meant less variability. Future research may want to use purpose sampling to avoid the issue of sample size.

Though open-ended questions were included in my coding instrument, I focused primarily on counting categories of variables. Future studies may want to conduct research on children's books from a qualitative approach. Investigators might look at the meanings of the interactions between adult and child to see the type of power disparities found in illustrations or the degree of oppression experienced by child characters. Using qualitative methods would add depth and richness to the dialogue surrounding children's picture books.

Kohn's research investigated occupational self-direction in parenting values and techniques (see Kohn and Schooler 1983, and Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler, and Slomczynski 1990). I did not consider parental values or occupational self-direction in my study. To add to the parenting technique dialogue, future research may want to examine the existence of parenting values and techniques in children's picture books.

This study primarily encompassed one aspect of the cultural diamond, and consequently does not constitute a complete understanding of picture books. Future research should include other points on Griswold's (1994) cultural diamond framework, such as creators or receivers, and their interdependency. Though I did gather gender information on the creators (i.e., authors and illustrators) a deeper analysis, such as why authors created certain characters, why characters

were depicted a specific way or their motivations behind writing the books needs to be considered. The inclusion of the entire cultural diamond would allow analysis to reflect on the ways children's books both mirror and reinterpret the social world.

8.4 CONCLUSION

The assumption is that adults decide what children should or should not be exposed to and how children should be raised. Children's picture books are a direct reflection of this assumption. Most of these books are written and illustrated from an adult perspective with a message sanctioned by adults. In addition, how authors and illustrators represent characters in stories can dictate certain messages which may be internalized by children and adults. Few, if any, studies exist from a sociological approach on power disparities in children's books and none employed Lareau's (2003) childrearing typology. Therefore, I sought to open and add to the dialogue by investigating both of these topics as well as gender disparities and nurturant and supportive parenting behaviors.

Findings from this study show that male characters were depicted more often in illustrations than female characters were depicted. Also, males were more frequently the main characters compared to females. Though main child characters were equally represented as male and female over time, males were more frequently the main adult characters than females as main adult characters. These findings support past research and signify that gender disparities remain an active message within children's picture books.

Taking the idea that higher rates of depictions equate to more importance in a society, one can transfer this idea to age instead of gender, more specifically, adults and children. Findings from this study showed that adult characters appeared more often than child characters appeared. In addition, adults as main characters occurred more frequently than children as main

character occurred. These findings suggest that adults were considered more important than children in children's book.

Demonstrations of parenting behaviors among adults, not simply mothers and fathers, were similar to the findings of LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, and Wynn (2000). I found that main adult characters increased in demonstrations of supportive and nurturing behaviors over time. Overall, main adult characters who were male demonstrated more parenting behaviors than women. As LaRossa et al. (2000) suggested, this could be caused by a change in attitudes toward father involvement with children, or, in this case, male adult involvement with children.

Unfortunately due to the design of the constructs measuring concerted cultivation and natural growth, little could be concluded other than concerted cultivation occurred in books. Also, adults and children engaged in conversations that involved negotiation more often than any other childrearing structure typology. Future research is necessary to determine which childrearing structure is more prevalent in children's picture books.

Children and adults are exposed to media images like those found in children's picture books and may internalize, at least to some degree, the unspoken messages presented in these images. Children are especially impressionable, and from these illustrations they learn how their society functions and what is expected or not expected from individuals and groups. The disparate representation in the books may convey to children that males, adults, and people who are white are more important, and that females, children, and people who are non-white are less important. They may learn that gender roles are reinforced by women performing more child care tasks than men, and that girls are socialized not to negotiate. They may learn that parental behavior removes power from children by organizing the child's day and saving them when they did not ask for help. These books may tell children that they should accept adult power as

demonstrated by little metamorphic rates to avoid adult oppression. My research demonstrates that the book industry continues to tell stories that are neither inclusive nor accurate of U.S. society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Titles of Children's Picture Books Used in Sample

Book	Title	Author's Name(s)	Copyright	Type
1	<i>A Very Marely Christmas</i>	John Grogan	2008	Hardcover
2	<i>Old Bear</i>	Kevin Henkes	2008	Hardcover
3	<i>Bad Dog, Marley!</i>	John Grogan	2007	Hardcover
4	<i>Diary of a Fly</i>	Doreen Cronin	2007	Hardcover
5	<i>Go, Train, Go!</i>	The Reverend W Awdry	2006	Hardcover
6	<i>Dooby Dooby Moo</i>	Doreen Cronin	2006	Hardcover
7	<i>10 Little Rubber Ducks</i>	Eric Carle	2005	Hardcover
8	<i>Snowmen at Christmas</i>	Caralyn Buehner	2005	Hardcover
9	<i>It's Hard to be Five</i>	Jamie Lee Curtis	2004	Hardcover
10	<i>The Umbrella</i>	Jan Brett	2004	Hardcover
11	<i>Good Night, Sweet Butterflies</i>	Dawn Bentley	2003	Hardcover
12	<i>Mr. Peabody's Apples</i>	Modonna	2003	Hardcover
13	<i>If you take a Mouse to School</i>	Laura Numeroff	2002	Hardcover
14	<i>God Made You Special</i>	Eric Metaxas	2002	Hardcover
15	<i>What's Wrong with Timmy?</i>	Maria Shriver	2001	Hardcover
16	<i>Monsters, Inc</i>	Catherine Hapka	2001	Hardcover
17	<i>Hedgie's Surprises</i>	Jan Brett	2000	Hardcover
18	<i>Olivia</i>	Ian Falconer	2000	Hardcover
19	<i>Baby Bop's Blanket</i>	Guy Davis	1999	Hardcover
20	<i>Disney's Tarzan Read Aloud</i>	Victoria Saxon	1999	Hardcover
21	<i>The Prince of Egypt</i>	Jane Yolen	1998	Hardcover
22	<i>Here Come the Teletubbies</i>	Andrew Davenport	1998	Hardcover
23	<i>Disney: Pooh and the Dragon</i>	Ann Braybrooks	1997	Hardcover
24	<i>Disney's Sleeping Beauty</i>	Walt Disney	1997	Hardcover
25	<i>Brown Bear, Brown Bear, What do You See?</i>	Bill Martin Jr	1996	Hardcover
26	<i>Djali's Jolly Day</i>	Mouse Works	1996	Hardcover
27	<i>Pocahontas</i>	Justine Korman	1995	Hardcover
28	<i>Rainbow Fish to the Rescue</i>	Marcus Pfister	1995	Hardcover
29	<i>Aladdin's Magic Carpet Ride</i>	Teddy Slater Margulies	1994	Hardcover
30	<i>The Very hungry Caterppillar Board Book</i>	Eric Carle	1994	Hardcover
31	<i>Beauty and the Beast: Teapot's Tale</i>	Justine Korman	1993	Hardcover
32	<i>The Pokey Little Puppy's First Christmas</i>	Justine Korman	1993	Hardcover

33	<i>Fancy Nancy at the Museum</i>	Jane O'Connor	2008	Paperback
34	<i>Barbie: Mariposa</i>	Mary Man-Kong	2008	Paperback
35	<i>Transformers: Optimus Prime Versus Megatron</i>	Sadie Chesterfield	2007	Paperback
36	<i>It's Sharing Day!</i>	Kirsten Larsen	2007	Paperback
37	<i>Over the Hedge: Meet the Neighbors</i>	Pete Emsilie	2006	Paperback
38	<i>Ice Age 2: Geyser Blast!</i>	Ellie O'Ryan	2006	Paperback
39	<i>Barbie and the Magic of Pegasus</i>	Andrea Posner-Sanchez and Mary Man-Kong	2005	Paperback
40	<i>Chicken Little: the Big Game</i>	Annie Auerbach	2005	Paperback
41	<i>Spider-Man 2: Spider-man Versus Doc Ock</i>	Acton Figueroa	2004	Paperback
42	<i>My Little Pony: Fashion Fun</i>	Ann Marie Capalija	2004	Paperback
43	<i>The Hulk Escapes</i>	Acton Figueroa and James Schamis	2003	Paperback
44	<i>The Jungle Book II</i>	Kim Yaged	2003	Paperback
45	<i>A Whale of a Time</i>	Irene Trimble	1998	Paperback
46	<i>Dora's Backpack</i>	Sarah Wilson	2002	Paperback
47	<i>Biscuit's New Trick</i>	Alyssa Satin Capucilli	2001	Paperback
48	<i>Scoop Saves the Day</i>	Diane Redmond	2001	Paperback
49	<i>A little Monstrous Problem</i>	Craig McCracken and Amy Rogers	2000	Paperback
50	<i>Little Engines Can Do Big Things</i>	Britt Allcroft	2000	Paperback
51	<i>Attack of the Prehistoric Pokemon</i>	Diane Muldrow	1999	Paperback
52	<i>Disney's Tarzan: Terk's Tale</i>	Eric Suben	1999	Paperback
53	<i>Arthur Tricks the Tooth Fairy</i>	Marc Brown	1998	Paperback
54	<i>Barney Goes to the Farm</i>	Mark S. Bernthal	1998	Paperback
55	<i>Disney's Hercules</i>	Margaret Snyder	1997	Paperback
56	<i>Rugrats Blast Off!</i>	Stephanie St. Pierre	1997	Paperback
57	<i>Barney and Baby Bob go to School</i>	Mark S. Bernthal	1996	Paperback
58	<i>Esmeralda's Lucky Charm</i>	Margo Landele	1996	Paperback
59	<i>The Berenstain Bears and the Green-Eyed Monster</i>	Jan Berenstain	1995	Paperback
60	<i>Batman Forever</i>	Andrew Helfer	1995	Paperback
61	<i>Barney says "Please and Thank you"</i>	Stephen White	1994	Paperback
62	<i>The Lion King</i>	Margo Hover	1994	Paperback
63	<i>Cinderella</i>	Nikki Grimes	1993	Paperback
64	<i>A Tent Too Full</i>	Stephen White	1993	Paperback

Appendix B: Coding Guide

The following is a list of guidelines for questions found in the code sheet. Each guideline provides detailed information to assist you during the coding process. If you still have questions about coding, please code the best you can and note your question on a separate sheet of paper. Two copies of the code sheet for each book are provided to you in case a second copy is needed.

Every time you see the word “snapshot” in this guide, it refers each picture or pictures found on one page (not including front/back cover or title page). If a picture covers both pages (or more) then it is counted as one “snapshot.” If there are one or more pictures on one page, each picture is considered a “snapshot.” If there is only text on one page it is not counted as a “snapshot.”

DO NOT answer these questions using any previous knowledge of the story. Answer these questions as if it were the first time you have heard of this story. Use only pictures and text; do not think about what ‘could’ or ‘would’ happen. The text and pictures are all that you need; no implicit or explicit assumptions.

1. Before conducting analysis, please read through the story to familiarize yourself with the text and pictures.
2. Please enter your initials in the Coder’s Initial blank.
3. **Questions 1 through 11** are filled out by the primary coder to ease time spent on coding.
4. For **question 12**, the time setting (e.g., present day, 1800’s, future) of the story can be determined by using text and pictures. You may want to consider the type of dress, household items, architecture, vehicles, or other cultural artifacts. The use of language may also provide insight into the time setting.
5. For **question 13**, look at the FRONT cover of the book. Is there a cover picture? If there is a removable cover, please use this to determine if there is a cover photo.
6. For **question 14**, look through the book to see if the exact same picture appears on any of the pages in the book.
7. For **question 15**, who is on the FRONT cover picture, if you already familiarized yourself with the text and pictures, then you should be able to identify the characters on the FRONT cover picture. If not, please read through the story to determine who is on the FRONT cover picture. List the role of the character such as the main character, mother, teacher, dog, unidentified adult, and etc.
8. For **question 16**, look at the BACK cover of the book. Is there a cover picture? If there is a removable cover, please use this to determine if there is a cover photo.
9. For **question 17**, look through the book to see if the exact same picture appears on any of the pages in the book.
10. For **question 18**, who is on the BACK cover picture, if you already familiarized yourself with the text and pictures, then you should be able to identify the characters on the BACK cover picture. If not, please read through the story to determine who is on the BACK cover picture. List the role of the character such as the main character, mother, teacher, dog, unidentified adult, and etc.
11. For **question 19**, the title page is typically found in the first two or three pages of the book. A title page provides the title of the book, author(s), illustrator(s), and the publisher.

12. For **question 20**, look at the title page to see if there is a picture.
13. For **question 21**, if the title page contains a picture, look through the book to determine if the exact same picture appears on any of the pages in the book.
14. For **question 22**, who is on the TITLE PAGE picture, if you already familiarized yourself with the text and pictures, then you should be able to identify the characters on the TITLE PAGE picture. If not, please read through the story to determine who is on the TITLE PAGE picture. List the role of the character such as the main character, mother, teacher, dog, unidentified adult, and etc.
15. For **question 23**, the main character refers to the protagonist or the central figure of the story. Once you decide who the main character is, determine the physical body image of the character.
16. For **question 24**, the main Child character refers to the protagonist or the central Child figure of the story. Pay attention to whom is telling the story; this may assist you in determining the main Child character. If there are two main Child characters, determine which one seems to take a greater role. If both seem equal, talk to the other coders to determine the main Child character. Only include Child characters that are human and anthropomorphized. Once you decide who the main Child character is, determine the physical body image of the character.
17. For **question 25**, the main Adult character refers to the protagonist or the central figure of the story. Pay attention to whom is telling the story; this may assist you in determining the main Adult character. If there are two main Adult characters, determine which one seems to take a greater role. If both seem equal, talk to the other coders to determine the main Adult character. Only include Adult characters that are human and anthropomorphized. Once you decide who the main Adult character is, determine the physical body image of the character.
18. For **question 26**, indicate if the main character is either the main Child or main Adult character or neither of them.
19. For **question 27**, you will establish the age of the main Child character. The main child character is a character that is 17 years old or younger, and is the child who has the greatest presence in the story. The main child character does not necessarily need to be the main character of the story. To determine the age of the character, take clues from the pictures and text such as height, participation in activities, relationships, and etc. If it is difficult to determine whether a character fits in one of the categories, narrow it down to two categories based on clues and then discuss with the other coders which category the character will fall under.
20. For **question 28**, you will establish the age of the main adult character. The main adult character is a character that is 12 years old or older, and is the adult who has the greatest presence in the story. The main adult character does not necessarily need to be the main character of the story. To determine the age of the character, take clues from the pictures and text such as height, participation in activities, relationships, and etc. If it is difficult to determine whether a character fits in one of the categories, narrow it down to two categories based on clues and then discuss with the other coders which category the character will fall under.
21. For **question 29 and 30**, you will establish the race of the main adult and child characters. Use the information you gathered about age from the previous two questions. Once you have identified the main adult and child character, look for cues in pictures and

text to determine the race of each character. Do not solely rely on skin color. Look at facial features, hair texture and style, other physical attributes. Look for such cues as the types of food eaten, clothing style, location of story, and the use of language.

22. For **question 31 and 32**, list what cues you used to determine the race of the main adult and child characters.
23. For **question 33 and 34**, to determine the gender of the main adult and child character in the text look for pronouns (i.e. she) when referred to the character, and/or use snapshots to look at clothing, hair styles, names and etc.
24. For **question 35**, to determine the relationship between the main adult character and the child, look for words in the text such as mother, child, neighbor, teacher, and etc. In the pictures, look for images such as the adult tucking child into bed, signs of affection, and location that the “snapshot” takes place in.
25. For **questions 36 – 67**, select the appropriate answer if the statement appears in snapshot (use the text to help you determine what is going on in the “snapshot”). The appearance of each **statement must be present in the text and/or picture; it is not to be assumed.** The selection of ‘Not Applicable’ applies if a certain character listed in the statement is not present (i.e., infant, main child, main adult, and spouse). Please see each statement for examples or further explanations. **Next to each statement, please list which page number(s) the statement appears.**
26. For **questions 68 – 81**, select the appropriate answer if the statement appears in snapshot (use the text to help you determine what is going on in the “snapshot”). The appearance of each **statement must be present in the text and/or picture; it is not to be assumed.** The selection of ‘Not Applicable’ applies if a certain character listed in the statement is not present (i.e., main child or main adult). Please see each statement for examples or further explanations. **Next to each statement, please list which page number(s) the statement appears.**
27. For **question 82**, describe what type of adventure (e.g. goes in jungle, plays by river bank) the main Child character goes on without the accompaniment of an adult. An adventure is where the main child character participates in an unusual or exciting experience inside or outside of his/her imagination.
28. For **question 83**, “danger” is considered anything that may cause physical or emotional harm or distress to the child. Look for words in text or visual aids that will tell you whether the child sought out the assistance of an adult like asking for help, signaling for an adult to come over to them, or if they accept the offer of an adult’s assistance. If the answer is ‘No,’ for questions **84 and 85**, please select ‘Not Applicable.’
29. For **question 84**, “danger” is considered anything that may cause physical or emotional harm or distress to the child. Look for words in text or visual aids that will tell you whether the adult assisted the child without asking the child.
30. For **question 85**, “danger” is considered anything that may cause physical or emotional harm or distress to the child. Look for words in text or visual aids that will tell you whether the child was able to remove her or his self from the danger without any assistance from an adult.
31. For **question 86**, leisure activity includes any activity that does not involve household chores, school, or work. Look for clues that give direct indication that the main Adult character plans or organizes leisure activities for main Child character.

32. For **question 87**, reasoning and negotiations involve adult and child speaking in conversational style of language. For example, if the main Child character is being disciplined, does the main Adult character ask questions about why the child did what they did, or the main Child character may use language that tries to persuade the adult into letting them do something. **Select “Not Applicable” if the main Adult character does not talk to the child.**
33. For **question 88**, if the main Adult character tells the main Child character to do something, does the child go and do it without arguing or negotiating? **Select “Not Applicable” if the main Adult character does not give direction.**
34. For **question 89**, from the “snapshots” and cues from the text, determine who the main Child character plays with more often: playmates from his/her classroom and organized activities, or playmates from extended family and neighborhood. You may want to tally each time to help you decide who the child plays with more often.
35. For **question 90**, advocate means to speak on the child’s behalf (with the child present listening) in dealing with institutional settings such as schools, doctor offices, or sporting team coaches.
36. For **question 91**, by entitlement does the child think they have the right to something, such arguing or negotiating to get what they want, expecting a high grade simply by turning in an assignment on time, expecting dinner to be ready for them, or believing that the parent should drop what they are doing to drive them some place.
37. For **question 92**, does the main Child character turn into something other than his/her physical self such as changing into an adult, bird, book character of him/her self, or monster.
38. For **question 93**, explain what child changes into and why.
39. For **question 94**, does the main Adult character turn into something other than his/her physical self such as changing into a child, bird, book character of him/her self, or monster.
40. For **question 95**, explain what adult changes into and why.
41. For **questions 96 – 121**, select the appropriate answer if the topic is **discussed** in “snapshots” (use the text to help you determine what is going on in the “snapshot”). Please see each statement for examples or further explanations.
42. For **question 122**, in your own words write a brief explanation of what is the main moral of the story.
43. For **question 122**, include any other comments you think are important to mention.
44. For **questions 124 – 501**, answer the questions to the best of your ability. Use only the “snapshots.” Remember, for this study, the word “snapshot” refers to each picture or pictures found on one page (not including front/back cover or title page). If a picture covers both pages (or more) then it is counted as one “snapshot.” If a “snapshot” is more than 1 page but smaller than 2 pages, place this in the ‘other’ category and be specific about how much of the page. Additionally, list other sizes that are not specified in the ‘other’ category. If there is only text on one page it is not counted as a “snapshot.” Do not include if character is only mentioned in the text. When considering age and gender, include only characters that are human and anthropomorphized and active; do not count characters like the family pet or pictures hanging on the wall. Characters must be distinguishable and visible in the “snapshot.” In large crowd scenes, do your best to count characters for each category.

Appendix C: Coding Instrument**Coder's Initials:** _____

1. Book #: _____

2. Title of book: _____

3. Author name(s) AND Gender(s): _____ M F

_____ M F

4. Illustrator name(s) AND Gender(s): _____ M F

_____ M F

5. Name of publisher: _____

6. Location of publisher: _____

7. Copyright dates: _____

8. Edition: _____

9. Award Winning: _____

10. Bowker Annual Year and Category: _____

11. Describe to whom the book is dedicated: _____

12. Time setting of the story: _____

13. Is there a front cover picture? (If there is removable cover, use this to answer question.)

1 Yes

2 No

99 Don't know

14. Is the front cover picture found in the book?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not applicable

15. Who is featured on the front cover picture? _____

16. Is there a back cover picture? (If there is removable cover, use this to answer question.)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

17. Is the back cover picture found in the book?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not applicable

18. Who is featured on the back cover picture? _____

19. Is there a title page?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

20. Is there a picture found on the title page?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not applicable

21. Is the title page picture found in the book?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not applicable

22. Who is featured in the title page picture? _____

23. The main character is

- 0 No main character
- 1 Human
- 2 Animal
- 3 Machine
- 4 Other (Specify: _____)

24. The main Child character is

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Human
- 2 Animal
- 3 Machine
- 4 Other (Specify: _____)

25. The main Adult character is

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Human
- 2 Animal
- 3 Machine
- 4 Other (Specify: _____)

26. Is the main character either the main Child or main Adult character?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes, main Child character
- 2 Yes, main Adult character
- 3 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable

27. What is the age of the main Child character?

- 0 No main child character
- 1 0-5 years old
- 2 6-11 years old
- 3 12-17 years old
- 99 Don't know

28. What is the age of the main Adult character?

- 0 No main adult character
- 1 12-17 years old
- 2 18+
- 99 Don't know

29. What is the gender of the main Adult character?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Female
- 2 Male
- 3 Not implied
- 99 Don't know

30. What is the gender of the main Child character?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Female
- 2 Male
- 3 Not implied
- 99 Don't know

Questions 31 - 32 ask the race of who is pictured in the book.

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 American Indian /Alaska Native
- 2 Asian
- 3 Black or African American
- 4 Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- 5 White
- 6 Some other race
- 7 Two or more races
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not applicable

31. _____ Main Adult character

32. _____ Main Child character

33. How did you determine the race of the main Adult character? _____

34. How did you determine the race of the main Child character? _____

35. What is the main Adult character's relationship to the main Child character?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Parent
- 2 Grandparent
- 3 Other relative
- 4 Teacher
- 5 Other (Please specify: _____)
- 99 Don't know

Questions 36 through 67 ask about the main Adult character's behavior.

Does the main Adult character (whether she or he is in a "snapshot" or not) **engage** in any of the following behaviors/activities in the book? **You must witness these behaviors/activities in the text and/or "snapshot."**

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable

Does the main Adult character:

- 36. _____ Serves or cares for infant (Birth through 11 months) (e.g., feedings, changes diapers, and bathes).
- 37. _____ Serves or cares for child/ren (more than 11 months old) (e.g., gets child ready for school, fixes dinner, and helps with homework).
- 38. _____ Verbally or physically expresses affection toward main Child character (i.e., says things like "I love you," and gives hugs and kisses).
- 39. _____ Neglects main Child character (e.g., does not comfort when child is hurt, does not feed child when child is hungry, and forgets to pick-up child from school).
- 40. _____ Verbally encourages main Child character during a task or activity (i.e., says things like "you can do it!").
- 41. _____ Praises main Child character for a completed task or activity or for a "job well done."
- 42. _____ Comforts or asks main Child character about feelings and thoughts.
- 43. _____ Listens to main Child character's problems.
- 44. _____ Purposefully teaches main Child character (e.g., shows how to cook while preparing meals).
- 45. _____ Non-physically disciplines or punishes main Child character (Includes chastising, disapproving, imposing "time-out" in the corner, having child/ren do chores as payment for an "offense," laying down "the law").
- 46. _____ Physically disciplines or punishes main Child character (Includes spanking, slapping, paddling, etc.).

- 47._____ Plays with main Child character.
- 48._____ Plays sports with main Child character.
- 49._____ Engages in “rough and tumble” play with main Child character (Includes rough housing, bouncing on a knee, spinning around, piggyback riding).
- 50._____ Tries to be an “equal” or “peer pal” to main Child character (e.g., “getting down on child’s level”).
- 51._____ Does traditionally feminine household chores (“Traditionally feminine” household chores include cooking and cleaning).
- 52._____ Does traditionally masculine household chores (“Traditionally masculine” household chores include mowing the lawn, working on the car, etc.).
- 53._____ Does household chores that cannot be classified as traditionally feminine or traditionally masculine (e.g., gardening)
- 54._____ Tries to show main Child character what it means to “be a man” (e.g., shows how to tie a tie, how to do yard work, tells male child not to cry and other traditionally male tasks or behaviors).
- 55._____ Tries to show main Child character what it means to “be a woman” (e.g., shows how to put on make-up, care for younger children and other traditionally female tasks or behaviors)
- 56._____ Engages in “positive” emotional interaction with spouse (e.g., comforting, hugging, kissing, asking about feelings and thoughts, and verbally supportive or encouraging, etc.).
- 57._____ Engages in “negative” emotional interaction with spouse (e.g., arguing and yelling).
- 58._____ Physically abuses spouse (e.g., slapping, shoving, throwing things at spouse, using knife or gun, and threatening to do any of these things).
- 59._____ Negative interaction with main Child character (e.g., ignores child while child speaks, does not answer child’s questions, and yells or argues with child).
- 60._____ Makes decision(s) for main Child character (e.g., tells child what to do without child input, lays out child’s clothing, and redirects child).
- 61._____ Gives main Child character “the look” to display disapproval (i.e., displays facial features such as glaring eyes or frowning).

62. _____ Disapproves of main Child character's behavior (e.g., addresses child's behavior in the text, redirects child, and punishes child).
63. _____ Refuses **to help** the main Child character.
64. _____ Refuses **the help** of the main Child character.
65. _____ Helps the main Child character.
66. _____ Forgives main Child character's behavior.
67. _____ Other (Specify : _____)

Questions 68 through 81 ask about the main Child character's behavior.

Does the main Child character (whether she or he is in a "snapshot" or not) **engage** in any of the following behaviors/activities in the book? **You must witness these behaviors/activities in the text and/or "snapshot."**

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not applicable

Does the main Child character:

68. _____ Negative interaction with main Adult character (e.g., ignores adult while adults speaks, does not answer adult's questions, and yells or argues with adult).
69. _____ Disobey's main Adult character (e.g., goes outside to play when told to stay inside).
70. _____ Seeks comfort from main Adult character (e.g., goes to main Adult character when hurt or needs words of encouragement).
71. _____ Verbally or physically expresses affection toward main Adult character (e.g., hugs, kisses, and to be rocked).
72. _____ Makes decision(s) all on their own (i.e., does not ask for permission, does not wait for permission).

73. _____ Seems incapable of making decisions (e.g., always ask Main Adult character what to do or how do something).
74. _____ Performs task or activity with little/no help from the main Adult character (e.g., makes own bed and meals, gets ready for school on their own, and ties own shoes).
75. _____ Refuses **to help** the main Adult character.
76. _____ Refuses **the help** of the main Adult character.
77. _____ Goes off on adventure(s) without the accompaniment of main Adult character or any adult.
78. _____ Plays only in or around the home.
79. _____ Plays while main Adult character performs household chores.
80. _____ Tells main Adult character what to do (e.g., tell them to make them something to eat, stop being mean, and other demands to adult).
81. _____ Other (Specify : _____)
82. If main Child character goes off on adventure(s) without accompaniment of main Adult character or any adult, please specify the adventure(s): _____

83. If the main Child character is in danger, does the child seek the assistance of an adult?
- 0 No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 99 Don't know
 - 100 Not Applicable (main Child character not in danger)
84. If the main Child character is in danger, does an adult assist the child without the child asking?
- 0 No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 99 Don't know
 - 100 Not Applicable (main Child character not in danger)

85. If the main Child character is in danger, does the child get out of the situation without the assistance of any kind from an adult?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable (main Child character not in danger)

86. Does the main Adult character plan organized leisure actives for main Child character (must be observed not assumed)?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

87. Does the main Adult character talk with the main Child character using reasoning and negotiation?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable (does not talk to the main Child character)

88. Does the main Child character follow the main Adult character's direction without complaint or question when directions are given?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable (does not give main Child character directions)

89. With whom does the main Child character interact more: playmates from her/his classroom and organized activities or playmates from her/his extended family (e.g., cousins) and the neighborhood?

- 0 No main Adult and/or Child character
- 1 Interacts more with playmates from her/his classroom and organized activities.
- 2 Interacts more with playmates from her/his extended family and neighborhood
- 3 Interacts with both groups about the same
- 4 Does not interact with either group
- 99 Don't know

90. Does the main Adult character advocate for main Child character in institutional settings (e.g., school, doctor, and organized activities)?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

91. Does the main Child character display a sense of entitlement?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

92. Does the main Child character metamorph into another being?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

93. If the main Child character metamorphs into another being, what do they change into and under what context?

94. Does the main Adult character metamorph into another being?

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

95. If the main Adult character metamorphs into another being, what do they change into and under what context?

Questions 96 through 121 refer to topics **discussed** in text and/or any “snapshots.”

Is the topic discussed in the text and/or “snapshots?”

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know

- 96. _____ Unacceptable parental or adult morality (e.g., drunkenness and multiple sex partners).
- 97. _____ Sexual development
- 98. _____ Child nudity
- 99. _____ Child physical abuse
- 100. _____ Child sexual abuse
- 101. _____ Child neglect (e.g., child not being picked up from school, child poor personal hygiene, not properly supervised, and not getting appropriate medical treatment)
- 102. _____ Profanity
- 103. _____ Death
- 104. _____ Illness
- 105. _____ Disability (e.g., mental and physical)
- 106. _____ Divorce
- 107. _____ Remarriage
- 108. _____ Single Parent
- 109. _____ Unemployment
- 110. _____ Money
- 111. _____ Rape
- 112. _____ Alcoholism
- 113. _____ Drug abuse

114. _____ Natural Disasters

115. _____ War

116. _____ Genocide

117. _____ Terrorism

118. _____ Pregnancy

119. _____ Homosexuality

120. _____ Imprisonment

121. _____ Other (Please specify : _____)

122. What is the moral presented in the story?

123. Any other comments about the book that you would like to make?

SNAPSHOT 1

124. What is the page size of the “snapshot?”

- 0 No picture
- 1 Less than 1 page
- 2 1 page
- 3 2 pages
- 4 More than 2 pages
- 5 Other:_____
- 99 Don't know

For questions 125 – 130 fill in the number of times each appears in snapshot:

- 125. males_____
- 126. females:_____
- 127. unknown gender:_____
- 128. adults:_____
- 129. children:_____
- 130. unknown age group:_____

131. Does the main Adult character appear in the “snapshot?”

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable

132. Does the main Child character appear in the “snapshot?”

- 0 No main adult and/or child character
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Don't know
- 100 Not Applicable

[This page is repeated up to SNAPSHOT 61; the variable numbers change]

Appendix D: Code Book

- Author Gender (AuthGen1, AuthGen2, AuthGen3)
 - 0 = No Gender
 - 1 = Female
 - 2 = Male
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- Illustrator Gender (IllGen1, IllGen2, IllGen3)
 - 0 = No Gender
 - 1 = Female
 - 2 = Male
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- Publisher (Pub1, Pub2)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0 = No Publisher 1 = HarperCollins 2 = Imprint of HarperCollins 3 = Random House 4 = Imprint of Simon and Schuster 5 = Imprint of Penguin 6 = Callaway 7 = ZonderKidz 8 = Little, Brown, and Company, and Warner Books 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 = Disney/Mouse Works 10 = Lyrick Publisher 11 = Scholastic Books 12 = A Golden Book 13 = Henry Holt & Company 14 = Joshua Morris Publishing 15 = Imprint of Nordsud Verlag AG 16 = Dreamworks 17 = Lyon's Group 99 = Don't Know 100 = Not applicable
--	--
- Copy Right Year (CopyRT1, CopyRT2) – use the exact year
- Edition of the book (Edition) – use the exact edition
- Award Winning (Award, TypeAward)

<p>Award:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 = Yes 2 = No 	<p>TypeAward:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0 = No Award 1 = Caldecott 2 = Caldecott Honor 3 = King Award 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 = King Honor 5 = Newberry Award 6 = Newberry Honor
--	---	--
- Bowker Year (BowkerYR) – use the exact year

- Bowker Category (BowkerCAT)
 - 0 = No Category
 - 1 = Frontlist Hardcover
 - 2 = Frontlist PaperBack
- 12 Time Setting of Story (TimeSet)
 - 0 = No Time Setting
 - 1 = Past
 - 2 = Present
 - 3 = Future
 - 99 = Don't know
- 13 Front Cover Picture (Front Cover)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
- 14 Front Cover Picture Found in Book (FC Found in Book)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 15 Who is on the Front Cover Picture (FC Features)
 - 0 = Neither MAC nor MCC Represented
 - 1 = MAC and MCC Represented
 - 2 = MAC Represented
 - 3 = MCC Represented
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 16 Back Cover Picture (Back Cover)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
- 17 Back Cover Picture Found in Book (BC Found in Book)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable

- 18 Who is on the Back Cover Picture (BC Features)
 - 0 = Neither MAC nor MCC Represented
 - 1 = MAC and MCC Represented
 - 2 = MAC Represented
 - 3 = MCC Represented
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 19 Title Cover Picture (Title Page)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
- 20 Picture on Title Page (Pic on TP)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 21 Title Page Picture Found in Book (TP Found in Book)
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 22 Who is on the Title Page Picture (TP Features)
 - 0 = Neither MAC nor MCC Represented
 - 1 = MAC and MCC Represented
 - 2 = MAC Represented
 - 3 = MCC Represented
 - 99 = Don't Know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 23 Main Character (Main Character)

0 = No main character	8 = Toy
1 = Human	9 = Food
2 = Animal/Beast	10 = Monster
3 = Machine	11 = Alien
4 = SuperHuman	12 = Dish
5 = SuperNatural Being	
6 = Insect	
7 = Snowman	

- 24 Main CHILD Character (MCC)

0 = No main adult and/or Child character	8 = Toy
1 = Human	9 = Food
2 = Animal/Beast	10 = Monster
3 = Machine	11 = Alien
4 = SuperHuman	
5 = SuperNatural Being	
6 = Insect	
7 = Snowman	

- 25 Main ADULT Character (MAC)

0 = No main adult and/or Child character	8 = Toy
1 = Human	9 = Food
2 = Animal/Beast	10 = Monster
3 = Machine	11 = Alien
4 = SuperHuman	
5 = SuperNatural Being	
6 = Insect	
7 = Snowman	

- 26 Main character MAC or MCC (Main Character Either)

0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes, main CHILD character
2 = Yes, main ADULT character
3 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 27 Age MCC (Age MCC)

0 = No main adult and/or Child character
1 = 0-5 years old
2 = 6-11 years old
3 = 12-17 years old
4 = Varies
99 = Don't know

- 28 Age MAC (Age MAC)

0 = No main adult and/or Child character
1 = 12-17 years old
2 = 18+ years old
3 = Varies
99 = Don't know

- 29 Gender MAC (Gender MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or Child character
1 = Female
2 = Male
99 = Don't know
- 30 Gender MCC (Gender MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or Child character
1 = Female
2 = Male
99 = Don't know
- 31 Race MAC (Race MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or Child character
1 = American Indian /Alaska Native
2 = Asian
3 = Black or African American
4 = Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
5 = White
6 = Some other race
7 = Two or more races
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 32 Race MCC (Race MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or Child character
1 = American Indian /Alaska Native
2 = Asian
3 = Black or African American
4 = Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
5 = White
6 = Some other race
7 = Two or more races
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 33 Identify race of MAC (Identify Race MAC)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or Child character
 - 1 = Physical Features (PF) Only
 - 2 = PF, Location, and Language
 - 3 = PF and Language
 - 4 = PF and Location
 - 5 = Location Only
 - 6 = PF, Location, and Clothing
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 34 Identify race of MCC (Identify Race MCC)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or Child character
 - 1 = Physical Features (PF) Only
 - 2 = PF, Location, and Language
 - 3 = PF and Language
 - 4 = PF and Location
 - 5 = Location Only
 - 6 = PF, Location, and Clothing
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 35 MAC relationship to MCC (MAC Relationship to MCC)

0 = No main adult and/or Child character	6 = Leader/Protector
1 = Parent	7 = Creator
2 = Grandparent	8 = Nemesis
3 = Other relative	9 = Neighbor
4 = Teacher	10 = Captor
5 = Friend	99 = Don't know
- 36 MAC serve/care infant (MAC Serves Infants)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 37 MAC serve/care child/ren (MAC Serves Children)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable

- 38 MAC Verbal Affection MCC (MAC Verbal Affection MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 39 (MAC neglect MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 40 (MAC encourages MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 41 (MAC praises MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 42 (MAC comforts MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 43 (MAC listens MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 44 (MAC teaches MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 45 (MAC Non-physical Discipline MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 46 (MAC physical discipline MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 47 (MAC plays MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 48 (MAC sports MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 49 (MAC rough tumble MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable
- 50 (MAC equal MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable
- 51 (MAC feminine chores)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable
- 52 (MAC masculine chores)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable
- 53 (MAC unclassified chores)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable
- 54 (MAC show man MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 55 (MAC show woman MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 56 (MAC positive Spouse)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 57 (MAC negative Spouse)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 58 (MAC abuse Spouse)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 59 (MAC negative MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 60 (MAC makes decisions MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 61 MAC "the look" MCC (MAC Give the Look MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 62 (MAC disapproves MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 63 (MAC refuse **to help** MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 64 (MAC refuse **the help** MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 65 (MAC helps MCC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 66 (MAC forgives MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 67a (MAC asks for help MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 67b (MAC saves life MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 67c (MAC ask permission from MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 67d (MAC puts curse on MCC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 67e (MAC accepts MCC choice)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 68 (MCC negative MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 69 (MCC disobey MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 70 (MCC seeks comfort MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 71 (MCC Verbal Affection MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 72 (MCC makes decisions)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 73 (MCC incapable decision)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 74 (MCC performs task no MAC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 75 (MCC refuse **to help** MAC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 76 (MCC refuse **the help** MAC)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 77 (MCC adventure no Adult)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 78 (MCC plays home)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
 100 = Not Applicable

- 79 (MCC play MAC chores)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 80 (MCC tell what to do MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 81a MCC saves/protects (MCC Saves Protects)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 81b (MCC asks for forgiveness of MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 81c (MCC praises MAC)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable
- 81d (MCC performs all household chores)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
100 = Not Applicable

- 81e (MCC seeks approval from MAC)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 81f MCC stands up against MAC (MCC stands up to MAC)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 81g (MCC advises Parent)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 82 MCC type of adventure (MCC Adventure)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = To escape current situation
 - 2 = To explore surroundings
 - 3 = To prove self capable
 - 4 = For fun
 - 5 = Banishment
 - 6 = To Save
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 83 (MCC danger seeks adult)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable (MCC not in danger)

- 84 Adult save MCC without asking (Danger Adult)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable (MCC not in danger)
- 85 MCC saves self no adult (Danger MCC)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable (MCC not in danger)
- 86 MAC organized leisure MCC (MAC Organize)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 87 MAC reasoning MCC (MAC Reasoning)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable(does not talk to the main Child character)
- 88 MCC follow direction MAC (MCC Follows Directions)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable(does not give main Child character directions)

- 89 (MCC interact more)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = more with playmates from her/his classroom and organized activities
 - 2 = Interacts more with playmates from her/his extended family and neighborhood
 - 3 = Interacts with both groups about the same
 - 4 = Does not interact with either group
 - 99 = Don't know
- 90 MAC advocate MCC (MAC Advocates)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
- 91 (MCC entitlement)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
- 92 (MCC metamorph)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
- 93a (MCC change into)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Better version of self
 - 2 = Perform Grown-up career
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 93b MCC change context (MCC Context)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = To impress/fit in
 - 2 = To escape situation
 - 3 = To save lives
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not applicable

- 94 (MAC metamorph)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
- 95a (MAC change into)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Better version of self
 - 2 = Mirage
 - 3 = Come to life
 - 4 = Stone
 - 5 = Return to original self
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 95b MAC change context (MAC Context)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = To recapture youth
 - 2 = To escape situation
 - 3 = To save lives
 - 4 = To encourage MCC
 - 5 = To be more powerful than others
 - 6 = Involuntary change/curse
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not applicable
- 96 Taboo morality (Unacceptable Morality)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
- 97 Taboo sex devel (Sex Development)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know

- 98 Taboo child nude (Child Nudity)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 99 Taboo child phy abuse (Child Physical Abuse)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 100 Taboo child sex abuse (Child Sexual Abuse)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 101 Taboo child neglect (Child Neglect)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 102 Taboo profanity (Profanity)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 103 Taboo death (Death)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 104 Taboo illness (Illness)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know

- 105 Taboo disability (Disability)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 106 Taboo divorce (Divorce)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 107 Taboo remarriage (Remarriage)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 108 Taboo single parent (Single Parent)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 109 Taboo unemployment (Unemployment)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 110 Taboo money (Money)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 111 Taboo rape (Rape)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know

- 112 Taboo alcoholism (Alcoholism)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 113 Taboo drug abuse (Drug Abuse)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 114 Taboo natural disaster (Natural Disaster)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 115 Taboo war (War)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 116 Taboo genocide (Genocide)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 117 Taboo terrorism (Terrorism)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know
- 118 Taboo pregnancy (Pregnancy)
 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 99 = Don't know

- 119 Taboo homosexuality (Homosexuality)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 120 Taboo imprisonment (Imprisonment)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 121a Taboo slavery (Slavery)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- 121b Taboo child mental abuse (Child Mental Abuse)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 = Yes
2 = No
99 = Don't know
- Moral of story (122)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 =
2 =
99 = Don't know
- Other comments (123)
0 = No main adult and/or child character
1 =
2 =
99 = Don't know

The following are repeated for each SNAPSHOT. Variables begin numbering with 124.

- 124 #Snapshot page size (#Page Size)
 - 0 = No picture
 - 1 = Less than 1 page
 - 2 = 1 page
 - 3 = 2 pages
 - 4 = More than 2 Pages
 - 5 = More than 1 page but less than 2 pages
 - 99 = Don't know
- 125 #Snapshot Male – enter in exact number (# Number of Males)
- 126 #Snapshot Female – enter in exact number (# Number of Females)
- 127 #Snapshot Unkn Gender – enter in exact number (# Number of Unknown Gender)
- 128 #Snapshot Adult – enter in exact number (# Number of Adults)
- 129 #Snapshot Child – enter in exact number (# Number of Child)
- 130 #Snapshot Unkn Age – enter in exact number (# Number of Unknown Age)
- 131 #Snapshot (MAC appear)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable
- 132 #Snapshot (MCC appear)
 - 0 = No main adult and/or child character
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No
 - 99 = Don't know
 - 100 = Not Applicable

[The variable numbers increase.]