

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE TREATMENT OF  
NEGRO CHARACTERS IN CHILDREN'S PICTURE  
BOOKS 1930 - 1968

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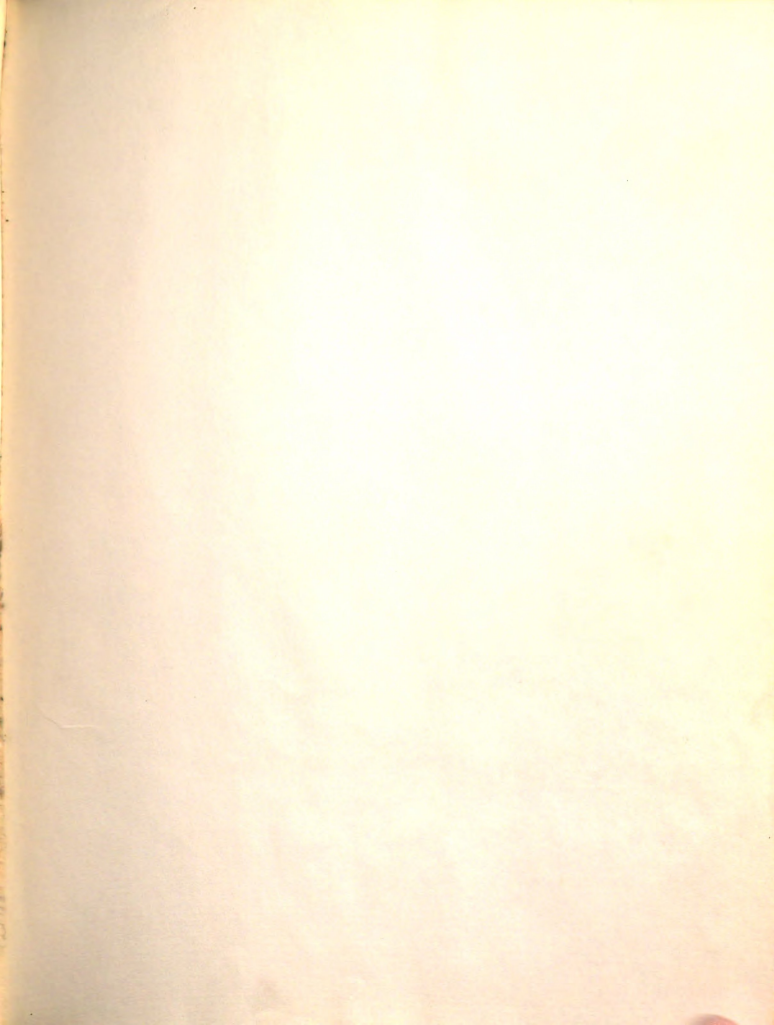
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A CONTENT ANALYSIS  
OF NEGRO CHARACTERS

The purpose of this study is to analyze the representation of American Negroes in children's picture books. The major question is: How are Negroes shown in the illustrations, and does this vary in the four historical periods?

Are Negroes shown in the illustrations of the four historical periods? If so, in what environments, or is there a separate environment shown? Does the representation of Negroes in the four historical periods vary?

Are Negro adults shown in the illustrations of the four historical periods? What is the proportion of Negro adults to the proportion of Caucasian adults shown in the illustrations of the four historical periods? Does the proportion differ in the four historical periods?

Are Negro children shown in the illustrations of the four historical periods? What is the proportion of Negro children to the proportion of Caucasian children shown in the illustrations of the four historical periods? Does the proportion differ in the four historical periods?

ABSTRACT

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE TREATMENT OF  
NEGRO CHARACTERS IN CHILDREN'S PICTURE  
BOOKS 1930-1968

By

Jane Marie Bingham

The Problem

The purpose of the study was to ascertain how the American Negro had been depicted in the illustrations of children's picture books published between 1930 and 1968. The major questions asked were:

Are a variety of Negro physical characteristics shown in the illustrations of the total population of books, and does this variety differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Are Negroes shown in a variety of interior and exterior environments, or is there a preponderance of one type of environment shown? Does this variety differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Are Negro adults shown in a variety of adult roles? What is the proportion of Negro adult roles compared to the Caucasian adult roles found in the same population of books? Does the proportion differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Do Negro characters interact with a variety of persons in a variety of ways? What is the race, sex, and age of the persons with whom they interact? Is the type of interaction parallel, non-physical, or physical? Does the variety of persons and types of interaction differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Can any statements be made as to the difference in treatment of the Negro characters in the several areas of analysis during the four historical periods outlined in the study?

#### Procedures

A total of forty-one books which included 1,067 illustrations were found on recommended book lists used by librarians, teachers, and children's literature specialists. The books were grouped into four historical periods: 1930-1944, 1945-1954, 1955-1964, 1965-1968.

Four major categories were constructed in order to differentiate and describe the treatment of Negro characters in the book illustrations: physical characteristics, environmental characteristics, adult roles, and character interaction.

A coding instrument, constructed for the purpose of the study, included sub-categories of the major categories which were derived from the questions posed, and were based on the content analyzed and the type of analysis used. Raters were used to determine whether the instrument was yielding meaningful results.

Conclusions

The major conclusions of the study were:

(1) Negro characters were depicted with a variety of skin colors, hair textures, hair styles, nose, lip, and eye formations and body builds. Characters showed the least amount of variety in their hair coloring. While the variety did not differ markedly during the historical periods there were some differences. Most exaggerations, as in eye and lip formations and body build, occurred in the earliest period (1930-1944) and seemed to reflect the prevailing social concepts of the time.

(2) Almost no important conclusions could be drawn about environmental conditions because of the paucity of interior and exterior situations in all historical periods. Period four (1965-1968) did include, however, more interior and exterior details, possibly because of the growing social concern and demand to show Negroes in more realistic settings.

(3) Considering all historical periods, there were more Negroes in work roles in the first two periods (1930-1944 and 1945-1954), than there were Caucasians in the last two (1955-1964 and 1965-1968). The Negroes in the first period were more likely to be shown in professional roles than occupational. In the second period, more Caucasians were found in occupational roles than Negroes. In periods three and four (1955-1964 and 1965-1968), more Caucasians

were found in all roles--professional, occupational, and laborer. This apparent discrepancy with the social revolution of the latter periods might be accounted for as an attempt to show more complete integration within society as a whole.

More Negro than Caucasian home roles were shown, with more mothers than fathers being present. Few adults other than parents were shown. Understandably, more Negro than Caucasian home roles were shown because almost all of the juvenile main characters were Negroes.

(4) Though a variety of types of interaction and characters were identified for all periods, none of the Negro main characters interacted in any way or at any time with a Negro female teen-ager or a Caucasian baby. Few Negro male teen-agers, Negro babies, Caucasian male and female teen-agers, and Caucasian female juveniles were identified.

The interaction among a variety of characters did not differ markedly from period to period. However, the variety and type of interaction did differ during the four historical periods. The amount of physical interaction increased from period one (1930-1944) to period four (1965-1968), most probably reflecting the greater amount of interaction which was being encouraged in society as a whole.

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1970

A THESIS

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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To the staff of the University of Wisconsin, Manager of WFSB, and to the staff of the University of Wisconsin, Manager of WFSB.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Present day Americans are struggling with the concept of what it means to be a Negro in America. The understanding of this complex concept is crucial to both black and white, young and old. Answers to such questions as: What do Negroes look like? Where do Negroes live? What can Negroes do? How do Negroes act? How do Negroes feel? are important for all young, impressionable children, regardless of race or ethnic origin. How Negro characters are treated in the picture books that a young child sees may help him in his early formulation of answers to the questions posed. Young children may be helped to develop an early positive racial awareness. In order that young children, may become responsible, confident, and constructively contributing members of American society, it is imperative that during their most impressionable years, all children, particularly black children, who historically have been part of America's suppressed racial minority, be imbued with a healthy self-concept, one which embodies a feeling of personal worth and societal acceptance. It is equally imperative that young white children, who

constitute America's racial majority, be imbued with respect for and understanding of all members of society, including Negroes.

The number of trade books published for children in the United States continues to increase each year. In 1920 there were only 410 trade books published for children; in 1965 almost three thousand children's trade books were published.<sup>1</sup> A significant number of these are books especially designed for young children who have not yet learned to read the printed word. These books use many illustrations to help children interpret the story as it is read to them; they also enable children to create their own stories using the pictures as a guide. Most of these books have a picture on every page and their text is quite brief.

In the present study the illustrations in children's picture books were viewed as having three important functions: (1) to describe the text, (2) to interpret the text, (3) to decorate the text. The illustration describes the text by presenting accurate concepts and accurate details in close juxtaposition with the text. The illustration interprets the text by adding details, concepts, subtleties, and moods that the text does not describe. Through the use of color, line, space, and form, the

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<sup>1</sup>Charlotte Huck and Doris Kuhn, Children's Literature in the Elementary School (2nd ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 5.

illustration may also decorate the text in order to make the book more aesthetically attractive and create interest in reading the text.

Young children do attend closely to the pictures found in books that are especially designed for them. Therefore, the content of the books' illustrations becomes a matter of concern for persons interested in the young child's development. What a young child sees in a picture contributes to his development of both concrete and abstract concepts.<sup>2</sup>

It is acknowledged that books alone or the pictures they contain will not cure the many ills of American society that serve to infect each new generation with crippling ideas and attitudes. As instruments for the transmitting of cultural values, books do have the potential to provide each new generation with sound information and to foster healthy attitudes. In a small but significant way, books may add positive nourishment to the hope of the world--the children--those impressionable beings who have the time to look and to learn, and have the potential to create a world of peace based on the understanding, respect, and appreciation of human differences.

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<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth Hurlock, Child Development (4th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1964), pp. 492-493.

### Need for the Study

The need for this study arose most broadly from the need in the field of children's literature to assess the historical development with respect to societal attitudes toward the representation of American Negroes in books recommended for children. More specifically, this study was concerned with the representation of the Negro in the illustrations in books for young children who have not yet mastered the skill of reading the printed word, but who are capable of "reading" pictures.

Just as members of other areas in American society are examining themselves in light of the "new Negro militancy" and civil rights legislation which calls for the positive treatment of black people in American society, people concerned with literature for children have also been examining the content of this literature in terms of how the Negro American has been and is presently being treated. Various methods have been used to assess the literature which includes Negroes, and various aspects of the literature have been considered, but no study has dealt exclusively with the text or the illustrations in books for young children. Studies that have analyzed a few of the books which are appropriate for young children and are

Children's Catalog has been

Nancy Larrick, "The Negro in Children's Books," Saturday Review, 1957

also included for analysis in the present study, were either subjective summaries of the books' contents and the evaluators' opinion of the books' worth, or analyses of the total content of each book with the illustrations playing a secondary role in the analysis.

The need for this study also arose from the investigator's belief that a summary was needed of that which had been written and researched concerning the treatment of the Negro in literature for children. Since the 1954 school integration decision, much research has been done and various opinions have been given concerning the treatment of the Negro American in various sectors of American life. The numerical representation of Negro Americans in a variety of occupations, schools, and geographical regions of the United States have been reported in great detail. Although the numerical representation of the Negro in the books children read has not been as systematically studied, a popular magazine article has pointed out the paucity of the representation of Negroes in books for children.<sup>3</sup>

Teachers of both black and white children have become more and more interested in knowing titles of books which they can use with their children that would depict Negro Americans in a "positive, non-stereotypic" manner. The Children's Catalog has books listed under the separate

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<sup>3</sup>Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," Saturday Review, September 11, 1965, pp. 63-65.

sub-heading Negroes. Several resources are devoted to listing books which deal exclusively with minority groups--the Negro being among the groups represented. Other reference sources deal exclusively with books which include Negro characters, giving a brief annotation of each book recommended. Thus, it seemed important and appropriate to analyze the illustrations in books for young children found on recommended lists of books which included Negro characters.

#### Importance of the Study

It is important that books for children be carefully selected and that their pictures be carefully examined.

Dr. Patricia J. Cianciolo has attested to the need for accuracy in children's books:

Regional, racial, religious or nationality groups should be pictured in an atmosphere which is accurate, . . .<sup>4</sup>

She has also stated that it is the responsibility of the book selector:

to choose books that will respect the uniqueness and similarities in the various social groups.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that children often need help in interpreting or "reading" pictures, as pointed out by Todd and

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<sup>4</sup>Patricia J. Cianciolo, "Criteria for the Use of Trade Books in the Elementary School Program" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963), p. 100.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

Heffernan,<sup>6</sup> is often overlooked. This point was deemed especially pertinent to the present study because the concept of what it means to be a Negro American may be interpreted by adults in a variety of ways. Adult interpretations may be transmitted to children through the discussion of or labeling of elements in a picture found in a child's picture book.<sup>7</sup>

In order that the significance of the present study be more fully understood, it seemed necessary to examine racial awareness of young children and to reflect upon the possible effect pictures might have in developing positive racial concepts.

The fact that young children are racially aware is supported by many studies.<sup>8</sup> Hurlock stated that:

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<sup>6</sup>Vivian Todd and Helen Heffernan, The Years Before School: Guiding Pre-school Children (New York: Macmillan, 1964), p. 424.

<sup>7</sup>Hurlock, Child Development, p. 396.

<sup>8</sup>L. Horowitz, "Development of Attitudes Toward Negroes," Readings in Social Psychology, edited by Newcomb Hartly and others. New York: Henry Holt, 1947; C. Landreth and B. Johnson, "Young Children's Responses to a Picture and Inset Designed to Reveal Reactions to Persons of Different Skin Color," Child Development, XXIV (March, 1953), pp. 77-78; J. K. Moreland, "Racial Recognition by Nursery School Children in Lynchburg, Virginia," Social Forces XXXVII (December, 1958), pp. 132-137; M. Radke, H. Trager and H. Davis, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children," Genetic Psychology Monographs XL (November, 1949), p. 440; H. W. Stevenson and E. C. Stewart, "A Developmental Study of Racial Awareness in Young Children," Child Development, XXIX (September, 1958), pp. 399-409.

As early as the pre-school years, the child can distinguish individuals of different races on the bases of skin and hair color and other physical features.<sup>9</sup>

Young children are not only aware of differences in physical characteristics but are also aware of the roles different people perform in society:

The child's concepts of race include not only the appearance of people of different racial groups but their occupations, their clothing, their living quarters, and their personalities and abilities. These concepts become increasingly linked with racial concepts as children grow older.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that Caucasian children's attitudes toward Negroes as worthy and acceptable members of American society may be affected by the nature of the presence or the absence of Negroes in illustrated material has also been reported.<sup>11</sup>

#### Importance of the Preservation of Racial Differences

Support for the idea that racial differences should be respected and preserved has come from a variety of sources and has indirectly justified the need for the present study.

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<sup>9</sup>Hurlock, Child Development, p. 396.

<sup>10</sup>Helen Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow, They Learn What They Live (New York: Harper and Row, 1952), p. 396.

<sup>11</sup>Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children, New York: Collier Books, 1968; Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929; John Litcher and David Johnson, "Changes in Attitudes Toward Negroes of White Elementary School Students After Use of Multi-Ethnic Readers," University of Minnesota (Mineographed copy) n.d.; and Helen Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow, They Learn What They Live.

Joseph Durham in the Clearing House stated:  
 "... minorities should not lose their identities  
 in the faceless anonymity of the melting pot. Minor-  
 ities should face the challenge of being different and  
 yet unite in the achievement of cultural pluralism."<sup>12</sup>

As Margaret Heaton has stated, it is, hopefully  
 with the casual acceptance of differences that the  
 understanding that there are common problems, common  
 aspirations, and common values will come.<sup>13</sup>

Jennemary Boyd quotes Charlemae Rollins as saying  
 that if the story is about modern times it must "give a  
 true picture of life as it is, now" and that the illus-  
 trations be drawn "with normal proportions of the human  
 frame in mind," not as caricatures.<sup>14</sup>

Leland Jacobs has maintained that validity is a  
 hallmark of the finest picture books and validity depends  
 on the artist being true to the fact or fiction that he  
 would convey.<sup>15</sup>

Ruth Korey suggested that Negro children who have  
 been handicapped in academic work by all white textbooks  
 and children's trade books may be helped to read more

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<sup>12</sup>Joseph Durham, "The Melting Pot," Clearing House  
 XXXIX, (May, 1965), p. 547.

<sup>13</sup>Margaret Heaton, "Stereotypes and Real People,"  
English Journal, XXXV (June, 1946), p. 327.

<sup>14</sup>Jennemary Boyd, "Passports to the Promised Land,"  
Elementary English, XXXV (November, 1958), p. 448.

<sup>15</sup>Leland B. Jacobs, "Picture Books at Their Best,"  
The Reading Teacher, XII (February, 1959), p. 188.

easily if they can readily identify with characters of their own race in a book.<sup>16</sup>

Hopefully, this investigation will contribute to greater knowledge about the treatment of the Negro in the illustrations of books designed and recommended for young children. It may also contribute more generally to the non-verbal communications field and to the research technique of content analysis. Few content analyses have been done in the area of non-verbal communication, even though non-verbal means of communicating are persistent, powerful, and pervasive.

In recent communications theory, it is stressed that it is most desirable to study the total communications spectrum--the communicator, the communication, and the communique. In the present study, only the communication was analyzed (the illustration), but ultimately the illustrator (the communicator) as well as the young child (the communique) should be studied in order to form a total communication's spectrum.

#### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe how Negro characters have been treated in the illustrations of recommended realistic fiction picture books designed for young children and published between the years 1930 and 1968.

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<sup>16</sup>Ruth Korey, "Children's Literature for Integrated Classes," Elementary English, XLIII (January, 1966), p. 40.

### Assumptions Underlying the Study

The fundamental tenets which underlie this study and influence its approach, its method, and its recommendations should be pointed out as having important implications for those who are concerned with the nature of human communication, the concept of race, and the implications of both for the education of children.

This study was based upon the assumption that the treatment of the Negro in the pictures young children study in their books does make a difference in the way in which the concept of what it means to be a Negro in America is formed for young children. It was further assumed that because of the passage of the recent Civil Rights legislation prohibiting discrimination toward Negroes, it is the responsibility of each sector of American life to evaluate its own particular treatment of Negro Americans in as objective a manner as possible. Children's books, as creations of authors and illustrators who live in American society, presumably reflect the society's values and mores. Therefore, the possibility does exist for the Negro to be discriminated against in the illustrations in children's books, especially since the Negro has been discriminated against to a serious enough degree in American society to cause several laws to be passed to guarantee basic human rights and freedom from discriminatory practices.

It was also assumed that (1) illustrations in books for young children do influence their values, attitudes, and concepts, (2) trade book illustrations depicting Negro characters contribute to the self-concepts of Negro children, (3) trade book illustrations depicting Negro characters contribute to white children's understanding of and acceptance of racial differences, (4) most young children in the United States have the opportunity to view the illustrations in trade books, and (5) the trade books included in the study have been or are presently found in public and school libraries as well as in many homes.

#### Definitions of the Terms Used

The terms that follow have been defined according to the way in which they have been used in the present study.

Picture book.--The term "picture book" has been used to refer to a book recommended by certain children's literature specialists and children's librarians for children from ages three through eight. Such a book contains a majority of functional illustrations on every page or every other page, and has less text than the less amply illustrated books for older children. Easy Books, Picture Books, Picture-Story Books, and Books for Young Children are the categories often used in lists of children's books. Any book found in any of the four categories was referred to as a picture book for the purpose of this study.

Trade book.--The term "trade book" refers to books found in public libraries that are not classified as textbooks. Some controlled vocabulary books which are often labeled trade-text books by children's literature specialists are considered to be trade books for the purpose of this study.

Realistic fiction.--The term "realistic fiction" refers to a story based on conceivable every day experiences of young children in a physical environment recognized as characteristic of the social milieu within the United States during the last fifty years.

Functional illustration.--The term "functional illustrations" refers to an illustration which contained details of a character's environment as opposed to illustrations containing only one full paged object or person or decorative designs.

Illustration.--The term "illustration" refers to a drawing, painting, photograph or any other graphic form of non-verbal communication found in books designed for young children.

Picture.--The term "picture" was used interchangeably with the term "illustration" for the purpose of this study.

Young children.--The term "young children" refers to children aged three through eight.

Non-verbal communication.--The term "non-verbal communication" referred to the non-written matter found in

books for young children i.e., the illustrations as opposed to the text or physical features of the book's format.

Content analysis.--The term "content analysis" referred to a research technique which may be described as the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.<sup>17</sup>

Category.--The term "category" referred to the part of the whole universe which differentiates and describes the content being investigated. A category has explicitly defined boundaries into which material is grouped for analysis, e.g., physical characteristics.

Unit.--The term "unit" referred to the segment of the content to be counted and scored in the analysis. For the purposes of the present study a unit is a sub-division of a category, e.g., skin color.

Concept.--The term "concept" referred to a generalized idea which includes everything that is suggested to a person by an object, symbol, or situation.<sup>18</sup>

Stereotype.--The term "stereotype" referred to "a fixed standardized conception of the attributes to a class of persons or social values, that is not readily modified by evidence of its falsity."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 489.

<sup>18</sup> Carter Victor Good, ed., Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945), p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 389.

### Definitions of Categories

Physical characteristics.--Physical characteristics were considered to consist of a Negro character's skin color, hair color, hair texture, hair style; lips, eyes and nose formation; and body build.

Environmental characteristics.--Environmental characteristics included both the indoor and outdoor environment. Aspects of the indoor environment included in this category were reading matter, viewing-listening matter, decor items, disorderly conditions, and crowded conditions.<sup>20</sup> Aspects of the outdoor, environment included in this category were single dwellings, multiple dwellings, temporary dwellings, businesses, community buildings, machines, greenery, and crowded conditions.

Adult roles.--Adult roles included the roles of both Caucasians and Negroes; both at-home roles and work roles outside the home designated as professional, occupational, or laborer.

Character interaction.--Character interaction included three ways in which the main character could be shown responding to other characters: parallel interaction, non-physical interaction, and physical interaction.

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<sup>20</sup> Note: Units of analysis are deliberately not parallel because the intent of the present study was to ascertain disorderliness and crowdedness only, i.e., as opposed to the total spectrum of order.

Definitions of Units of AnalysisUnits of Analysis for Physical  
Characteristics Which Were Judged  
By the Viewer

Skin color.--A Negro character's skin coloring was evaluated on a three point scale ranging from (1) light (tan or gray) through (2) medium (brown or gray) to (3) dark (dark brown or black).

Hair color.--A Negro character's hair color was evaluated as being (1) black or (2) brown, or (3) other (white, red, etc.).

Hair texture.--The term "hair texture" referred to the quality of the hair and how it appeared in the illustration. The Negro character's hair texture was rated as (1) crinkly (tightly curled/many narrow waves in each strand of hair, (2) curly (not tightly curled), (3) wavy (not curled but molded or set), (4) straight (no wave or curl at all).

Hair style.--The term "hair style" referred to the way in which the Negro character combed, set, cut, or in general wears, his hair. The hair was rated as (1) braided or put into one or two pony tails; (2) braided into three or more braids; (3) cropped (cut short with scalp showing); (4) cropped (cut short with scalp not showing); (5) high and natural; (6) loose and natural; (7) pulled back in a bun or straight; (8) styled in a non-African, Caucasian American manner; (9) long curls.

Eyes.--The Negro character's eyes were rated as (1) normal or (2) exaggerated.

Nose.--The Negro character's nose was rated as (1) flat, broad (Negroid in the anthropological sense); (2) high bridged (Caucasian in the anthropological sense); (3) button (an unformed, infant nose or a cartoon-type "dot" nose).

Lips.--A Negro character's lips were rated as (1) thin (a mere line or extremely narrow); (2) medium (not extremely narrow or broad); (3) thick (full, broad, or prominent); (4) exaggerated (disproportionately large or anatomically incorrectly drawn); (5) indistinct.

Body build.--A Negro character's body build was rated as (1) slight (thin or very slender); (2) average (not thin or fat or extremely tall); (3) large (fat or big or extremely tall); (4) exaggerated (disproportionately fat or large and anatomically incorrectly drawn).

Units of Analysis for Environmental Characteristics Which Were Judged By the Viewer.

Reading matter.--Newspapers, books, magazines, and the like constituted reading matter. It was judged by the coder as being (1) barely present (sketchy or only one present); (2) definitely present (clearly and fully shown or more than one present); or (3) present and being used i.e., being read or being handled.

Viewing-listening matter.--Radios, televisions, record players and the like constituted viewing-listening matter. It was judged by the coder as being (1) barely present (sketchily presented); (2) definitely present (clearly and fully shown or more than one form of viewing-listening matter present); (3) present and being used i.e., being watched or listened to.

Decor items.--Any objects judged by the coder to be serving as decoration for the home interior were rated as (1) barely present (sketchy or only one present); (2) definitely present (clearly and fully shown or more than one present). Decor items included candles, wall hangings of various types, vases of flowers and the like.

Crowded conditions.--Objects judged to be in close juxtaposition were considered to be crowded. Interior scenes and exterior scenes were rated as either being crowded to a lesser (1) or greater (2) degree.

Disorderly conditions.--Objects not in their accustomed places and interior scenes in a state of disarray constituted disorderly conditions. Interior scenes were rated as being disorderly to a small (1) or great degree (2).

Multiple dwellings.--Buildings such as apartments and duplexes constituted multiple dwellings. One or two (1) or more than two (2) were the possible ratings for illustrations containing multiple dwellings.

Single dwellings.--One and two story houses were considered to be single dwellings. A rating of (1) was given if the presentation was sketchy and if there was only one present. A rating of (2) was given if the presentation was clear and large and more than one house was shown.

Temporary dwellings.--Trailers, tents, club houses and the like were considered to be temporary dwellings. A rating of (1) was given if the presentation was sketchy and if there was only one present. A rating of (2) was given if the presentation was clear and large or more than one temporary dwelling was shown.

Community buildings.--Schools, post offices, fire stations and the like were considered to be community buildings. A rating of (1) was recorded if they were presented sketchily and if only one building was presented. A rating of (2) was recorded if the presentation was definite and large or more than one community building was shown.

Businesses.--Food stores, barbershops, repair shops and the like were considered to be businesses. A rating of (1) was recorded if they were presented sketchily and if only one building was presented. A rating of (2) was recorded if the presentation was definite and large or more than one business was shown.

Machines.--Cars, bicycles, construction equipment and the like were considered to be machines. A rating of (1) was recorded if they were presented sketchily and if only one was presented. A rating of (2) was recorded if the presentation was definite and large or more than one machine was shown.

Greenery.--Trees, lawns, flowers and the like were considered to be greenery. A sketchy or sparse presentation of greenery was recorded as (1). A definite and abundant presentation of greenery was recorded as (2).

Units of Analysis for Adult Roles  
Which Were Judged by the Viewer

Non-home adult roles.--Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc.), occupational (milkman, plumber, storekeeper, etc.), or laborer (farmer, factory worker, cab driver, etc.) and which may be performed by Negroes or Caucasians, males or females constituted non-home adult roles.

Home adult roles.--Home adult roles may be performed by adult males or adult females, Negroes or Caucasians. The roles were: mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, relative or neighbor and were judged as such by the coder.

Units of Analysis for Character  
Interaction

Parallel interaction.--Parallel interaction may be described as the main character's not looking at or not touching any other character even though the character was present in the same illustration.

Non-physical interaction.--Non-physical interaction may be described as the action involved when the main character was facing or looking at another character, but was not touching any other character.

Physical interaction.--Physical interaction may be described as the action involved when the main character was touching or in some kind of physical (bodily) contact with another character.

### Delineation of Time Periods

For the purpose of the present study the years between 1930 and 1968 were divided into four historical periods which paralleled major social and economic conditions that existed during the periods: 1930-1944; 1945-1954; 1955-1964; 1965-1968. The books used for analysis were placed in one of the four categories based on their original copyright date. The four time periods will be described and discussed in Chapter II.

### Questions

The major questions that were asked are as follows:

Are a variety of Negro physical characteristics shown in the illustrations of the total population of books, and does this variety differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Are Negroes shown in a variety of interior and exterior environments, or is there a preponderance of one

type of environment shown? Does this variety differ markedly during the four historical periods? Are Negro adults shown in a variety of adult roles? What is the proportion of Negro adult roles compared to the Caucasian adult roles found in the same population of books? Does the proportion differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Do Negro characters interact with a variety of persons in a variety of ways? What is the race, sex, and age of the persons with whom they interact? Is the type of interaction parallel, non-physical, or physical? Does the variety of persons and types of interaction differ markedly during the four historical periods?

Can any statements be made as to the difference in treatment of the Negro characters in the several areas of analysis during the four historical periods outlined in the present study?

### Limitations

The limitations of the study were recognized as follows: Only recommended picture books were analyzed, thus limiting the ability to generalize. Only four major aspects of the numerous possibilities in the illustrations were analyzed: Physical Characteristics, Environmental Characteristics, Adult Roles, and Character Interaction.

### Overview

The present study was undertaken to ascertain how the American Negro has been treated in the illustrations of children's picture books published between 1930 and 1968. The study seemed worthwhile for several reasons. First, the review of the literature revealed no studies of the pictorial treatment of the Negro in picture books for young children. Although children's picture books constitute a large proportion of books published for children and are in great demand in libraries and pre-school centers, no careful study of the content of these books has been attempted--neither of the picture or the text. Second, a consideration of the present historical period and the impinging social milieu with respect to the treatment of the American Negro in American society as a whole, compelled the investigator to make the study as socially significant as possible within her field of specialization. Third, previous studies in the field of children's literature concerned with the treatment of the Negro needed to be put into perspective, compared, and evaluated. Fourth, if children's picture books can influence a young child's development of concepts then it seemed that it was important to find out exactly what the books he looks at contain.

### Organization of the Remainder of the Study

In Chapter II, the literature pertinent to the present study will be reviewed. The design of the study



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature dealing with various aspects of the treatment of the Negro in children's picture books indicated that pictures have been considered as part of the total analysis of several studies of mass media communication,<sup>1</sup> but the sole analysis of illustrations in books containing only Negroes has not formed the basis for any study to date. Studies in the area of social psychology have involved the use of pictures which included Negroes in an attempt to ascertain racial awareness, racial attitudes, and in trying to change racial attitudes.

This chapter includes statements concerning (1) the importance and effectiveness of illustrations; (2) the function and brief history of illustrations in children's picture books; (3) the importance of pictures for the development of concepts in young children; (4) the

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<sup>1</sup>Melvin De Fleur, "Occupational Roles as Portrayed on Television," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXVIII, No. 1 (1964), pp. 57-74; Sidney Head, "Content Analysis of Television Drama Programs," Quarterly of Film, Radio, TV, IX, No. 2 (1954); pp. 175-194; Verdelle Lambert, "Negro Exposure in Look's Editorial Content," Journalism Quarterly, XLII, No. 4 (1965) pp. 657-659; M. Spiegelman, C. Terwilliger, and F. Fearing, "A Content Analysis of Sunday Comic Strips: A Study in a Mass Medium of Communication," Journal of Social Psychology XXXV, No. 1 (1952) pp. 37-57.

effect of illustrations in creating racial awareness and racial acceptance in young children; (5) the self-concept of the Negro child; (6) a brief social history of the American Negro (1930-1968) and an accompanying review of the literature discussing the treatment of the Negro in American literature for children with special emphasis on the Negro's treatment in picture books, and (7) a critical review of formal studies analyzing the treatment of the Negro in books for children.

#### The Importance and Effectiveness of Illustrations

The role that visual forms of communication have played in the development of our present day civilization is an essential and important one. Much has been made of the invention of movable type in the mid-fifteenth century, but the even earlier discovery of ways to print pictures and diagrams often is ignored or its significance overlooked. The fact that people who could not read the print could "read" pictures was significant in that non-verbal messages could be conveyed without the use of printed words. Even those who could read the printed word, have long benefited from diagrams and charts which helped to make their reading and their research more understandable.

A few tangential studies related to the importance of using pictures would seem to indicate the necessity of thorough, direct analysis of pictures influencing young children. Frank Blume's study used photographs of Negroes

in various social situations and occupational roles to determine how whites would rate the character traits of the Negro shown in the photograph.<sup>2</sup> Among other findings, Blume found that photographs were effective in significantly influencing his subjects' attitudes toward Negroes.

A study conducted by Litcher and Johnson significantly indicated that the use of pictures showing children of different races together was effective in creating more favorable attitudes in Caucasian children toward Negroes in specific test situations. The results of this study of the effect of multi-ethnic readers on Caucasian children's racial attitudes cannot be generalized beyond the findings for the two groups of children from an all-white community because the racial attitudes of the children were probably not firmly rooted in either direct experiences or reference group norms. The study did indicate, however, that children who were exposed to Negroes in their readers evidenced a reduction in the degree of preference for the Caucasian race shown and the degree of social distance reflected on the "Show Me" test.<sup>3</sup>

Other investigators have successfully used pictures of Negroes and Caucasians in test situations in order to

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<sup>2</sup>Frank Blume, "The Effect of Negro Pictorial Materials on Racial Attitudes," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1966).

<sup>3</sup>John Litcher and David Johnson, "Changes in Attitudes Toward Negroes of White Elementary School Students After Use of Multi-Ethnic Readers," University of Minnesota, n.d. (mimeographed).

study their subjects' racial attitudes, racial awareness, and self-concept. Pictures were deemed to be effective stimulators of reactions and conveyors of information.<sup>4</sup>

Gertrude Wilcox Griggs studied children's books containing minority group members, including Negroes, in an attempt to promote positive changes in attitude in first grade children toward Mexican-American, Oriental, and Negro minority groups.<sup>5</sup> Her purpose was twofold: to measure attitudes toward various ethnic groups, and to explore the possibility of changing attitudes through the medium of children's literature.

Griggs first administered the Show-Me Test using paper dolls depicting the Anglo-American, Mexican-American, Oriental and Negro ethnic groups. For three and one-half months selected children's books were read and discussed. At the conclusion of the experimental treatment an identical Show-Me Test was given and the results of the test compared with the first test. However, Griggs points out

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<sup>4</sup>E. W. Amen, "Individual Differences in Apperceptive Reaction: A Study of the Response of Pre-School Children to Pictures," Genetic Psychological Monograph L (1941) pp. 3-41; R. E. Horowitz, "Racial Aspects of Self-Identification In Nursery School Children," Journal of Psychology VII (1939) p. 96; C. Landreth and B. Johnson, "Young Children's Responses to a Picture and Inset Designed to Reveal Reactions to Persons of Different Skin Color," pp. 77-78; J. K. Morland, "Racial Recognition by Nursery School Children in Lynchburg, Virginia," pp. 132-137.

<sup>5</sup>Gertrude Wilcox Griggs, "A Study of Color Prejudice with First Grade Children Through the Use of Children's Literature," (unpublished Master's thesis, Claremont Graduate School, 1959).

that the statistical analyses of the Show-Me Tests were "encouragingly close to the point of significance"<sup>6</sup> and that she, as the teacher of the group of first graders studied, was able to discern "growth of insights and understandings in the group and a deeper sense of empathy toward people of other races."<sup>7</sup>

The Griggs study is one of the few that attempted to test the influence that books may have on children's attitudes and concepts.

The limitations of the Griggs study are numerous and serious.

Her choice of children's books designed to affect attitudes (presumably favorably) was poor. (As Glancy has pointed out, only two of the books chosen by Griggs represented Negroes favorably.<sup>8</sup>)

There were numerous problems apparent in the study's design: (1) the investigator also provided the treatment; (2) the ethnic composition of the low socio-economic group consisted of twenty-seven Anglo-Americans and five Mexican Americans with no Orientals or Negroes. The composition of the group did not seem to be taken into adequate

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Barbara Jean Glancy, "The Treatment of the Negro in Children's Books" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1964), p. 21.

consideration when findings were discussed. (3) Only thirty children's books were used and unequal numbers of books used for the various ethnic groups. (4) Three and one-half months seems to be an inordinately short amount of time to expect to affect attitudes toward four ethnic groups. (5) Although Anglo-Americans were considered to be one of the four ethnic groups, no books depicting Anglo-Americans were included during the treatment. The reasons for the exclusion is obvious, but the effect upon the design of the study was unfortunate and is not taken into due consideration in the discussion of the findings or in the conclusion of the study. As far as the illustrations were concerned, Griggs states that:

. . . the stories were judged primarily on the basis of content, rather than illustrative material, the writer did not overlook the importance of colorful and interesting illustrations in affecting group reactions.<sup>9</sup>

Whether colorful illustrations would have an effect on the group reactions, as Griggs states, is questionable and is not discussed or supported by research. Furthermore, Griggs did not give any indication of the criteria used to determine whether the illustrations would be interesting to first grade children. Therefore, Griggs' statement concerning illustrations has little meaning for the reader.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid. "A Study of Color Prejudice" p. 33.

The Function and Brief History of  
Illustrations in Books for Children

Pictures have long been used to help children in their attempt to understand and more fully recognize and appreciate their surroundings. Orbis Sensualium Pictus, the book usually credited as being the first "picture book" designed for children was a European textbook which made use of relatively crude woodcut illustrations. The first textbooks published for use in America also used crude woodcuts to illustrate such things as letters of the alphabet and animals for explanation and motivation.

Twentieth century technology made it possible to produce more sophisticated pictures in greater numbers at lower cost. By 1938 an award, the Caldecott Medal, was created to honor outstanding illustrators, and has been presented yearly by the American Library Association to the creator of the most distinguished picture book for American children.<sup>10</sup>

Leland B. Jacobs has observed:

Picture-story books help a child come into his literary heritage. They induct him into the wonder and splendor of the world of books. They stimulate him visually at a time when visual stimulation for reading is so important . . . . Developmental, basic reading is reading for enjoyment and knowledge and wisdom. Meanings are the urgency of the reading act. To the extent that

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<sup>10</sup>Two Caldecott award books contain Negro characters. The Rooster Crows by Maud and Miska Petersham won the award in 1946. The book was re-issued in 1964 without the illustrations which contained Negroes because they were considered to be "derogatory and stereotypic" by many people, especially Negroes. The Snowy Day by Ezra Jack Keats won the award in 1964.

picture-story books give young readers enjoyment and knowledge and truth, such books become basic in inducting the child into his culture through books.<sup>11</sup>

The belief that children can learn to read more easily and proficiently when the word is accompanied by a picture with which the child can identify is common in the field of reading. Koblitz has stated that "the sense of identification is a most important factor in learning to read and in continuing to pursue knowledge."<sup>12</sup>

A study by Edman revealed that all children who had limited experience in reading or who had reading difficulties tended to choose picture books with large illustrations and a minimum amount of text. "If this is typically characteristic of the disadvantaged child," says Edman, "then an emphasis on the picture book is not only important for the early reader but also for children at upper elementary and junior high levels."<sup>13</sup>

A 1965 report published by the National Council of Teachers of English, stressed the importance of having books in all pre-school and primary school classrooms.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Jacobs, "Picture Books at Their Best," p. 186.

<sup>12</sup>Minnie Koblitz, The Negro in Schoolroom Literature (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1966) Forward, u.p.

<sup>13</sup>Marion Edman, "Literature for Children Without," in A Critical Approach to Children's Literature edited by Sara Innis Fenwick (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 42

<sup>14</sup>Richard Corbin and Muriel Crosby, co-chairmen, Language Programs for the Disadvantaged: The Report of the NCTE Task Force on Teaching English to the Disadvantaged (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965).

The Importance of Pictures for the  
Development of Concepts in Young  
Children

The important role that pictures play in helping young children develop concepts has been pointed out by Hurlock.

Before the child is capable of reading, he learns many meanings from looking at pictures . . . . and his careful observation of pictures shows him details of objects and persons which he formerly had not noticed.<sup>15</sup>

Books with illustrations were seen to be especially helpful in clarifying concepts. As Hurlock has pointed out:

Not only does the child learn new meanings from books . . . but he also learns to associate certain labels or names with the concepts he is developing.<sup>16</sup>

Obviously a child's understanding of the world around him depends upon the opportunities afforded him to develop accurately as many concepts as possible. If one would agree that the illustrations in books designed for young children do influence their development of concepts and indirectly influence their attitudes and behavior, it would seem imperative that their books be examined to see what kind of concepts are being presented. Snider states that "psychologists tell us that naming the objects in a picture is an early

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<sup>15</sup>Hurlock, Child Development, p. 370.

<sup>16</sup>Hurlock, Child Development, p. 495.

essential to the development of perception in children . . . ." <sup>17</sup> And Lasker asserts that

the picture fastens into the mind of the child more definite impressions than the text, impressions that last long after the text has been forgotten. <sup>18</sup>

Lasker also pointed out that when pictures reinforce current erroneous conceptions of racial characteristics, the pictures are materially adding to racial mis-education.

Even though Lasker's methods of investigation were rather cursory and fragmentary, he did seem to find that children do tend to deride that which is strange in appearance. Thus, a race's dark color or other marks of racial distinctiveness produced in the children of Lasker's study

an amazing variety of hidden, attendant learnings which usually confirm rather than contradict those major influences that make for aversion and deprecation. <sup>19</sup>

What might the concept of Negro be if the child--either white or black--were exposed only to the illustrations analyzed in this study and included in books specifically designed, and expressly recommended for him?

Support for the idea that pictures be used when actual contact is not possible has come from Goodman.

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<sup>17</sup>Robert Snider, "Selection and Use of Visual Media," in Research, Principles, and Practices in Visual Communication edited by John Ball and Francis C. Byrnes. (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1960), p. 123.

<sup>18</sup>Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children, p. 160.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 376.

When real people in all their rich and interesting variety cannot be brought into the child's range of contacts, portraits will have to do. They can do very well indeed, if they are honest portraits. Stereotypes are more or less dishonest; the degree of unnecessary warmth with which they are defended is a pretty good measure of the degree to which they are felt to be dishonest. Honest portraits of racially or otherwise distinctive types of people are not difficult to come by these days, although they are not often drawn in terms understandable to the young child. There are still very few books for young children in which life-like portraits appear, but there are some (and Little Black Sambo is not one of them).<sup>20</sup>

Additional evidence supporting the contention that pictures can and do contribute to concept development in young children, even before the age of two, has been reported by Church in his collection of mothers' biographical accounts of their young children's cognitive growth.<sup>21</sup> Concerning Deborah at one year, twelve days, her mother wrote:

On some mornings she brings a magazine or a book to my lap and sits there for ten to forty minutes turning pages, looking at pictures, pointing to objects. She can find dogs and babies and noses and eyes and butterflies and O's and a variety of other things in random advertisements on being asked "Where is the . . . ?"<sup>22</sup>

At eleven months, one day, the description of Ruth's behavior read:

Ruth recognizes and generalizes from pictures to real things. We taught her to smell the flowers

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<sup>20</sup> Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children, p. 219.

<sup>21</sup> James Church, Three Babies: Studies in Cognitive Growth (New York: Random House, 1966).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

in her book--she inhales and then gives a big sigh. Now whenever she sees flowers in a book or outside--she smells them.<sup>23</sup>

The seemingly obvious implication here is that if the young child saw a variety of pictures of Negroes in books and was taught to accept them as people to smile at, to "wave bye to", etc., might not this behavior then generalize to real Negroes without the child showing fear of physical differences?

Most of our children made such classifications, either in respect to dolls, pictured people, or real people. The tendency to see the classificatory features is stronger, however, when the child is looking at representations than when he is looking at real people. The view is less obstructed by personality.<sup>24</sup>

The Effect of Illustrations in Creating  
Racial Awareness and Racial Acceptance  
in Young Children

Mary Ellen Goodman's studies in 1954 of racial awareness in young children indicated that children as early as three years of age are racially aware and that white children as young as four act in a prejudiced manner toward Negro children whom they consider to be inferior. She stated

It is precisely this superposition of the whites, tacitly recognized by all and deeply resented by the subordinated browns, which constitutes the biggest single fact about race relations, and the

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>24</sup>Goodman, Race Awareness, p. 42.

most comprehensive idea to which our children are exposed. The idea is pervasive and it pervades silently, like a creeping fog, and it is just about as difficult to stop.<sup>25</sup>

The Goodman study would seem to indicate that racial prejudices may be well established by school age. But whether these prejudices inevitably grow proportionately with age is debatable. As Trager and Yarrow were careful to point out, since their data were not longitudinal, they were unable to say whether children become more or less prejudiced as they grow older. However, their data did show that the older children (1st and 2nd graders) were more prone to "stereotyping and expressions of hostility" than the young children.<sup>26</sup>

The implications of such findings seem to be that if "stereotyping and expressions of hostility" against persons of a different skin color are to be discouraged in children six and seven years of age, they must be given an opportunity to see people with a variety of skin colors and other physical characteristics in a variety of social situations and occupational roles.

Of course, the mere seeing of such roles and situations in illustrations will not in and of itself produce changes in attitudes of children, but as Hurlock has pointed out

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>26</sup>Helen Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow, They Learn What They Live, p. 346.

children enjoy looking at the same books, time after time, . . . they acquire more specific factual material than if their interest were of a more casual, superficial sort. Added to this . . . they will ask innumerable questions about anything that arouses their curiosity in what they see or hear and, in that way, supplement their information.<sup>27</sup>

An important concept that may be strengthened through the illustrations in picture books designed for young children is the concept that black children do vary. As Nolen wrote in 1942,

They vary as widely as do white children and for the same reasons: socio-economic status, educational and cultural background and opportunity; mental ability; physical and emotional health . . . .<sup>28</sup>

Goodman has suggested that pictures be used to help young children grow in their appreciation of the beauty of non-Caucasian attributes and varied physical types.

The idea that human variety can be a source of esthetic interest and satisfaction can do Johnny no harm. And it is important for Johnny to think of variety as attractive because it makes all the shades essential, and equally essential; to the total attractiveness. It will take much more than this to keep him equally appreciative of the looks of Negroes and of whites, but every little bit helps.<sup>29</sup>

It is also important that familiar settings and experiences of the children be exhibited in order that comprehension and/or interest be gained. This was pointed out in the Trager and Yarrow study.

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<sup>27</sup>Hurlock, Child Development, p. 370.

<sup>28</sup>W. Nolen, "The Colored Child in Contemporary Literature," The Horn Book Magazine, XVIII (September-October, 1942), p. 351.

<sup>29</sup>Goodman, Race Awareness, p. 225.

It was apparent in the experiment that materials with themes which had a familiar setting, and which could be linked by the children to previous experiences, were much more effective than materials which did not provide such bases for comprehension or interest.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, in order to contribute to the improvement of the Negro child's self image it would seem that he must see himself in realistic yet meaningful situations in book illustrations.<sup>31</sup>

As Dr. James Banks has pointed out in a recent article concerning the treatment of the Negro in Social Studies textbooks:

The American child should be exposed to all types and classes of Negroes in American life, with identifiable Negroid features, but with illustrations depicting a wide diversity of "Negroid racial traits" . . . .<sup>32</sup>

Caucasian children have traditionally had an abundance of Caucasian models upon which they could build a valid self image that was in turn supported by the society in which they found themselves. It might be added that the Negro American child should be exposed to all types and classes of Caucasians, with identifiable Caucasian characteristics but depicting a wide diversity of "Caucasian racial traits."

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<sup>30</sup>Trager and Yarrow, They Learn What They Live, p. 360.

<sup>31</sup>It would seem that this point is also important for white children, particularly poor white children.

<sup>32</sup>James A. Banks, "The Need for Positive Racial Attitudes in Textbooks," in Robert L. Green (ed.), Racial Crisis in American Education (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969), p. 176.

The very fact that the word stereotype is often defined as "a picture in the mind" would seem to suggest that illustrations do significantly contribute to the mental image one carries of a person or group of persons.<sup>33</sup> The image one holds of one's self may also be affected by the illustrations that he sees.

### The Self-Concept of the Negro Child

The way in which Negroes are depicted in illustrations may influence a Negro child's conception of himself.

Jean Grambs has pointed out:

[The Negro] has few available models demonstrating effective escape from slum living. A few of those who are no longer on the edge of poverty, like the teacher or the minister, are often apt to reject the child who comes to school knowing nothing except slum-conditioned behavior, which is everything the middle-class person most resents and resists.<sup>34</sup>

It is often thought that the Negro male child's self-concept is directly linked to lack of adequate male models. Grambs disputed this point of view.

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<sup>33</sup>American Council on Education Committee on Inter-group Education in Cooperating Schools, Hilda Taba, director, Literature for Human Understanding (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948), p. 14.

<sup>34</sup>Jean Grambs, "The Self-Concept: Basis for Reeducation of Negro Youth," in Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship. Report of a conference sponsored by the Lincoln for Citizenship and Public Affairs (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965), p. 41.

It is communicated to Negro boys, somehow, that they are less wanted, less able to deal with their world, bound to fail in their efforts to be men. We cannot lay the major blame for the way Negro boys develop on the lack of adequate male models. It is highly probable that the trauma suffered by Negro females is passed on and displaced upon the males in the situation.<sup>35</sup>

To further explain the complexities of the formation of the Negro child's self-concept, she wrote:

Although the Ausubels state that 'Negro girls in racially incapsulated areas are less traumatized than boys by the impact of racial discrimination,' further evidence is needed to support such a statement. On the surface, Negro girls seem more able to cope with some of the demands of middle class society: going to school, behaving in school, keeping out of serious trouble with the law, showing responsibility for child rearing, and keeping a job. It is nevertheless possible that the impact of their situation is just passed on to the men in the household. Certainly a mother is a prime source, as we have stated, of the child's self-concept.<sup>36</sup>

Family situations alone are not the only factors to be considered. School and materials used in schools are extremely significant. Even though Koblitz, in the forward to her bibliography of The Negro in Schoolroom Literature, noted a "marked growth" in classroom materials, demonstrating a sincere effort to accurately portray integrated situations and to show Negro mailmen, doctors, and truck drivers, she also noted that they do "tend to give an ideal picture."<sup>37</sup> Koblitz was concerned that the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Koblitz, The Negro in Schoolroom Literature, Forward, u.p.

"happily ever after theme," which she viewed in a positive light and recognized as having universal childhood appeal, not be used "to obscure the necessity for a child to look upon the world with a realistic and open mind."<sup>38</sup>

The Caucasian child's self concept is strengthened by seeing the Negro in a variety of realistic situations because he is better able to react to black people as individuals and does not have to rely on stereotyping and scapegoating to build his self-esteem. If children are led to understand, respect and admire diversity it would seem that they would no longer need to fear differences in color, ability, or life situation.

Certain related studies seem to underscore the complexity that the Negro child faces in creating a significant self concept. Social roles tests conducted by Trager and Yarrow revealed that even in young children who had had integrated experiences, the white dolls were given more desirable roles than black dolls and that children ascribed roles to their dolls that paralleled the social roles held by whites and blacks in adult society.<sup>39</sup> In addition, Keating has pointed out that the Negro child's being depicted in subservient roles and largely reading about people with whom he cannot identify, adds to the child's

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

feelings of being on the outside of American society, of being self deprecating and of finding the educational process less than meaningful.<sup>40</sup>

The importance of showing Negroes in situations that are conducive to positive image building for the Negro child and positive attitudes toward Negroes for the Caucasian child was revealed in the following statement:

. . . if a Negro is repeatedly represented as a doctor, in situations in which the positive responses to the symbol of doctor are stronger than the negative ones to the color of the skin, this experience will tend to extinguish the unfavorable responses to the dark skin and to condition more positive ones.<sup>41</sup>

The importance of the child's models, the people whom he sees often and from whom he is disposed to learn, has been repeatedly indicated.

The fact that implications of a poor self-concept results in poor educational achievement has been pointed to in studies of self concept reported by Brookover and his associates.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Trager and Yarrow, They Learn What They Live, pp. 144-150.

<sup>41</sup>Neal Miller, Graphic Communication and the Crisis in Education (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1957), p. 67. Miller cautions that certain variables found to be important in other conditioning studies involving attitude change need to be systematically studied, such as the strength of the "unconditioned drives and the frequency, sequence, and spacing of both conditioned and unconditioned stimuli."

<sup>42</sup>Wilbur B. Brookover and Others, Improving Academic Achievement through Students' Self-Concept Enhancement (Cooperative Research Project No. 1636, Bureau of Research Services, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan). October, 1965. Educational Research Series No. 31.

Miller has indicated that identification with the hero facilitates adopting the hero's motives and attitudes.<sup>43</sup> Although the concept of identification probably points to an important effect to which pictures may contribute, it is a somewhat vague concept at present and it would seem that it should be sharpened before it can lead to significant research. Miller and Dollard's 1941 study involving their theory of imitation seemed to Miller to be a step (albeit all too short) in the right direction. Their theory of imitation led Miller to speculate that

more motivation will be aroused when the actors are similar to people whom the students have been rewarded for copying. In general, these will be people of high prestige, unless the prestigious people are completely out of the range copied by the audience. If the characters portrayed are completely unfamiliar to the members of the audience, we would not expect them to have any habits of copying such protagonists, and hence would expect little motivational effect.<sup>44</sup>

Miller further reasoned that perhaps this factor of identification is one of the reasons why P. W. Holaday and G. D. Stoddard (1933) and Sturmthal and Curtis (1945) found that familiar settings seemed to help learning from instructional films and why studies by Hoban (1953, 1953a) and C. I. Hovland, I. L. Janis and H. H. Kelley (1953) supported the hypothesis that identification with the protagonists is a significant variable in learning.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Miller, p. 68.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

Identification of pictorial content, of course, need not be limited to verbal identification. The value of pictorial impact can be, and often is, identification with personal categories of past experience. Such emotional, cultural, or aesthetic identifications often defy verbal description.

In summary, a review of the literature dealing with the pictorial treatment of Negroes reveals that: there have been no studies entirely devoted to the treatment of the Negro in the illustrations of books for children. There is research evidence to support the idea that pictures are an important and effective means of learning a variety of things--facts, attitudes and values.

It must be pointed out that there is disagreement in the literature on the topic of how Negroes should be treated in books for children.<sup>46</sup> On the one hand, there are those who hold that only the middle or upper class Negro should be depicted in illustrations because it is necessary to try to reverse unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes by showing them in the most positive way possible. On the other hand, there is the theory that all classes of Negroes should be depicted in illustrations thus giving a more realistic and honest view of the Negro.

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<sup>46</sup> Studies devoted solely to determining the pictorial treatment of Negroes have not been attempted, although Dr. John Appel of M.S.U. is presently studying the pictorial treatment of Negroes in pictures found at the Smithsonian Institute.

Most persons holding the first view suggest that books which contain negative stereotypes (which include realistic depictions of lower class Negro life) either be banned from libraries or at least not be included on lists of recommended children's books.

Those persons holding the second view usually maintain that none of the books about Negroes should be banned from libraries or lists. Some who hold this view feel the books serve as a valid historical record and that more recent books will eventually counterbalance the earlier pictures of the Negro that reflected American stereotypic notions about the Negro. Other persons feel that the earlier books should be consciously used with young children along with later books in order to give them a complete picture of Negro life past and present.

Marcella Kruger has suggested that the problem of whether to imbue the deprived child (black or white) with middle class values or whether to strengthen the positive aspects of his own unique cultural forms is not the problem at all. Rather, the problem, as she sees it, is to provide him with skills and knowledge that will enable him to select his own future direction.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Marcella G. Kruger, "Choosing Books for the Disadvantaged," Chicago School Journal, XLVI (March, 1965), pp. 246-255.

Brief Social History of the American NegroSocial and Economic  
Conditions 1930-1944

The social and economic conditions of the first half of the 1930-1944 period were colored by the devastating stock market crash of 1929. The national income in 1929 was approximately \$80 billion. By 1932 it had dropped to approximately \$40 billion.<sup>48</sup>

By 1930 about half of the United States' population lived in cities. The population was composed of numerous immigrants--both recently arrived and first generation. The period before the stock market crash was characterized by intolerance of foreigners and conformity to middle-class standards. The inequalities that existed between the splendid living conditions of the rich and the squalid living conditions of the poor was great, but the majority of Americans evidenced little concern about the matter. By 1932, however, over twelve million people were unemployed and the American middle class was in danger of being eliminated. Up until this time, Americans had put their faith in a doctrine which held that progress was inevitable, but the severe economic and social conditions of the times caused some to doubt this doctrine.

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<sup>48</sup>Irving S. and Nell M. Kull, A Short Chronology of American History: 1942-1950 (New Brunswick New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1952), p. 250.

The 1930's were also characterized by the rise of social protest that was carried out by a minority of individuals primarily through magazines and newspapers. Certain Americans attempted to reveal the grossly inadequate housing and living conditions that were available to the majority of the people living in cities. On the whole, there was a lack of response to the call for social action. The reasons for the lack of response were many and complex. However, certain gains were made in the area of Negro civil rights. In 1935 a Negro was denied admission to Amherst College, but the U. S. Court ordered that he had the right to be admitted; in 1938, when a Negro was denied admission to the University of Missouri Law School, the school offered to pay his tuition to a Negro law school. The United States Court, however, ordered that he be admitted to the University of Missouri Law School.

During the latter part of the 1930's, the Germans were waging war with most of Europe; but the majority of Americans refused to be stirred to war by the minority that continued to point out the magnitude of the injustice being done and to call for active support from the American people.

In 1936 Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-elected to the Presidency and continued to devise social action and relief programs designed to alleviate the depressed social and economic conditions which resulted from the 1929 stock market crash.

The later half of the 1930-1944 period was dominated by the Second World War. The United States entered the Second World War when the United States naval fleet at Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7, 1941. The war did not end until 1945. During this war period, the American economy was bolstered by the increase in jobs available in the production of war machinery. Negro Americans migrated to the war production centers to take jobs in war plants. Discrimination against Negroes was evidenced in the job placement procedures as well as in firing procedures. The increase in the number of Negroes in the already overcrowded ghetto areas of the major cities made living conditions even worse than they were in the 1930's.

The Treatment of Negro Characters in  
Illustrations in Children's Picture  
Books 1930-1944

The 1930's marked the beginning of what is often referred to as the Golden Age of Picture Books in the field of children's literature. The reproduction of pictures using off-set printing techniques which were introduced in America after World War I, contributed to the ease with which numerous copies of artists' pictures could be reproduced. Consequently, the number of picture books designed for young children substantially increased during the 1930's.

Illustrations in children's picture books of this period reflected stereotypes that were commonly prevalent in American society of the early 1900's. Dharathula Millender has given the following descriptions of Negro characters found in Frawg, a popular children's picture book of the period:

They all have big "liver" lips spreading over the lower halves of their faces, wear no shoes any place in the book, and Evvalena's hair is in three shoots coming out of three parted patches. . . .

One can see Evvalena looking similar to a brown miniature monster. . . .

True to Negro stereotype, Frawg has flopped out on the watermelon pile, tired, sleepy, lazy, and too full to move.

His house was shown with no screens and a square box propped up on some sort of supports. Five women are all shown looking like big barrels of hay with string belts around their shapeless, buxom forms.<sup>49</sup>

Millender describes the illustrations in Epaminodas and His Auntie as having "horrible illustrations in color with a lot of red and yellow on coal-black creatures, supposed to Negroes. . . ." <sup>50</sup> As Millender points out, there were a few "New Libraries" trying to make more honest books available to children about Negro life, but for the most part the circumstances of the depression were occupying most Americans' attention during the 1930's.

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<sup>49</sup>Dharathula H. Millender, "Selecting Our Children's Books: Time for Some Changes," Changing Education I (Fall, 1966), p. 10.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

Very few books dealt with racial problems during the 1930's. Huck and Kuhn note that Negroes were drawn as stereotypes. They were shown as "bandana-covered, fat mammy and the kinky-haired, thick-lipped 'funny' boy."<sup>51</sup> The Nicodemus Series was popular in the 1930's and was described by Millender as "a real disgrace to humanity" because of its stereotyped caricatures of Negroes.<sup>52</sup> The segregation of Negroes from whites in the 1930's was reflected in the photographic essay in the picture book Tobe published in 1939 as well as in other books of the period.<sup>53</sup> The introduction of the use of photographs, however, in children's picture books was a step in a positive direction away from the negative drawn or painted caricatures. As Morris pointed out in a master's thesis dealing with the treatment of the Negro in books for children, "[photographs] did much to convince readers that Negro children could look like human beings."<sup>54</sup>

In a similar study, Cohen noted that "the thirties showed a definite tendency toward placing Negro characters in realistic situations."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Huck and Kuhn, Children's Literature, p. 87.

<sup>52</sup>Millender, "Selecting Our Children's Books," p. 11.

<sup>53</sup>Huck and Kuhn, Children's Literature, p. 87.

<sup>54</sup>Effie Lee Morris, "A Mid-Century Survey of the Presentation of the American Negro in Literature for Children Published between 1900 and 1950," (unpublished Master's thesis, Western Reserve University, 1956), p. 71.

<sup>55</sup>Lucille F. A. Cohen, "Study of the Role of the Negro in Children's Fiction in the U.S." (unpublished Master's Thesis, Queen's College, 1962), p. 47.

Social and Economic  
Conditions 1945-1955

The fact that Negroes and Caucasians both fought in World War II, though mainly in officially segregated units, helped to create a climate of racial awareness and concern in the post-war period. It was not until after 1945, during Harry S. Truman's Presidency, that military and governmental units were ordered to integrate. At the same time, the fact that psychologists were emphasizing the importance of the environment in the development of the child coupled with the social scientists' interest in the study of racial and ethnic minorities, led to a rise in the number of studies conducted concerning Negroes in American society.

The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 reflected an awareness and a desire on the part of the majority of Americans to work with foreign nations in creating world peace and cultural understanding. Even so, the years between 1950 and 1953 were marked by the Korean War. Negroes and Caucasians fought together in the recently desegregated military units. Dwight D. Eisenhower, a military hero, was elected to the Presidency in 1952 and remained in office until 1961.

By 1950, about the same proportion of Negroes as Caucasians were living in cities rather than rural areas. Even though the Employment Practices Commission was established to help the Negro secure more jobs, higher wages, and a greater diversity in occupations, the Negro's social

and economic status appeared to have actually changed very little since the days of reconstruction.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States declared public school segregation unconstitutional on the grounds that the separation of school children on the basis of race even though the physical facilities may be essentially equal, constituted an inherently unequal situation. This case represented the first time that evidence as to the psychological effects of segregation were admitted as evidence by the court.

Treatment of Negro Characters in the  
Illustrations of Children's Picture  
Books 1945-1955

Books published for young children after 1945 were observed to have improved greatly in respect to the kind of illustrations of Negroes presented. By the 1940's the exaggerated caricatures of Negro children were being replaced by "healthy, clean, happy" youngsters who were seen as "sharing in complete harmony, the play, study, work activities" of white as well as black children.<sup>56</sup>

In 1948 two important pamphlets were published that commented on the treatment of the Negro in illustrations in books for children: The American Council on Education's

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<sup>56</sup>Betty Banner Preer, "Guidance in Democratic Living Through Juvenile Fiction," Wilson Library Bulletin, XXII (May, 1948), p. 681.

Literature for Human Understanding and Charlemae Rollin's  
We Build Together.

Living and working conditions in the United States during this period often made life uncomfortable for people who found themselves surrounded by crowded conditions; disrupted communities intensified their problems. As a result, discrimination and especially racial discrimination and especially racial discrimination sharpened.<sup>57</sup> In an attempt to help children extend their sensitivity to and their awareness of people different from themselves, the American Council on Education recommended that children's books be used to help children expand their own daily experiences to the point of being able to understand the values, traditions, mind-sets and social expectations of a variety of people. The Council saw the need for understanding other people as a "practical necessity because none of us can exist in isolation in the modern world."<sup>58</sup> The Council was concerned that a variety of differences in family life, economic differences, differences in the variety of ways in which and degrees to which different groups are able to participate in American life be shown in children's literature. Considerable attention was given to the topic of stereotypes in children's literature which

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<sup>57</sup>American Council on Education, Literature for Human Understanding, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

were considered to be "fixed, rigid ideas about groups of people and their characteristics."<sup>59</sup> Stereotypes, as false and inadequate generalizations, were seen as only one element in the conditioning of people's attitudes toward the Negro, but an important one. The fact that stereotypes were referred to as "pictures-in-your-head," as mentioned earlier, has special relevance for the present study.

It was suggested by the Council that racial differences be pointed out early, but in a positive way. In commenting upon the book Two Is A Team, which was included in the present study, the point was made that nowhere in the text was it mentioned that one of the boys was Negro, but the pictures showed a Negro boy and his mother. The kind of statement that was suggested for use if someone remarked that one of the boys was a Negro was: "Why yes, he does have nice dark skin and his mother does, too; see how pretty her dress is against it in the picture?"<sup>60</sup> Thus, the physical characteristics were put in a positive light through the use of favorable adjectives and a casual manner of discussion.

Charlemae Rollins also reflected the same general concerns expressed by the American Council. She was more explicit, however, in stating criteria for judging books

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

about Negroes for children.<sup>61</sup> Little Black Sambo is still on many recommended library lists, but in 1948 Rollins had the following statements to make trying to explain why Negroes were antagonized by the book and why she felt that it may convey wrong or distorted concepts to white children.

Few white people can understand how deeply most Negroes resent the name "Sambo" . . . It is almost as offensive to his sensibilities as "Nigger," "Darky," or "Pickaninny". . . . In some cities it is reported, Negro children mutilate and destroy [Little Black Sambo], showing in their own way their rejection and disapproval.<sup>62</sup>

She goes on to say that by reading Little Black Sambo well-meaning teachers and librarians "have often given the white children their first opportunity to ridicule a little Negro playmate by calling him 'Little Black Sambo.'"<sup>63</sup>

Rollins also felt that the illustrations in many of the "cheap reprints and animated editions" of Little Black Sambo made it even more offensive.<sup>64</sup> The books, pertinent to this study, which were described by Rollins as containing "wholesome, attractive pictures of Negroes in varied phases of life" were: Nappy Has a New Friend, Tobe, Hezekiah Horton and Billy Bates.

In summary, the period of 1945-1955 revealed increasing concern and awareness on the part of some persons in

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<sup>61</sup>Charlmae Rollins, ed., We Build Together (Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1948), p. 5.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

the children's literature field in connection with how the Negro was being presented in books for children. It was not until this period which began with the end of World War II that the problem of prejudice was openly faced and that several books for children contained integrated scenes.<sup>65</sup> Two Is a Team, published in 1945, was the first notable picture book for children which showed a Negro and a white child playing together on ostensibly equal terms with no mention being made of the fact that one of the children was a Negro and no issue of race being made.

Social and Economic  
Conditions 1956-1960

By 1956 the effects of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling were being felt most intensely in the Southern states. Many attempts to integrate schools in the South resulted in violence and destruction. By 1958, four years after the court's decision, fifteen out of the 1,354 biracial school districts in the South were integrated.<sup>66</sup> In 1956 the Library Services and Construction Act<sup>67</sup> was passed by Congress and enabled school districts to provide improved library facilities for school children.

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<sup>65</sup>Huck and Kuhn, Children's Literature, p. 229.

<sup>66</sup>Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 780.

<sup>67</sup>Title I (PL 597).

One year after the Russians launched Sputnik I in 1957, the National Defense Education Act<sup>68</sup> provided schools with funds to buy more instructional materials (including trade books) in order to strengthen America's educational programs especially in the areas of mathematics and science. The concept of human beings as economic resources for the nation as a whole and the accompanying idea of education as an investment for America's future well-being began to flourish during this period.

The production of material goods continued to increase. As more suburban housing developments were constructed, more and more whites migrated from the congested cities to the suburbs. The use of the mass media by the general population increased. Television sets became common household items. In 1958 alone fifteen hundred new children's trade books were published.

Madison Avenue advertising techniques and the values and practices of the business world were closely examined and much criticized during this period. Much analysis and speculation was also centered upon the inclination toward conformity evidenced by students and young adults. The anonymity of urban life and the depersonalization of society brought about by rapid automation were often given as two important reasons for the alleged conformity of the period.

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<sup>68</sup>Title I, Title II, and Title VI (PL 85-864).

Rebelling against the existing conditions, the Black Muslims preached the racial superiority of blacks and called for complete segregation of blacks and "blue-eyed devils"; at the same time they demanded that provision be made for equal economic and social opportunities.<sup>69</sup> Concurrently, there was an increase in the issuance of anti-Negro literature put out by white radical-right groups. Racial tension continued to increase. There began economic boycotts of buses and businesses in the South which refused to serve Negroes in the same manner in which they served Caucasians. "In February, 1960, the sit-ins began. A whole new kind of way of living began, and reached larger masses and groups of Negroes."<sup>70</sup>

Treatment of Negro Characters in  
Illustrations in Children's Picture  
Books 1956-1960

Like the American economy which continued to prosper after World War II, children's picture books also continued to flourish during the 1950's. There was greater variety in the techniques and media used by the large number of artists who decided to create children's picture books. The number of artists and authors choosing to include Negro characters in their illustrations, however, was not great

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<sup>69</sup>Malcolm Little, The Autobiography of Malcolm X with the assistance of Alex Haley. Introduction by M. S. Handler. Epilogue by Alex Haley (New York: Grove Press, 1965).

<sup>70</sup>Grambs, "The Self-Concept," p. 43.

during this period. When Negroes were shown, they were shown favorably and in integrated settings. Many studies of race awareness were published in the 1950's as a result of research done to prepare evidence for the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on the segregation of public schools. The 1956-1960 period appears to have been a time of transition. The 1954 Supreme Court ruling on segregation slowly began to penetrate American society; by the end of the 1961-1968 period, the effects of the Supreme Court ruling had precipitated numerous racial confrontations and several acts of Congress designed to discourage unfair treatment partially created by segregation in public facilities and unequal treatment under the law.

#### Social and Economic Conditions 1961-1968

The years from 1961-1968 were marked by much social turmoil in the midst of continued economic prosperity for the United States as a whole. In 1961, during the Presidency of John F. Kennedy, Congress established the United States Peace Corps which was designed to train American personnel who were sent abroad to aid developing countries. The American people's support of the Peace Corps reflected a broadening of their concern for peoples of different cultures and economic conditions. In 1962, the United States Court ordered that a Negro be admitted to the University of Mississippi; because the state did not comply with

federal orders, the federal government sent troops to enforce the law. Similar situations calling for federal troops occurred in other southern states. Race relations were extremely tense. In the year of the assassination of President Kennedy, 1963, a comprehensive civil rights law was passed; in 1964 an additional law was passed guaranteeing the voting rights of Negroes and "poor people." A massive march on Washington took place in 1963. Blacks and whites demanded firmer and more extensive civil rights legislation as well as better living and working conditions for Negroes. (As of 1963 the median income of non-whites was \$3,465 compared to \$6,548 for whites.)<sup>71</sup> A study made in the 1960's by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimated that 60 per cent of the Negro children in America were growing up in poverty stricken families.<sup>72</sup> Approximately 56 per cent of the Negro children of school age<sup>73</sup> had mothers who worked.

During the 1961-1968 period, various "Title Programs" were initiated which provided Federal funds for the purchase of numerous trade books for classroom and school libraries connected with pre-school and regular elementary

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<sup>71</sup>Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," The Negro American edited by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark. (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1965), p. 148.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

school programs.<sup>74</sup> In the 1967-1968 school year alone, forty-seven of the fifty American states allocated between fifty and one-hundred per cent of the funds provided by the federal government ESEA Act--Title II on school library resources as opposed to textbooks and other instructional materials.<sup>75</sup>

Racial tensions in the United States increased. The summer of the year 1967 was marked by numerous racial disorders in many cities throughout the United States. On July 29, 1967 President Johnson ordered a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to investigate the riots. The Commission's basic conclusion was that the nation was moving toward two separate and unequal societies--one black and one white.<sup>76</sup> They maintained that there was still time to reverse the trend toward separation if common opportunities would be made available to everyone within the society and if there could be a national commitment to action that would be compassionate, massive, sustained, and backed by all our national resources. It would require that every American acquire new attitudes, new understanding, and new will. The Commission charged:

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<sup>74</sup>Economic Opportunity Act of 1964--Title II, Part A (PL 88-452); Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965--Title I, Title II, and Title III (PL 89-10).

<sup>75</sup>Howard S. Rowland and Richard L. Wing, Federal Aid for Schools: 1967-1968 Guide (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 385-386.

<sup>76</sup>U. S. Riot Commission. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 1.

What white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.<sup>77</sup>

Treatment of Negro Characters in  
Illustrations in Children's Picture  
Books 1961-1968

By the year 1961, the full impact of the Negro revolution (which Grambs stated began in December 1960 with the sit-ins) was being reflected in the children's book field and noticeably in illustrations in new books. In 1962, Ezra Jack Keats' The Snowy Day won a Caldecott Award. It was the first notable book published for children since 1945 which contained illustrations of a Negro as the main character and did not mention race in the text. The Snowy Day, incidentally, was the first picture book for children containing a Negro main character that won a Caldecott Award.

Koblitz pointed out that a greater variety of work roles were also being made available to Negroes in pictures in her 1967 guide to The Negro in Schoolroom Literature.<sup>78</sup> Children may see in such pictures a greater variety of roles being carried out by a greater variety of Negroes than previously.

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>78</sup>Koblitz, The Negro in Schoolroom Literature, Forward, u.p.

In 1965, after the passage of much Civil Rights legislation and numerous sociological studies of the treatment of the Negro in American society, the Michigan Department of Public Instruction was quoted in the September 11, 1965 Saturday Review as having stated that education has the responsibility to present America as a multi-cultural, multi-racial, and multi-religious nation.<sup>79</sup> Theodore B. Dolmatch, author of the article, made the observation that whereas older textbooks for children did, indeed, show only "blond children and suburban homes," and no variety, the textbooks presently being published are of the "Color-me-brown" variety. Dolmatch asked whether replacing pink skins with brown skins or country children with city children was the answer to the diversity question.<sup>80</sup>

Nancy Larrick charged that six million, five hundred thousand black children were trying to learn to read and to understand the American way of life by using books that were almost entirely all white.<sup>81</sup> Larrick's charge followed Whitney Young's attack upon trade book publishers who omitted Negroes from children's books which purported to be realistic fiction.<sup>82</sup> Larrick conducted a study in which returns from a questionnaire from sixty-three of the seventy

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<sup>79</sup>Theodore B. Dolmatch, "Color Me Brown--I'm Integrated," Saturday Review, XLVIII (September 11, 1965), p. 73.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>81</sup>Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," p. 63.

<sup>82</sup>Dolmatch, "Color Me Brown--I'm Integrated," p. 73.

members of the Children's Book Council who published trade books for children, indicated that only an average of 6.7 per cent of the 5,206 children's trade books published included one or more Negroes. Even the figure of 6.7 per cent does not accurately indicate the scarcity of books portraying Negroes, however, because fifty per cent of the books included in the percentage are either set outside the continental United States or before World War II.<sup>83</sup>

For the years 1963-1965, Larrick noted that only four-fifths of one per cent of the children's trade books from the sixty-three publishers show contemporary Negro life.<sup>84</sup> Only twelve of the forty-four picture books omitted the word Negro.<sup>85</sup> Reportedly, the number of books which would include Negro characters was to increase 1.5 per cent in 1965 and earlier books were to be "updated."<sup>86</sup>

Critical Review of Studies Analyzing the Treatment  
of the Negro in Books for Children

A study dealing with the treatment of the Negro in children's books written by Negroes conducted by Dorothy

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<sup>83</sup>Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," p. 64.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

Bernice Wilson in 1956<sup>87</sup> revealed that books written by Negroes for children were usually limited to some phase of Negro life and most of the books were written for older children. The smallest proportion of the books were in the easy reading and picture book category. Wilson's study provided an annotated bibliography of books written for children by Negro authors.

In 1956, Effie Lee Morris attempted to do in the field of children's literature what John Herbert Nelson and Sterling A. Brown had done for the field of adult literature i.e., provide a chronological and objective analysis of the presentation of the American Negro character from an historical and sociological perspective.<sup>88</sup> Morris was interested in ascertaining how the treatment of the Negro in children's literature paralleled the Negro's treatment in American society during six historical periods she set aside for discussion: before 1900, 1900-1920, 1921-1930, 1931-1940, 1941-1945, 1946-1950. The children's books that Morris selected were either approved

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<sup>87</sup>Dorothy Bernice Wilson, "A Survey and Evaluation of Books Written for Children by Negro Authors," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Western Reserve University, 1956).

<sup>88</sup>Morris, "A Mid-Century Survey of the Presentation of the American Negro in Literature for Children Published between 1900 and 1950," 1956.

or disapproved according to literary standards and were analyzed in respect to role, theme, setting, characterization, language, and illustration; they were also analyzed in respect to how such literary elements developed during the historical period within which the books' authors lived and wrote.

Morris' study provided an interpretation of the social history of America's children, especially Negro children, as shown through their books, and a non-selective, annotated bibliography of children's books (current to 1950) which included Negro characters.

Morris made the following generalizations concerning the presentation of the Negro in children's literature during six historical periods set aside for interpretation:

- (1) Before 1900 the Negro was included in children's literature to give regional or historical authenticity to stories; his role was that of either servant or slave.
- (2) From 1900 to 1920, the Negro was used as a source of comic relief in books for children.
- (3) Between 1921 and 1930, the first stories of the Underground railway appeared, but the predominant picture was still that of plantation days, servant roles, and comic relief.
- (4) During the 1931-1940 period the first realistic books dealing with Negro children were introduced. Negro characters were found in major roles and non-nostalgic descriptions of slave life were found.
- (5) Between 1941 and 1945 stereotyped presentations were still present, but the majority of the children's books were gradually departing from a stereotyped treatment.

- (6) Between 1945 and 1950, Negroes were treated in a more realistic manner and there was a trend toward interracial stories in children's literature. The disappearance of the inclusion of Negroes for comic relief was noted. In addition, books for children during this period were characterized as having:
- (a) more southern than northern or western settings
  - (b) more rural than urban scenes
  - (c) more historical than contemporary periods
  - (d) more stories of the Underground Railroad than contented slaves

The Morris study was important to the present study in that it provided valuable social-historical background information. Several of Morris' findings may be supported or denied by the present study.

A study done by Mabel Jeter in 1962 was a continuation of the 1952 study done by Morris<sup>89</sup> and improved upon it by including specific information on each of the twenty-four books analyzed. In contrast to the Morris study, Jeter's bibliography was selective. All books included for investigation were included in reviews or lists written or compiled by librarians.

Added to and based on Morris' findings for the period 1900-1951, Jeter's findings for the 1951-1960 period were as follows:

- (1) There were as many Middle Atlantic as southern settings.

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<sup>89</sup>Mabel H. Jeter, "Presentation of the Negro in Children's Books Published Between 1951 and 1960," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1962).

- (2) There were more contemporary than historical time periods.
- (3) There was an increasing representation of Negroes in other parts of the world.
- (4) There were more Underground Railroad than plantation descriptions.
- (5) Most characters spoke standard English in contemporary settings and few speaking difficult dialect in the historical ones.
- (6) There were few derisive terms used.
- (7) There was less emphasis on skin color.
- (8) There were few even mildly distorted illustrations.
- (9) The themes dealt mostly with home and community life or prejudice.
- (10) There were primarily complete family units.
- (11) Negroes were gaining respect rather than being tolerated.
- (12) Books for the period were more realistic in that they tend to show the Negro as an integral part of society as a whole.

Jeter evaluated twenty-four books and concluded the following:

- (1) The adult male and adult female appeared most often with the male child, female child, male adolescent and female adolescent following in the order given;
- (2) Titles which had an adult male appearing, in most instances, had an adult female and vice-versa;
- (3) The male child appeared more often without the female child; yet, the female child appeared as often with the male as without it;
- (4) No Negro characters appeared in a major role without a subordinate character;

- (5) Characters appeared more often in major and minor roles in the same titles than in minor roles;
- (6) A majority of the authors introduced the [Negro] characters in the beginning of the stories;
- (7) A majority of the authors used a variety of "direct approaches" to let the reader know the characters were Negroes;
- (8) Only one author used a derisive term in describing a character physically;
- (9) Mildly distorted pictorial illustrations have almost disappeared.

The limitation of the Jeter study lay in the fact that only recommended books were included for evaluation which may mean that the social-historical emphasis of the Jeter study did not as accurately parallel the times as did the Morris study. In addition, the fact that only twenty-four books were evaluated limited the scope of the study. Jeter's evaluations of the books recorded on the checklists were most often ambiguous and confusing. The categories were not always mutually exclusive and the justification given for an acceptable or non-acceptable rating was not clear from the checklists alone, but had to be explained by brief annotations about each book. The result was that the findings were difficult to ascertain. A further limitation of the study was that it was highly subjective in that no attempt was made to have the investigator's findings checked by raters.

The Jeter study was especially important to the present study because illustrations were analyzed. However,

the analysis was limited in that only one picture book was included in the analysis of illustrations; the categories included for analysis were broad; the ratings of the illustrations were general; and the descriptions of the illustrations were vague.

The Jeter study was important to the present study in that its reported findings regarding sex and age roles may be supported or denied by the findings of the present study. Jeter's finding that "mildly distorted" illustrations have almost disappeared may also be supported or denied.

In 1965 David Karl Gast's doctoral study was devoted to the investigation of the problem of how several American minority groups have been characterized and conceptualized in children's fiction published between 1945 and 1962 and listed in library guides to children's books.<sup>90</sup> The minority groups Gast was concerned with were the American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Negro, and Spanish Americans. Gast's population consisted of forty-two children's books which contained a total of 114 minority American characters; the books as a whole and the individual characters provided two separate units of analysis; two separate data collection instruments were used. Individual characters for each minority group were analyzed in terms of seven different

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<sup>90</sup>David Karl Gast, "Characteristics and Concepts of Minority Americans in Contemporary Children's Fictional Literature," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, 1965).

characteristics and stereotypes imputed to them using the Katz and Braly List of verbal stereotypes. Individual books were analyzed to ascertain explicit and implicit concepts revealed about the minority groups through the stories read. Gast asked three major questions in his study:

- (1) What are the characteristics of and concepts about present day American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Negroes and Spanish Americans in contemporary children's fiction?
- (2) What are the identifiable stereotypes imputed to minority Americans in the literature?
- (3) How does the treatment of minority Americans in contemporary children's fictional literature compare with that shown in related studies of adult magazine fiction and school instructional materials?

Sixteen conclusions were drawn. The ones most relevant to the present study were:

- (1) Recent children's fiction generally portrays the Negro as having adopted the dominant middle class American values related to cleanliness, kindness, intelligence, ambition, hard work, and success.
- (2) Recent children's fiction generally contains complimentary stereotypes of present-day Negroes and middle class Anglo-American virtues make up the new stereotypes imputed to them by the authors of the literature.
- (3) Negroes are portrayed as being evenly distributed as to lower and middle class status rating.
- (4) Negroes were not found to be occupationally stereotyped as they were found to represent a wide range of occupations including white collar jobs and professions.

- (5) Recent children's literature, with one exception, portrays the Negro minority as the only minority whose members seek higher education and attend college.
- (6) Recent children's literature portrays the Negro minority as being more thoroughly assimilated into the dominant culture and having more social interaction with Anglo-Americans than the American Indians, the Chinese, and the Spanish Americans.
- (7) Negroes were portrayed as living in integrated neighborhoods.
- (8) Recent children's fiction presents no disparity between the number or importance of male and female characters.
- (9) Recent children's literature dignifies the differences in race, creed, and custom of American minorities and emphasizes similarities rather than differences between minority and majority Americans with regard to behavior, attitudes, and values.
- (10) Recent children's fiction is more complimentary to minority Americans when compared with literature analyzed in previous studies.
- (11) Recent children's literature contains a dearth of books about Negroes in the picture book and primary grade reading levels, while upper grade books are not uncommon.
- (12) Stories of Negro teenagers are numerous in recent children's literature when compared to a dearth of books concerning the other minority groups.
- (13) Recent children's literature generally portrays Negroes as being brown skinned people who often have Caucasian facial features and straight hair. Physical differences between Negroes and Anglo-Americans seem to be de-emphasized. Light skinned Negroes are portrayed as representative of the Negro minority.
- (14) In recent children's literature social acceptance in the dominant Anglo-American culture is the predominant theme in books about the Negro minority.

Some of the major contributions of the Gast study to the field of children's literature were that (1) it provided the field with information about several minority groups that have, on the whole, received little attention in the field; (2) it attempted to conduct a systematic, objective, and quantitative study using a more rigorous form of content analysis than previous investigators in the field of children's literature have used; (3) it made use of previous content analyses of adult fiction and other forms of communication outside the field of children's literature which reflected the attempt to treat American children's literature as a part of all American literature and as a valid and vital form of communication of American societal values.

The limitations of the Gast study were that (1) its depth of analysis was sacrificed for breadth; (2) in certain cases the number of books used for the analysis of a particular minority group was so small (only two books were used for the Chinese) that the ability to generalize was seriously narrowed and thus the conclusions of the study were questionable; (3) although illustrations were used in the ascertaining of individual characteristics they were only secondary to the text; (4) the procedures used to analyze the books, compile the data, and establish coder reliability were not explained fully and clearly enough.

The Gast study pointed to the need for more studies concerned with the treatment of minority groups in American children's fiction. It also reported, within narrow limits, certain findings about Negro Americans that may be confirmed or denied by the present study. In addition, Gast confirmed the fact that a dearth of picture books were recommended in ALA guides during the period of investigation that contained minority Americans, including Negroes. Finally, the Gast study considered pictures to be important aids in gleaning information about individuals, characters, and explicit and implicit concepts about minority groups.

In her 1962 study, Lucille Cohen summarized the historical and literary background of seven distinct periods: 1619-1861; 1862-1900; 1901-1920; 1921-1930; 1931-1940; 1941-1950, and 1951-1961.<sup>91</sup> In the last four periods, Cohen discussed specific children's books in terms of the Negro's role as revealed through the settings, themes, illustrations, and in terms of the influence historical developments of the period may have had on the authors and illustrators.

The Cohen study included a non-selective bibliography of one hundredeighty-two books which included Negro characters written for children from pre-school through

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<sup>91</sup>Cohen, "Study of the Role of the Negro in Children's Fiction in the U.S.", 1962.

junior high school age; emphasized more of the adult literary history than the Morris or Jeter studies; and covered the literary history of the period before 1900 more completely and thoroughly than the Morris study.

Nine of the books included by Cohen were included in the present study.<sup>92</sup> The Cohen study furnished important information about the social history of American society and the literary history of the treatment of the Negro in adult literature. Cohen's study did take illustrations into consideration and included fifteen picture books that are also included in the present study. Her comments about the fifteen books may be either accepted or rejected on the basis of the findings of the present study.

A 1966 doctoral study by Gerd Böger was, among other things, concerned with the content of books for young children which included Negroes as main characters.<sup>93</sup> The content analysis units were labeled as symbolic, empirical, ethical, and synoptic. The definitions given to the four thought units were as follows:

Symbolic thought comprises instances of the main child character communicating intelligibly through elementary forms of active inquiry.

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<sup>92</sup>A list of the books and Cohen's comments about the books are included in Appendix.

<sup>93</sup>Gerd Böger, "A Content Analysis of Selected Children's Books on the Negro and Japan," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966).

Empirical thought comprises instances of the main child character increasingly using his personal abilities as tools toward growing insight.

Ethical thought comprises instances of the main child character deciding consciously and acting responsibly in an ever widening context.

Synoptic thought comprises instances of the main child character comprehending himself integrally and envisioning his future time-life purposes.

The degree to which the thought unit in question reflected the main character as the subject of an action, and the degree to which he was the object of an action served to sharpen Böger's category definitions by providing a further means of qualification.

Böger concluded that the books on Japan were slightly more adequate than the books on the Negro in terms of the definition of a realistic story as "a tale that is convincingly true to life." Böger interpreted the relative absence of ethical and synoptic thought-units found in the stories on the Negro as a lack of opportunity for the Negro child to grow with respect to ethical and synoptic thought.

The main contributions of the Böger study with respect to the treatment of the Negro in books for children was that it recognized the possibility that children's books may influence a wide variety of modes of thought in children and that it is important to ascertain what these modes might be. It also stressed the importance of the adult reviewer who considers books for children from two points of view: viewing the child as the subject of his own actions

and viewing the child as the object in his relations with others. Böger was concerned that children's books help a child see himself in relationship to himself as well as to others. The method he used to analyze the children's books is prodigiously explained and the examples from the books are helpful in explaining how the thought units were scored.

In 1964, Barbara Jean Glancy attempted to counteract certain limitations of the Morris and Jeter studies by using a "statistical approach and dealing only with characteristics which lent themselves to objective analysis" and by "including all the children's fiction which included Negro characters and was published between 1951 and 1963."<sup>94</sup> It was Glancy's contention that the total characteristics in books of any one historical period should depict characters as exhibiting the entire continuum of skin color or socio-economic status found among real people. She was concerned that a desire to break away from formerly negative stereotypes would lead authors toward an idealized characterization which could, in turn, become a new "positive" stereotype. The study tried to determine whether the children's fiction published between 1951 and 1963 contained negative stereotypes, and to ascertain whether or not the

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<sup>94</sup>Glancy, "The Treatment of the Negro in Children's Books," 1964.

degree or direction of the stereotype diminished or changed during subsequent periods of study:

The findings of Glancy's study were as follows:

- (1) There were some characteristics of the negative stereotype of the Negro in at least fifty per cent of the children's books published between the years 1951 and 1963 and containing Negro characters.
- (2) Most of the instances of the negative stereotypes found (extremely poor, black-skinned, not socially integrated, living in Confederate states or living in rural settings) were found during the earliest years of the study.
- (3) Characteristics of the negative stereotype which showed diminishing trends during the period studied were: lowest status and extremely poor, Confederate and border state settings, ante bellum period, being called "Auntie" or "Uncle," having slaves depicted as contented, and the presence of multiple minor characteristics.
- (4) Characteristics of the negative stereotype which did not show diminishing trends were: Civil War periods, homes designated as cabins, and stereotyped personality traits.
- (5) A broader range of characterization did not take place during the period studied. Decreasing trends were noted in the range of characterization for socio-economic status, skin color, language, and degree of integration.
- (6) An increasing trend of supplying no information about socio-economic status, skin color, language, and degree of integration was noted.
- (7) The increasing trend of supplying no information about socio-economic status and language was directly related to the increase of books for the youngest readers published in 1963.
- (8) Four characteristics of the positive stereotype of the Negro (standard English, Union state settings, suburban communities, and contemporary periods) evidenced increasing trends.

- (9) Seven of the characteristics of the positive stereotype of the Negro (middle-class or wealthy, light-skinned, integrated in a bi-racial society, concerned with solving problems not specifically related to race, and possessing none of the minor characteristics) did not increase.

The contributions of the Glancy study to the field of children's literature were as follows:

- (1) It provided a continuation of the Morris study which ended with the year 1950 by including all books of fiction found on certain book lists but not necessarily selective or recommended ones published between 1951 and 1963 which had included Negro characters.

- (2) The study provided a non-selective bibliography of one hundred and forty-two books.

- (3) The study attempted an objective, systematic analysis of books by defining terms, reading books in random order, establishing and defining categories, and quantifying and then interpreting the findings.

One major limitation of the Glancy study was that the reporting of the data in the checklist table is in many cases ambiguous and inaccurate. Another limitation was that the questions the investigator initially asked were not directly answered in the reporting of the findings. In addition, no distinction was made in the selection or analyses of books of historical fiction and modern realistic fiction which would seem to make a significant difference in the kinds and numbers of characteristics

found. Also, no raters were used to confirm or deny the reliability of the investigator's findings.

The findings of the Glancy study in respect to diversity of skin color and socio-economic characteristics, which were based primarily on textual evidence found in books for older children, may be supported or rejected by the findings of the present study which dealt only with the pictures found in books for young children.

In Chapter II literature related to the present study was reviewed. In Chapter III the design of the study will be described and discussed.

### CHAPTER III

#### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The content analysis of non-verbal material, such as pictures, is a fairly recent development in the research field. Comparatively few studies of pictorial materials have been done. There have been no content analyses made of the pictorial material in children's picture books other than a study done to analyze the trends in the use of various media to produce Caldecott Award winning books.<sup>1</sup> Several studies within the field of children's literature have analyzed the content of children's fiction that contains Negro characters, but the pictures were of secondary importance and were few in number.

The justification for analyzing a form of non-verbal communication, such as illustration, stems from the fact that illustrations are, as are other non-verbal forms, powerful and pervasive means of communication. It is important

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<sup>1</sup>John Warren Stewig, "Trends in Caldecott Award Winners," Elementary English XLV (February, 1968), pp. 218-223 and p. 260.

to recognize that visual messages can be manipulated much as words may be manipulated.<sup>2</sup>

In their explanation of why they felt it was important to study comic strips, Spiegelman, Terwilliger and Fearing took into consideration the theory that "all forms of communication structure the individual's world and provide a framework for action."<sup>3</sup> Using this theory as a basis, it would seem to hold that if comic strips are thought to both reflect and mold cultural patterns and beliefs then picture books may also reflect and mold culture and beliefs.

As Spiegelman et al. pointed out, "it is the purpose of content analysis to identify, isolate, and, if possible, quantify any or all of the aspects of a particular communication's content."<sup>4</sup> The primary use of content analysis is to provide units of material against which "interpreter effects or producer intents may be audited."

Berelson and Salter pointed out in reporting their study of the representation of ethnic groups in popular adult magazine fiction that it is not only the overt and intentional areas of racial discrimination that are important.

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<sup>2</sup>James A. Fosdick and Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Encoder's Intent and Use of Stylistic Elements in Photographs," Journalism Quarterly XLI (1964) p. 176.

<sup>3</sup>Spiegelman, Terwilliger, and Fearing, "A Content Analysis of Sunday Comic Strips," p. 39.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Prejudice also finds its way into innocuous areas where people are exposed to [sources of discrimination] without consciousness that an ethnic problem is being raised at all.<sup>5</sup>

In order to ascertain whether certain forms of discrimination were present, content analysis was seen by Berelson and Salter as a meaningful and useful techniques for the present study also.

### Sampling

The total population of 41 books for this study consisted of books for young children found on the book lists<sup>6</sup> used by librarians, teachers, and children's

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<sup>5</sup>Bernard Berelson and Patricia Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," in Mass Culture edited by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963) p. 235.

<sup>6</sup>American Library Association, Books for Children: 1960-1965 (Chicago: American Library Association, 1966); American Library Association, A Basic Book Collection for Elementary Grades (Chicago: American Library Association, 1960); Augusta Baker, Books About Negro Life for Children (New York: The New York Public Library, 1961 and 1963); Muriel Crosby, ed., Reading Ladders for Human Relations (4th ed.; Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1964); Estelle Fidell and Emily Bradshaw, compilers, Children's Catalog: 1968 Supplement to the 11th edition (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1968); Rachel and Estelle Fidell, compilers, Children's Catalog (11th edition; New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1966); Mary Gaver, ed., The Elementary School Library Collection: Phases 1-2-3 (3rd ed.; Newark, New Jersey: Bro-Dart Foundation, 1967); Ruth Giles and Dorothy Cook, compilers, Children's Catalog (8th ed.; New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1951); Charlotte Keating, ed., Building Bridges of Understanding (Arizona: Palo Verde Publishing Company, 1967); Koblitz, The Negro in Schoolroom Literature, 1966; Charlamae Rollins, ed., We Build Together (Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1948 and 1967); Rachel Shor, compiler, Children's Catalog: 1967 Supplement to the 11th edition (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1967); Dorothy West and Rachel Shor, compilers, Children's Catalog (10th ed.; New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1961).

literature specialists. The books included for analysis had the following characteristics: (1) Conformed to the specifications of a picture book as the term has been defined for the purpose of this study, (2) Were recommended for children aged three through eight, (3) Had an original copyright date from the year 1930 through 1968, (4) Contained illustrations of one or more Negro characters, (5) Were classified as realistic fiction as the term has been defined for the purposes of this study, and (6) Were published in the United States of America. With certain exceptions, each book which met the above specifications and which was included in the recommended book lists was analyzed. The exceptions were as follows:

(1) Rowena, Teena and Tot and the Blackberries was substituted for Rowena, Tenna and Tot and the Runaway Turkey. The books have the same author-illustrator and were published within five years of each other. The substitution was made because Rowena, Teena and Tot and the Runaway Turkey was not available for analysis, but Rowena, Tenna and Tot and the Blackberries was available.

(2) The 1944 edition of Hezekiah Horton which contained drawings was substituted for the 1942 edition of Hezekiah Horton which contained photographs. The substitution was made because the 1942 edition could not be found. While it was realized that the 1942 edition which contained photographs would yield different data than the

1944 edition with drawings, the substitution was considered to be justified on the grounds that the book with drawings is more readily available to children.

(3) Peppermint, Good-bye Tonsils, How Can We Get to the Zoo? and Andy were not located in libraries in the United States and the Library of Congress suggested that they be obtained from the publisher. Since the present study was concerned with recommended books available to children in libraries, the books listed above were eliminated from the study.

(4) Beef Stew and Patrick Will Grow were eliminated from the study because in the first case, only one Negro adult role of teacher was included. In the second case, the frequency of the white child's parallel or non-physical interaction with black female characters did not warrant inclusion in the study.

(5) Hand-Me-Down House was not available at the State of Michigan Library, State of Ohio Library, The Detroit Public Library, the Chicago Public Library and the Library of Congress.

(6) Crosby Bonsall's Case of the Cat's Meow was not included because it could not be found at the time of analysis and later was considered to be enough like Bonsall's two other books that were included in the study that its inclusion did not seem to be crucial to the identification of the variety of the treatment of Negro characters in the illustrations of children's picture books.

### Categorization of Books

All books classified as realistic fiction by the researcher and found on lists of recommended children's books which had a Negro character or characters in them and were set in the United States during the years 1930-1968 were recorded on separate cards. Complete bibliographic information was recorded and each book was given a code number after they were sorted into four historical periods. Some books were recommended by all the compilers and some books were recommended by only one compiler. Note was also taken of the number of books with Negro characters that were recommended out of the total number of books in the non-specialized bibliographies such as Bro-Dart, Children's Catalog, ALA's Children's Books--1960-1965 and Basic Book Collection for Elementary Schools (1960).

The earliest date of publication for any book found on the lists and considered for inclusion was 1930<sup>7</sup> and this date coincides with the beginning of the "Golden Thirties" of American picture book publication. It was decided to include works during the depression years and the war years in one category which meant the years 1930-

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<sup>7</sup>None of the lists recommended any picture books previous to 1936 which were classified as contemporary realistic fiction and included Negro characters.

1944. Beginning with the year the war ended (1945) and including the year the Supreme Court Decision on segregation was made, the books published during 1945 through 1954 comprise another category. The sequential years 1955-1964 include the passage of National Defense Education Acts and Civil Rights Acts which combined brought both funds for more books and pressure for more books with Negroes in them. In 1965 more Civil Rights laws were passed and the number of books published continued to increase to the most recent year included which is 1968. Every illustration in every book was examined and when appropriate, analyzed for physical characteristics, environmental characteristics, adult roles, and/or physical interaction.

#### Constructing Categories

Categories were constructed to differentiate and describe the treatment of Negro characters in the illustrations in books for young children. These categories were based upon the nature of the research problem, the questions to be answered, the content that was analyzed, and the type of analysis chosen. They were constructed in such a way that questions asked might be answered, the treatment

of the Negro would be assayed as fully as possible, and that the categories would be mutually exclusive.

In order to assure that the categories would be mutually exclusive every major category, sub-category and every dimension of the sub-categories were completely and thoroughly defined in writing and referred to often throughout the analysis. During the preliminary analysis certain revisions had to be made. Some items were eliminated because they were virtually non-existent and some items were added because they had not been anticipated and did not fit, by definition, into any of the established categories. In certain cases minor changes in the definition of a sub-category or dimension of a sub-category allowed for the inclusion of unanticipated items.

The present study was primarily concerned with the characteristics of the content of picture book illustrations. Four basic categories were chosen as important aspects of the treatment of the Negro in illustrations in books for children: physical characteristics, environmental characteristics, adult roles and character interaction. Sub-categories were then established. The sub-categories of Physical Characteristics were: skin color, hair color, hair texture, hair style, eye formation, nose formation, lip formation and body build. The dimension of a sub-category was noted through the use of a number code with equivalents. For example, skin color had three dimensions:

1 = light skin color; 2 = medium skin color and 3 = dark skin color. When appropriate, provision was also made for listing the nonexistence of a particular characteristic.

The sub-categories of Interior Environmental Characteristics were: reading matter, viewing-listening matter, decor items, crowded conditions and disorderly conditions. The dimensions of the sub-categories were noted through the use of numbers: 1 = barely present; 2 = definitely present; and 3 = present and being used (not appropriate for disorderly crowded conditions). The sub-categories of Exterior Environmental Conditions were single dwellings, multiple dwellings, community buildings, businesses, machines, greenery and crowded conditions. The dimensions of the sub-categories noted through numbers were: 1 = barely or scarcely present; 2 = clearly or abundantly present.

The sub-categories of Adult Roles were home and non-home. The various roles in each sub-category were designed by recording the appropriate numeral in the appropriate column when the role was found in an illustration. For example, if a Negro mother was shown at home and the number for NFa (Negro Female Adult) was one, then the numeral one would be placed in the Home column.

The sub-categories for Character Interactions were: parallel, non-physical and physical. Three columns so labeled were provided.

Possible dimensions of each of the major categories were listed and sub-categories were selected on the basis of those dimensions which promised to yield the most information in terms of the questions being asked. Provision was made in most sub-categories for recording the non-existence of a particular characteristic.

Codes were devised in order to facilitate the recording of the desired information.

### Justification for the Selection of Categories

#### Physical Characteristics

It was deemed important to know how the Negro appears in recommended picture books because the illustrations may contribute to the child's development of the concept of what it means to be a Negro in America. This is an important concept for both Negro and non-Negro children.

The reason the type of physical characteristics were noted as they were was to determine whether a variety of physical characteristics were present in the sample studied, and to ascertain if the variety of physical characteristics shown in the four periods under consideration differed. One might hypothesize, for example, that during the earlier periods, before 1960, there was less variety and the characteristics stressed would be the most distinctively stereotypic Negroid ones started by Charlamae Rollins in We Build Together--dark skin, crinkly hair, flat nose, thick lips, large body build in adults and many pigtaails for children.

### Environmental Characteristics

It was deemed important to note the kinds of environmental characteristics shown in books which included Negro characters because the context in which a character is shown may influence a person's feelings or opinions about the character by association. It was decided to divide environmental characteristics into interior and exterior categories for convenience and clarity.

Interior environmental characteristics that were considered to be important designators of the kind of living environment the characters were found in were: reading matter, viewing-listening matter, decor items, crowded conditions, disorderly conditions.

Exterior environmental characteristics that were considered to be important designators of the kind of neighborhood the characters were found in were: single dwellings, multiple dwellings, temporary dwellings, community buildings, machines, greenery and crowded conditions. A great frequency of community buildings, businesses and machines was expected in the illustrations in books of the later periods to correspond to the rise of cities and the rise of the Negro population in cities. It was also expected that community buildings, businesses and machines would be three of the most common items that would be included in an illustration depicting a city environment.

The frequency with which greenery was found in the illustrations was thought to be an indicator of exterior environment also, with a greater frequency of greenery in the illustrations reflecting a more urban environment. The earlier periods, therefore, were expected to have a greater abundance of greenery than the later periods.

Crowdedness was thought to be an important aspect of city living conditions, and therefore a greater frequency of crowded exterior environmental conditions were expected in illustrations of books in the later periods than in the earlier ones. It would seem that in the earlier periods which held the Negro in a tight economic framework there would be found a greater frequency of crowded and disorderly conditions in the interior illustrations reflecting the majority of the Negroes' status. In later years it seemed that the Negro would be shown in interior situations where there was more reading matter, more viewing-listening matter and more decor items reflecting a more expansive picture of the Negro as American society became more informed about the Negro through the mass media and more social contact after the passage of the Civil Rights Acts.

It was presumed that the exterior environmental characteristics would also reflect the obvious social and economic conditions of the times. A greater frequency

of single dwellings was expected in the earlier period reflecting a rural environment, and a greater frequency of multiple dwellings was expected in later books of the period because of the rise of the Negro population in cities where multiple dwellings are abundant.

### Adult Roles

Non-Home--It was thought to be important to analyze non-home adult roles of both Negroes and Caucasians because it has been stated in the literature that children need to see adults in roles of power and influence outside the home. It is thought that the roles of Negro adults influence the Negro child's concept of himself and also influence his aspirations for later life work roles. It was felt to be important to find out how many males and how many females were in such roles because it is usually thought that the female Negro has access to a greater number of societal work roles than the male. Whether this is reflected in the roles Negro female adults are given in children's picture books or not was one of the questions this study sought to answer.

Home--It was thought important to analyze home roles to determine whether the adults pictured in the illustrations reflected social statistics that often indicate that Negro homes are female dominated, have relatives living with them, and lack fathers.

Whether more or less Caucasian than Negro adults were pictured in each of the four periods was of interest because it was assumed that more Negro adults would be pictured in books that have Negro children as main characters.

### Character Interaction

It was deemed important to note the kind of interaction that takes place among characters in children's books illustrations because human contact and communication are crucial aspects of human understanding and conceptualization. Interaction was evaluated by looking at degrees of interaction ranging from mere presence, through non-physically communicating, to physically touching one another. The sex, age, and race of the character with whom the main character interacted was noted in order to have a more complete picture of the interaction processes depicted in the illustrations.

It was expected that all forms of interaction would be more frequent in the later periods than in the earlier periods in an attempt to reflect and encourage interaction within American society.

### Developing Instrumentation

An instrument needed to be developed which would enable the investigator to consistently and completely record the frequency with which the sought after characteristics within each of the four major categories were

found in the picture book illustrations. In the process of developing the instrument several children's picture books were used to determine how the information might best be organized on the recording sheet.\* It was decided to use a separate sheet for each major category. The sub-categories were listed horizontally across the top of each page. The illustration page number was recorded down the left hand side and the degree to which an item was present or other sought after characteristics of the sub-categories were recorded in the proper column by using a number that corresponded to the desired information. The number code for each sub-category was provided on the right hand side of each recording sheet as was the letter code (NMj) provided when appropriate and necessary. The frequency with which each characteristic or item appeared was established by adding the number of times each number appeared in each column.

Before the actual analysis of each illustration in each book was begun the following information was separately recorded for each book:

The book's code number.

The total number of pages.

The total number of illustrations.

The number of illustrations which contained Negro characters.

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\* The books were not ones selected for analysis for the study.

The number of different Negro characters.

The race, sex and age of the main character.

The setting--urban, suburban or rural.

#### Using the Instrument

The instrument developed for this study was used to ascertain the existence or non-existence of certain elements in the pictorial treatment of the Negro characters found in children's picture book illustrations. It was developed for the purpose of providing a precise, pre-determined method of analyzing the content of each illustration in each book to be examined.

The examiner worked with several codes. One code was a letter code which labeled characters according to race, sex and age. (NMj = Negro Male Juvenile). The code and its equivalent was listed on the right hand side of the evaluation sheets with which the code needed to be used.

In addition to the letter code two types of numerical codes were used. The one numerical code corresponded to the items that may have been found in any one illustration. Thus, instead of writing the names of all the items found in an illustration or merely checking the items found in a predetermined list, the number of the item found in the illustration was recorded. The numerals and their equivalents were listed opposite the recording grids for Physical Characteristics, Adult Roles and Physical Interaction.

Instead of using a letter code for characters as was used when evaluating Physical Characteristics (NMa = Negro Male Adult) a numerical code was used for both the Adult roles and Physical Interaction. (NMa = 2).

A second type of numerical code was used to record the degree to which an item was present in an illustration. This code was used in analyzing Environmental Characteristics. The number code equivalents for Environmental Characteristics were placed to the right of the Environmental Characteristic's recording grid.

The examiner began with a book's first illustration. None of the illustrations found on the book's cover, fly-leaves or title page were evaluated. If an illustration was a double-page spread, the spread was analyzed as one illustration. If a page had two separate illustrations on it, these were analyzed as two illustrations.

Each illustration in each of the forty-one books was examined four separate times: for Physical Characteristics, for Environmental Characteristics, for Adult Roles and for Physical Interaction.

#### Use of Raters

Two female raters, one Negro and one Caucasian, were used to determine whether the instrument was yielding meaningful results--whether the investigator's perceptions of what appeared in the illustrations were, indeed, accurate. The directions given to the raters, may be found in Appendix A with a copy of the recording form they used.

Ten books were randomly sampled from the total population of forty-one books and were evaluated first by the investigator and then by each of the two raters. The results follow: The number of Negro characters seen by all raters in the ten books varied: Rater A saw 69 Negro characters, Rater B saw 73 and Rater C (the investigator) saw 84. The results of the analysis by two raters and the investigator are presented in Appendix B.

The results of the comparison of the rater's analyses indicated the following areas of major disagreement.

The three raters identified different numbers of Negro characters in the picture book illustrations. It is possible that some characters were counted twice by one rater or that another rater excluded some characters.

Two raters identified 12 Negro characters with brown hair coloring while a third rater identified only one out of the total number of books. Perhaps the colors used were perceived differently by the third rater.

In the judging of hair textures a wide discrepancy was noted in the indistinct-fuzzy outline category. One rater did not see any indistinct-fuzzy outline hair textures while one of the other two raters saw three and the other twenty. Because the choice of an indistinct-solid color hair texture option existed, perhaps the raters perceptions differed as to whether the outline was fuzzy or solid.

In Chapter III the methodological procedures used to conduct the study were delineated. The chapter included a discussion of the use of content analysis as a method of research, the sampling and categorization of books, the justification for and construction of categories for use in the analysis of the content of children's picture book illustrations, and the development, utilization and validation of the recording instrument.

Chapter IV will include the findings of the study. Each of the major findings will be analyzed and discussed.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

A total of 41 books were included for analysis in the study. These books contained a total of 1,067 illustrations; in 869 of the illustrations Negroes appeared. Eighty-one per cent of the illustrations in books for all periods contained Negro characters.

Of the 41 books, 37 had identifiable main characters. Thirty of the main characters were Negro male juveniles and four were Caucasian male juveniles. Only three female juveniles were identified as main characters, two of whom were Negro and one was Caucasian. No adults were identified as main characters.

In period one, 96 per cent of the illustrations contained Negroes; in period two, 92 per cent contained Negroes; in period three, 79 per cent contained Negroes; and in period four, 75 per cent of the illustrations contained Negroes. Table 1 reveals that period four contained the smallest percentage of illustrations including Negro characters while period one contained the largest percentage.

TABLE 1.--Number and Percentage of Illustrations Containing Negro Characters by Period.

	Period				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
Number of books	5	7	11	18	41
Number of illustrations	159	220	224	444	1,067
Number of illustrations with Negro characters	153	203	178	335	869
Percentage of illustrations with Negro characters	96	92	79	75	81

Two hundred thirty-nine Negro characters and 247 Caucasians were found in the total number of books for all periods. Of the 486 book characters 49 per cent were Negro and 51 per cent were Caucasian.

Five books were analyzed in period one (1930-1944) which contained 159 illustrations, with 153 of them including Negro characters. Of the thirty-eight characters identified in period one, four were Caucasian and 34 were Negro.

The seven books included in period two (1945-1954) contained 220 illustrations. Negro characters were depicted in 203 of these. The majority of the characters pictured in period two were Negroes, with 78 Negro and 44 Caucasian characters identified.

Period three (1945-1954) included eleven books in which 244 illustrations were found, with 178 of these including Negro characters. Of the 85 characters identified, 33 were Negroes and 52 were Caucasians. Unlike periods one

and two, the majority of the characters pictured were Caucasian not Negro.

The 18 books analyzed in period four (1965-1968) contained 444 illustrations; Negro characters were found in 335 of these. Of the 241 characters identified in period four, 94 were Negro and 147 were Caucasian. Table 2 shows the percentage of Negro and Caucasian characters found by period in the book illustrations.

The types of settings in books of each period and for the total number of books are given in Table 3.

The findings of the study showed that period three (1955-1964) had contained more urban settings than period four (1965-1968) and three more urban settings than the first two periods combined. Period four contained more rural and suburban settings than urban settings.

#### Presentation of the Findings

Findings from the data will be presented according to each of the major categories and the units within the categories in an attempt to answer the questions presented in Chapter I.

#### Physical Characteristics

Seven aspects of the Negro character's physical make up were included for analysis in order to determine whether

TABLE 2.--Number and Percentage of Negro and Caucasian Characters Found in Total  
Number of Picture Books by Periods.

	Period				Total
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV	
Number of characters	38	92	85	241	486
Percentage of Negro characters	89	64	39	39	49
Percentage of Caucasian characters	11	36	61	61	51

TABLE 3.--Number of Types of Settings Found in Books by Period.

Setting	Period				Totals
	I (1930-1944)	II (1945-1954)	III (1955-1964)	IV (1965-1968)	
Number of books	5	7	11	18	41
Rural	4	0	2	6	12
Urban	1	1	5	4	11
Suburban	0	5	3	8	16
Not clear	0	1	1	0	2

a greater variety of physical characteristics would be found in the illustrations of children's picture books during the later (1965-1968) period than during the earlier periods (1930-1945, 1946-1954, 1955-1964).

Skin color.--Results of the study, shown in Table 4, indicated that the early period (1930-1944) showed the greatest percentage of dark skin colors, and that only period three (1955-1964) showed a greater percentage of medium skin colors than period one. The greater variety for each of the three gradations of skin color was present in the second period (1945-1954). The third period (1955-1964) showed the least variation in skin color.

The number of books and the number of characters having a variety of skin colors have been included in Table 4 in order to make the findings more meaningful.\*

Hair color.--As Table 5 shows, the first period (1930-1944) contained fewer Negro characters with black hair coloring than any other period. Period two (1945-1954) showed the greatest percentage of black hair color. A slightly greater variety of hair colors was found in the fourth period.

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\* All tables dealing with the physical characteristics of Negro characters include both the number of characters which were depicted and the number of books including the characters in order that the given percentages might be interpreted more accurately.

TABLE 4.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Skin Colors By Period.

Skin Color	Period											
	I			II			III			IV		
	(1930-1944) Total Books:5			(1945-1954) Total Books:7			(1955-1964) Total Books:11			(1965-1968) Total Books:18		
	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books
Light	2	6	1	28	36	4	3	9	2	29	31	9
Medium	26	76	4	39	50	4	29	98	10	58	62	13
Dark	6	18	2	11	14	4	1	3	1	7	7	3
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

TABLE 5.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Hair Colors by Period.

Hair Color	Period											
	I (1930-1944)			II (1945-1954)			III (1955-1964)			IV (1965-1968)		
	Total Books:5			Total Books:7			Total Books:11			Total Books:18		
	Characters	No. of		Characters	No. of		Characters	No. of		Characters	No. of	
	No.	%	Books	No.	%	Books	No.	%	Books	No.	%	Books
Black	23	68	5	75	96	7	25	76	8	69	73	15
Brown	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	12	3	13	14	3
Other	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	4	4	3
Not Shown	10	29	2	3	4	1	3	9	3	8	9	5
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

Hair texture.--As indicated in Table 6, the greatest proportion of Negro characters with crinkly hair texture was found in the first period (1930-1944) and the last two periods revealed a greater proportion of curly or wavy and straight hair textures. The last period (1965-1968) displayed a slightly greater variety of hair textures than the third period (1955-1964). The least amount of variety of hair textures was revealed in period two (1945-1954). It had the fewest straight hair textures and the greatest percentage of indistinct hair textures of all periods.

Hair style.--Table 7 reveals that the first period (1930-1944) had the greatest percentage of Negro characters with three or more braids, but it did not have any "styled" hair styles. The fourth period (1965-1968) had the greatest percentage of "styled" hair styles as well as the greatest variety of hair styles of all periods.

Nose.--More flat nose formations were identified in the first period (1930-1944) than in any other period reported in Table 8. The second period had the greatest percentage of high-bridged nose formations. The greatest variety of nose formations was found in the fourth period (1965-1968).

Eyes.--As Table 9 shows, a greater percentage of eye exaggeration occurred in the early period (1930-1944), and no exaggeration appeared in the last three periods (1945-1954, 1955-1964, 1965-1968).

TABLE 6.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Hair Textures by Period.

Hair Texture	Period											
	I (1930-1944) Total Books:5			II (1945-1954) Total Books:7			III (1955-1964) Total Books:11			IV (1965-1968) Total Books:18		
	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books
Crinkly	8	23	2	8	10	3	3	9	3	10	11	6
Curly or Wavy	2	6	2	7	9	4	5	24	5	24	25	10
Straight	3	9	3	3	4	2	4	12	2	16	19	4
Indistinct	7	21	5	48	62	9	15	45	10	34	36	11
Not Shown	14	41	4	12	15	2	3	9	3	10	11	5
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

TABLE 7.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Hair Styles by Period.

Hair Styles	Period											
	I (1930-1944)			II (1945-1954)			III (1955-1964)			IV (1965-1968)		
	Total Books:5	No. of Books	Characters No.	Total Books:7	No. of Books	Characters No.	Total Books:11	No. of Books	Characters No.	Total Books:18	No. of Books	Characters No.
Braided(1)	0	0	4	5	1	1	3	1	6	6	4	4
Braided(2)	4	12	3	4	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Cropped	11	32	30	38	9	10	30	7	30	30	17	17
Natural	1	3	3	3	3	5	15	4	8	8	6	6
Pulled Back	5	15	11	14	6	4	12	3	4	4	4	4
Styled	0	0	4	5	4	3	9	3	21	22	11	11
Indeterminable	13	38	23	29	6	10	30	7	24	25	9	9
Total No. of Characters	34		78			33			94			

TABLE 8.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Nose Formations by Period.

Nose Form	Period											
	I (1930-1944)			II (1945-1954)			III (1955-1964)			IV (1965-1968)		
	Total Books:5			Total Books:7			Total Books:11			Total Books:18		
	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books
Flat	23	68	4	12	15	4	13	39	7	29	31	9
High	5	15	2	37	47	6	4	12	2	25	27	8
Button	0	0	0	16	20	5	7	21	4	16	17	8
Indistinct	6	17	3	13	16	4	9	27	5	24	25	7
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

TABLE 9.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Eye Formations by Period.

Eye Form	Period											
	I (1930-1944)			II (1945-1954)			III (1955-1964)			IV (1965-1968)		
	Total Books:5			Total Books:7			Total Books:11			Total Books:18		
	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books
Normal	16	47	3	69	88	7	27	82	11	79	84	18
Exaggerated	11	32	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indistinct	7	21	3	9	12	4	6	18	5	15	16	5
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

Lips.--The greatest proportion of thick and exaggerated lip formations appeared in the first period (1930-1944) as is shown in Table 10. No exaggerated lip formations appeared in subsequent periods. The last period (1965-1968) showed the greatest variety of lip formations.

Body build.--As Table 11 indicates, the greatest percentage of exaggerated body builds was found in the first period (1930-1944), but the greatest proportion of large body builds was found in the third period (1955-1964). The last period (1965-1968) did not show any greater variety in body builds than the second or third periods, but it was the only period which did not show any exaggerated body builds.

### Environmental Characteristics

Five interior environmental characteristics were analyzed to ascertain the kind of interior environment in which Negro characters were found and the items with which they were associated in each historical period, and to note any differences that were present.

Seven exterior environmental characteristics were included to ascertain the type of exterior environment in which the Negro characters were found in each historical period and to note differences.

Interior.--The scant frequency with which environmental characteristics appeared in the illustrations made it impossible to draw any conclusions about the reading matter, viewing-listening matter, decor items, and

TABLE 10.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Lip Formations by Period.

Lip Form	Period											
	I (1930-1944)			II (1945-1954)			III (1955-1964)			IV (1965-1968)		
	Total Books:5			Total Books:7			Total Books:11			Total Books:18		
	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books	Characters No.	%	No. of Books
Thin	0	0	0	5	6	3	3	9	2	19	20	7
Medium	7	21	1	48	62	7	12	36	6	29	31	10
Thick	16	47	3	13	15	4	6	18	4	22	23	6
Exaggerated	8	23	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indistinct	3	9	2	12	17	6	12	36	5	24	26	7
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

TABLE 11.--Negro Characters Found to Have Different Body Builds by Periods.

Body Build	Period											
	I (1930-1944)			II (1945-1954)			III (1955-1964)			IV (1965-1968)		
	Total Books:5			Total Books:7			Total Books:11			Total Books:18		
	Characters No.	No. of Books	%	Characters No.	No. of Books	%	Characters No.	No. of Books	%	Characters No.	No. of Books	%
Slight	0	0		3	2		1	1		1	1	
Average	21	62		64	7		25	11		77	18	
Large	2	6		4	3		4	2		4	3	
Exaggerated	8	23		2	1		2	2		0	0	
Not Shown	3	9		5	2		1	3		12	13	
Total No. of Characters	34			78			33			94		

crowded and disorderly conditions depicted in any of the periods, as is revealed in Table 12.

Exterior.--Table 13 indicates that exterior environmental characteristics were not abundant in the illustrations in any period; thus, it was impossible to draw any conclusions with reference to the frequency of single dwellings, multiple dwellings, community buildings, businesses, machines or crowded conditions.

#### Adult Roles

Three non-home adult roles were analyzed to determine the type of adult work roles, the race, and the sex of adult models depicted in the illustrations during each historical period.

In the four historical periods a total of 107 non-home adult work roles were identified. Period one (1930-1944) included nine, period two (1945-1954) twenty-nine, period three (1955-1964) twenty, and period four (1965-1968) forty-nine non-home adult work roles.

The proportion of non-home adult roles according to race is presented in Table 14. Period one (1930-1944) showed the largest proportion of Negro non-home adult work roles, while period four (1965-1968) showed the smallest proportion of Negro and the largest proportion of Caucasian non-home adult work roles.

TABLE 12.--Frequency of Interior Environmental Characteristics Found by Period.

	Reading Matter			Viewing Listening Matter			Decor Items		Crowded Conditions		Disorderly Conditions		Total Number of Illustrations	
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	2		
Period I (1930-1944)	1	0	2	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	159	
Period II (1945-1954)	3	4	9	0	1	2	4	4	0	8	0	0	220	
Period III (1955-1964)	5	4	5	0	0	0	8	2	1	2	0	0	224	
Period IV (1965-1968)	24	38	11	18	3	4	38	9	9	3	1	3	444	
Total	33	46	27	18	4	7	52	17	11	14	3	4	1,067	

TABLE 13.--Frequency of Exterior Environmental Characteristics Found by Period.

	Single Dwellings		Multiple Dwellings		Community Buildings		Businesses		Machines		Greenery		Crowded Conditions		Number of Illustrations
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
Period I (1930-1944)	5	0	4	1	0	2	4	0	38	2	43	15	1	2	159
Period II (1945-1954)	17	4	3	3	14	2	12	5	3	2	59	11	0	2	220
Period III (1955-1964)	10	3	3	17	2	0	5	2	9	5	45	13	0	16	224
Period IV (1965-1968)	9	2	14	25	5	1	11	14	12	12	81	12	3	23	444
Total	41	9	24	46	21	5	32	21	62	21	228	51	4	43	1,067

Five home adult roles were analyzed to determine which adults were found in the home settings pictured. Differences in the frequency of adult roles during the four historical periods were noted.

Of the 75 home roles identified in all the books for all periods, 53 were Negro and 29 were Caucasian. Period one (1930-1944) included eight, period two (1945-1954) twelve, period three (1955-1964) eighteen, and period four (1965-1968) thirty-seven home adult roles. For all periods, proportionately more Negroes were found in home roles in the second period (1945-1954) while proportionately fewer Negro characters were found in home roles during the fourth period (1965-1968). Percentages are shown in Table 15.

Professional non-home.--The results of the study showed that for the total number of roles found in all the periods there was a greater number of Negro male professionals than Caucasian male professionals, but fewer Negro male and female professionals than Caucasian female professional roles. There were more Negro female professionals than Negro or Caucasian male professionals.

As Table 16 shows, the greatest number of Negro professional roles were identified in period two (1945-1954); the greatest number of Caucasian professional roles were identified in period four (1965-1968). Also, Caucasian females had more professional roles than any other adult characters for all periods.

TABLE 14.--Percentage of Non-Home Adult Roles Found According to Race and By Period.

Race	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro	89	59	15	8
Caucasian	11	41	85	92

TABLE 15.--Percentage of Home Adult Roles Found According to Race and By Period.

Race	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro	87.5	92	67	62
Caucasian	12.5	8	33	38

Occupational non-home.--As Table 17 reveals, except for the first period where the frequencies were the same, more Caucasian males were identified in occupational roles in all periods. Except for period two (1945-1954) in which the frequencies were equal, all periods revealed a greater number of Negro male than Negro female occupational roles.

Laborer non-home.--Negro female laborers were less abundant than Negro male laborers in any period, as Table 18 shows. In the first two periods (1930-1944, 1945-1954), more Negro males than females were identified as laborers; period three had equal numbers; period four had no Negro adults identified as laborers.

More Negro male laborers than Caucasian laborers were identified in the first period, but every period thereafter had more Caucasian than Negro male laborers.

Mother and father-home.--As Table 19 shows, more Negro mothers than Caucasian mothers or Negro or Caucasian fathers were identified in all periods. Also, more Caucasian mothers than Caucasian fathers were found in all periods. More Negro than Caucasian fathers were identified.

Relative and friend-home.--As is shown in Table 20, the number of relative and friend home roles was so scant that no conclusions could be drawn. No grandfathers and no Negro or Caucasian male friends or relatives were identified in any of the 1,067 illustrations.

TABLE 16.--Number of Professional Non-Home Adult Roles Found By Period.

Adults	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro Male	0	6	0	0
Negro Female	0	6	0	1
Caucasian Male	0	0	0	2
Caucasian Female	0	0	2	7

TABLE 17.--Number of Occupational Non-Home Adult Roles Found By Period.

Adults	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro Male	1	2	1	3
Negro Female	0	2	0	0
Caucasian Male	1	8	6	17
Caucasian Female	0	1	3	4

TABLE 18.--Number of Laborer Non-Home Adult Roles Found By Period.

Adult	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro Male	6	1	1	0
Negro Female	1	0	1	0
Caucasian Male	0	3	6	14
Caucasian Female	0	0	0	1

TABLE 19.--Number of Mother and Father Home Roles Found By Period.

Adult	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro Mother	4	8	6	12
Negro Father	1	3	4	10
Caucasian Mother	0	1	4	10
Caucasian Father	0	0	0	3

TABLE 20.--Number of Relative and Friend Home Roles Found by Period.

Adult role	Period			
	I (1930-1944)	II (1945-1954)	III (1955-1964)	IV (1965-1968)
Negro female grandmother	1	0	1	0
Negro female friend	1	0	1	1
Negro male grandfather	0	0	0	0
Negro male friend	0	0	0	0
Caucasian female grandmother	0	0	1	0
Caucasian female friend	1	0	1	1
Caucasian male grandfather	0	0	0	0
Caucasian male friend	0	0	0	0

### Character Interaction

Three forms of character interaction were examined for the four historical periods covered by the present study. Six hundred ninety instances of character interaction were observed. The amount and types of interaction by periods are shown in Table 21.

Parallel character interaction.--The study revealed that parallel interaction between Negro characters and Caucasian characters was greater in the last period than in the first period. Table 22 reveals these findings. The characters with which the Negro main character showed the highest frequency of parallel interaction in the last period (1965-1968) as compared to the first period (1930-1944) are: Negro male juveniles, Negro female juveniles, Caucasian male juveniles, Caucasian group, and mixed Caucasian groups.

Non-physical character interaction.--The study revealed that the frequency of non-physical interaction between the Negro main characters and Caucasian characters was greater in the last period (1965-1968) than in the first (1930-1944) period. The points of difference are evident in Table 23.

Physical interaction.--As Table 24 reveals Negro main characters interacted physically with more Caucasian characters in the last period (1965-1968) than in the first period (1930-1944), but the greatest frequency of physical interaction between Negro main characters and

TABLE 21.--Type and Amount of Character Interaction Found by Period.

Type of Interaction	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Parallel	42	132	79	173
Non-Physical	23	33	44	99
Physical	4	16	22	23

TABLE 22.--Frequency of Parallel Interaction Between Negro Main Character and Other Characters by Period.

Characters	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro male adult	4	8	5	5
Negro female adult	4	8	5	9
Negro male juvenile	3	3	1	25
Negro female juvenile	0	13	0	13
Negro male teen	0	0	0	1
Negro female teen	0	0	0	0
Negro baby	0	1	0	2
Caucasian male adult	2	2	3	2
Caucasian female adult	0	1	1	2
Caucasian male juvenile	0	18	17	22
Caucasian female juvenile	0	1	2	0
Caucasian male teen	0	1	0	0
Caucasian female teen	0	0	0	0
Caucasian baby	0	0	0	0
Caucasian group	0	7	33	27
Negro group	26	42	5	18
Mixed Negro group	3	2	2	5
Mixed Caucasian group	0	16	4	31
Integrated group	0	9	1	11

TABLE 23.--Frequency of Non-Physical Interaction Between Negro Main Character  
and Other Characters by Period.

Characters	Period			
	(1930-1944) I	(1945-1954) II	(1955-1964) III	(1965-1968) IV
Negro male adult	5	7	3	5
Negro female adult	9	4	7	17
Negro male juvenile	3	4	6	13
Negro female juvenile	0	2	0	12
Negro male teen	0	0	0	0
Negro female teen	0	0	0	0
Negro baby	0	1	0	1
Caucasian male adult	2	2	3	5
Caucasian female adult	0	1	6	7
Caucasian male juvenile	0	6	14	22
Caucasian female juvenile	0	1	2	0
Caucasian male teen	0	0	0	2
Caucasian female teen	0	0	0	1
Caucasian baby	0	0	0	0
Caucasian group	0	0	2	7
Negro group	26	3	1	3
Mixed Negro group	3	0	0	0
Mixed Caucasian group	0	1	0	4
Integrated group	0	1	0	0

TABLE 24.--Frequency of Physical Interaction Between Negro Main Character and Other Characters by Period.

Characters	Period			
	I (1930-1944)	II (1945-1954)	III (1955-1964)	IV (1965-1968)
Negro male adult	0	4	0	4
Negro female adult	1	2	2	3
Negro male juvenile	1	1	2	6
Negro female juvenile	0	0	0	0
Negro male teen	0	0	0	0
Negro female teen	0	0	0	0
Negro baby	0	0	0	0
Caucasian male adult	2	1	1	1
Caucasian female adult	0	0	5	0
Caucasian male juvenile	0	6	10	6
Caucasian female juvenile	0	1	0	0
Caucasian male teen	0	0	0	0
Caucasian female teen	0	0	0	0
Caucasian baby	0	0	0	0
Caucasian group	0	0	0	2
Negro group	0	1	2	1
Mixed Negro group	0	0	0	0
Mixed Caucasian group	0	0	0	0
Integrated group	0	0	0	0

Caucasian characters took place in the third period (1955-1964).

### Summarization of the Findings

Analysis of the data revealed the following about the treatment of Negro characters in recommended realistic fiction picture books designed for young children and published between 1930 and 1968:

#### 1) Physical Characteristics

A variety of Negro physical characteristics was shown and did differ, somewhat, during the four historical periods studied.

- a) Skin color.--The greatest proportion of Negro characters shown with light skin coloring occurred in the second and fourth periods (1945-1954 and 1965-1968) with 36 per cent and 31 per cent respectively. Periods one and three (1930-1944 and 1955-1964) showed the smallest proportion with percentages of 6 per cent and 9 per cent respectively.

All periods had 50 per cent or more of the Negro characters identified as having medium skin coloring. Period three (1955-1964) had the highest percentage of medium skin color.

Compared to period three (1955-1964), which had three per cent, period four (1965-1968) showed an increase of four per cent in the percentage of Negro characters identified as having dark skin

coloring. The increase of characters with dark skin coloring from period three to period four did not result in the approximation of the percentage of dark skin colors identified in period one (17%) or in period two (14%).

Of all the periods studied, period three (1955-1964) showed the least amount of variety in the shades of skin colors identified while period two (1945-1954) showed the greatest amount of variety.

- b) Hair color.--In periods three (1955-1964) and four (1965-1968), over 70 per cent of the Negro characters were shown with black hair coloring, but period two (1945-1954) had the highest percentage (90%) of black hair colors since it had no characters with brown hair coloring or any other hair color.

The greatest variety of hair coloring was found in periods three (1955-1964) and four (1965-1968); the least amount of variety was found in period two (1945-1954).

- c) Hair texture.--Period one (1930-1944) showed a greater proportion of Negro characters with crinkly hair texture than any other period. A greater proportion of hair textures in period four (1965-1968) were curly or wavy rather than crinkly.

The percentage of hair textures which were indistinct or were not shown decreased fifteen

per cent from period one (62%) to period four (47%).

- d) Hair style.--Natural hair styles were shown in all periods, but in proportions of 15% (in period three [1955-1964]) or less.

Negro characters having their hair braided in three or more braids were found in small proportions (less than 15%) in all periods except period three (1955-1964) in which none of the Negro characters had their hair braided in three or more braids.

None of the Negro characters identified in period one (1930-1944) had "styled" hair. Small percentages (under 10%) of Negro characters having "styled" hair were found in periods two (1945-1954) and three (1955-1964). Period four (1965-1968) showed the greatest percentage (22%) of Negro characters having "styled" hair.

- e) Nose formation.--Periods one (1930-1944) and three (1955-1964) showed a greater proportion of flat, broad nose formations on Negro characters (68% and 39% respectively) than the other two periods. Period two (1945-1954) showed a greater proportion (47%) of high-bridged nose formations than any other period.

Period four (1965-1968) showed the greatest variety of nose formations on Negro characters even though the period's percentage of indistinct

nose formations (25%) was greater than period one (1930-1944) and two (1945-1954), and closely approximated period three (1955-1964) in which 27% of the Negro characters had indistinct nose formations.

- f) Eye formations.--Less than 50% of all Negro characters shown in period one (1930-1944) had normal eye formations. The eyes were exaggerated on 32% of the Negro characters in period one.

No exaggerated eye formations on Negro characters were present in any of the three periods following period one.

- g) Lip formation.--Period one (1930-1944) was the only period in which Negro characters had exaggerated lip formations. It also had the greatest percentage (47%) of Negro characters with thick lip formations.

Period three (1955-1964) had the greatest percentage (36%) of Negro characters shown with indistinct lip formations of all the periods.

Period four (1965-1968) showed a greater variety of lip formations than any other period.

- h) Body build.--Period four (1965-1968) was the only period in which no exaggerated body builds were identified. The largest percentage (23%) of exaggerated body builds for all periods were identified in period one (1930-1944).

Slight body builds were proportionately fewer than large body builds in all periods except period two (1945-1954) in which the proportions were approximately the same for slight and large body builds.

Period four (1965-1968) had a larger percentage (13%) of body builds not shown than any other period.

## 2) Environmental Characteristics

Negro characters were shown in a variety of interior and exterior environments. A preponderance of indefinite or unidentifiable environments appeared in the total number of illustrations in the population of books. There was variety shown in the small numbers of environmental characteristics found in the total number of illustrations.

The variety of the small number of interior and exterior environments differed markedly during the four historical periods studied. The last period (1965-1968) showed an increase in the number of almost all the environmental characteristics judged.

## 3) Adult Roles

Negro and Caucasian adults were depicted in a variety of roles. Non-home roles showed the most variety, while home roles showed the least amount of variety in terms of adult roles identified in all periods.

- a) Non-home adult roles.--Negro adults were shown in a variety of non-home roles, but the number of Caucasian adult non-home roles found in the same population of book illustrations was more than double the number of Negro adult non-home roles in the total number of periods.

More Negro male professional roles were found than Caucasian male professional roles in the total number of periods. However, periods three (1955-1964) and four (1965-1968) showed no Negro professional roles and only two Caucasian professional roles.

One Caucasian female laborer was found in the total population of forty-one books, while two Negro female laborers were found in the same population.

Both Caucasian males and females were found in greater numbers than Negro males or females in occupational roles.

There were almost three times more Caucasian male laborers pictured than Negro male laborers.

The number of adult non-home roles differed markedly during the four historical periods studied. The number of Negro non-home roles decreased from period one (1930-1944) to period four (1965-1968), while the number of Caucasian non-home roles greatly increased.

- b) Home adult roles.--The number of Negro home roles exceeded the number of Caucasian home roles in every category and in every historical period studied.

Few adults other than mothers and fathers were found in home roles.

Proportionately, more Negro mothers than Negro fathers were found in all the historical periods studied although the difference in numbers was not great. A few more Caucasian mothers than fathers were found in all the historical periods studied.

4) Character Interaction

Negro main characters interacted with a variety of persons in a variety of ways, but not as great a variety of persons was found as was expected. None of the Negro characters interacted in any way or at any time with a Negro female teen-ager or a Caucasian baby. The following types of characters were found in numbers less than ten for the total population of books which included all four historical periods: Negro male teen-agers, Negro babies, Caucasian female juveniles, Caucasian male teen-agers, and Caucasian female teen-agers.

A variety of interaction occurred in each historical period. Parallel interaction occurred most frequently in all periods.

The amount of physical interaction identified increased from under five occurrences in the first period (1930-1944) to slightly over twenty occurrences in the last period (1965-1968).

The first period (1930-1944) showed the least amount of variety in terms of the kind of interaction and the type of person with whom the main Negro character interacted.

#### Discussion of the Findings

The fact that less than one hundred books with Negro characters shown in realistic situations were recommended for young children during a period of thirty-eight years would seem to indicate a paucity of books available to help young children form concepts about what it means to be a Negro in America. More books which included Negro characters were published in the three-year period (1965-1968) than in any of the other periods studied, each of which included ten years or more. Hopefully, greater numbers of books with illustrations including Negro characters will continue to be published in order to make up for the deficit of such books that has been incurred through the years.

David Karl Gast noted that the Children's Catalog recommended few books with minority group children.<sup>1</sup> The present study confirms Gast's observation with reference to the American Negro. The 1961 Children's Catalog recommended 311 books in its "Picture and Easy Books" category. Only two of the books contained Negro characters.<sup>2</sup> The 1966 Children's Catalog recommended 500 books in its "Picture and Easy Books" category; only four of the books included Negro characters.<sup>3</sup> Only three additional "Picture and Easy Books" with Negro characters were included in the 1968 supplement to the Children's Catalog.<sup>4</sup>

The American Library Association's Books for Children: 1960-1965 recommended 315 books which included Negro characters,<sup>5</sup> while in its Basic Book Collection of 1960, the ALA recommended 137 "Picture and Easy Books" of which only four included Negro characters.<sup>6</sup> The Elementary School

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<sup>1</sup>Gast, "Characteristics and Concepts of Minority Americans in Contemporary Children's Fictional Literature."

<sup>2</sup>Little Black Sambo and Two As a Team.

<sup>3</sup>Swimming Home, Two Is a Team, The Case of the Cat's Meow, and The Case of the Hungry Stranger.

<sup>4</sup>The Case of the Dumbells, Peter's Chair, and Sam.

<sup>5</sup>The Case of the Cat's Meow, The Case of the Hungry Stranger, The Snowy Day, Whistle for Willie, and Little Brown Hen.

<sup>6</sup>Two Is a Team, Little Black Sambo, Fast Sooner Hound, and Epaminondas and His Auntie.

Library Collection: Phases 1-2-3 recommended 1,044 books in the "Easy" section, 13 of which included Negro characters.<sup>7</sup> Only one book containing Negro characters (Two Is a Team) was recommended in the "Racial Understanding" section.

Charlmae Rollins in We Build Together under "Picture Books and Easy to Read Books" makes it clear that other books were available. Even Rollin's list was obviously selective; for example, she did not include Little Black Sambo or Epamindonas and His Auntie.

A large number of picture books which include Negro characters have been published since 1968. Hopefully, compilers of library guides and recommended lists will reflect a greater sensitivity to the particular need of American children to see a variety of Negro characters depicted in the illustrations of their books, and will actively meet this need by including in their recommendations greater numbers of picture books which will help children answer the question: What does it mean to be a Negro living in America? More illustrations are needed which show American Negroes in a variety of realistic contexts and which realistically reflect the variety of physical characteristics that Negroes do possess.

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<sup>7</sup>Two As a Team, The Case of the Cat's Meow, The Case of the Hungry Stranger, City Rhythms, Evan's Corner, The Snowy Day, Whistle for Willie, Benjie, The Homework Caper, I should Have Stayed in Bed, Mississippi Possum, Hello Henry, The No Bark Dog, Big Cowboy Western.

Because books for the present study were selected only if they included Negro characters, it was not unusual to find that 81 per cent of the books' illustrations included Negro characters or that a high percentage of Negro characters were found in all periods. It was interesting to note that the percentage of Negro characters represented in the books decreased with each subsequent period studied, with the most recent period (1965-1968) containing the smallest percentage of Negro characters.

It seems that more integrated situations were being shown in the later period than in the early period. This tendency reflects the newly passed Civil Rights legislation which was designed to hasten racial integration in various sectors of American society.

Even though the books selected for study were presumably all of the realistic fiction picture books containing Negro characters which were recommended and available for children, less than half of the total number of characters were Negro. It is doubtful that picture books of realistic fiction containing Caucasian characters and recommended in the same lists used to select books for the present study would yield a similar percentage of Negro characters because the percentage of Negroes in the American population (which is 15 per cent) does not approximate fifty per cent, however, it would be reasonable to expect that at least fifteen per cent of the characters would be Negro.

Setting.--The settings found in children's picture books containing Negro characters varied during the four periods studied. The majority of Negroes were shown living in rural rather than suburban areas during the 1930's and early 1940's which corresponds to the actual ecological distribution of Negroes in American society during the same period. The fact that the majority of Negroes were found in suburban settings during the second period (1945-1954) does not accurately reflect the distribution of the majority Negroes in American society at that time, but may reflect an attempt that was being made to help create human understanding and an appreciation of differences that was beginning to be evidenced during the period which followed World War II. By period three (1955-1964) the situation of the Negro in American society had been made more clear through the greater availability of research presented to the Supreme Court which influenced its 1954 desegregation decision and the greater accessibility of various forms of mass media, especially television, to the American population as a whole. The fact that more and more Negroes were arriving in the urban centers after the Korean War was accurately represented in children's picture books found in period three (1955-1964). Civil rights marches, civil rights suits, and outbreaks of violence demonstrated the very real presence of Negroes in urban centers. The rise

in the number of suburban settings during the fourth period (1965-1968) may reflect an actual rise in the number of Negroes who were able to move from urban to suburban centers; the rise may also reflect an attempt on the part of publishers, artists and authors to show Negro characters in a variety of settings because a number of rural and urban settings were also represented.

Physical Characteristics.--At least half the Negro characters in all periods had medium skin coloring with period three (1955-1964) having the greatest percentage of characters with medium skin coloring.

Dark skin coloring decreased from period one (1930-1944) through period three (1955-1964), but very slightly increased again in period four (1965-1968), reflecting perhaps the "black is beautiful" motto popularized in this period by various Negro groups seeking to improve the self-concept of Negro people.

The greatest proportion of Negro characters shown with light skin color occurred in the second and fourth periods (1945-1954 and 1965-1968). Periods one and three (1930-1944 and 1955-1964) showed the smallest proportion of characters having light skin color. More caution seemed to have been exercised in the way in which Negro characters were depicted in periods three and four (1955-1964 and 1965-1968). Perhaps this caution resulted from the 1954 Supreme Court decision and Civil Rights demonstrations; perhaps

publishers were attempting to counterbalance the negative characterizations of the past: more light than dark skin coloring was found in period three, as was more curly hair in place of crinkly hair.

All periods showed black hair to be predominant, with the second period (1945-1954) having the greatest percentage of black haired characters. No brown hair was shown in periods one and two (1930-1944 and 1945-1954), while small percentages of brown hair coloring were found in periods three and four (1955-1964 and 1965-1968). Less than five per cent of other hair colorings was found in all periods, with period two (1945-1954) having none. It is obvious that most Negroes do indeed have hair of dark shades. The illustrations studied seemed to reflect a fairly accurate cross-section of the Negro population in terms of hair coloring; however, it is hoped that more picture books will include Negroes with brown and other hair colorings in order to suggest that variety even in a limited area such as hair coloring, does exist.

All periods showed differences in hair textures and styles. Period one (1930-1944) showed the greatest percentage of characters with crinkly hair. This period showed at least twice as many characters with crinkly hair as any subsequent period. This preponderance of crinkly hair textures supports the objections of Augusta Baker, Charlemae Rollins, and Dharthula Millender discussed

in Chapter II. The least percentage, albeit slight, was found in period three (1955-1964). As was noted, in this period skin coloring was medium, hair was sometimes brown, and hair texture was least likely to be crinkly. This period followed the Supreme Court decision on segregation and probably reflected a concern to show the Negro in a favorable light. Crinkly hair, as well as a great variety of all textures--especially curly--was frequently observed in the Negro characters in the fourth period. This variety might well reflect the growing sense of Afro-American identity. During this period, Negro Americans increasingly demonstrated their desire to be portrayed faithfully according to their unique racial characteristics.

In the matter of hair styles, however, period four (1965-1968) ostensibly showed more "styled" hair styles than period three (1955-1964). When one considers that the Caucasian hair styles in period three often included "pulled back" (or "pony tail") styles, then periods three and four are actually quite similar in the percentages of Caucasian type hair styles. More "natural" styles were shown in period three when they first became popular than in period four when greater variety was noted.

As to lip and eye formations, the highest percentages of exaggerated formations were found in period one (1930-1944). No exaggerated lip and eye formations were found in other periods. The exaggerations in period one

bear out the objections of Baker, Rollins, and Millender.

Periods three and four (1955-1964 and 1965-1968) had the greatest percentages of "indistinct" and "button" nose formations. This tendency might reflect a desire on the part of later-day picture book makers to avoid the possibility of offending Negro readers. There was a corresponding rise of cartoon-type drawings in these periods which often used "indistinct" lines or "button" shapes to suggest noses whether they were Negroid or Caucasoid.

The highest percentage of flat nose formations was found in period one (1930-1944). Flat noses have long been thought of as typically Negroid and reflect the narrow view of lack of variety in Negroid facial features.

In period two (1945-1954), almost half of the Negro characters had high-bridged nose formations. Perhaps this tendency reflected an attempt on the part of picture book makers (following World War II) to present the Negro in a more humane way, "humane" being interpreted in that period as giving characters Caucasoid features.

In all periods, over half of all body builds were average. Period one (1930-1944) contained the greatest percentage of exaggerations and bear out the objections of Baker, Rollins and Millender. Exaggerated body builds were found in all periods except period four (1965-1968). Period four also had the lowest percentage

of large body builds. From these percentages, one might infer that the makers of picture books in period four were attempting to depict the Negro favorably by showing more nearly ideal physiques.

Environmental characteristics.--Few interior or exterior environmental characteristics were clearly shown, indicating, perhaps, a rather erroneous assumption often made that a variety of concepts dealing with environmental elements with which Negro characters may be associated are abundantly available in children's picture books. It would seem that such books would not adequately serve to enable children to realize that Negroes live in a variety of environmental contexts.

Adult roles.--In the first two periods (1930-1944 and 1945-1954) more Negro than Caucasian work roles were identified, but in the last two periods (1955-1964 and 1965-1968) over eighty per cent of the work roles were portrayed by Caucasian characters. Perhaps, in an attempt to show Negro juvenile characters in integrated settings in the later periods, integration was at least partially achieved by adding Caucasian adults in various non-home work roles. The paucity of Negro adults shown in all work roles, even though Koblitiz and others have correctly contended that more Negroes are being shown in work roles, indicates that even more Negro adults need to be depicted in a variety of work roles.

The findings concerning home roles do not reflect the popular notion and statistics indicating that a large portion of Negro families are female dominated, lack fathers, and have assorted friends and relatives living with them. Fathers were found in the picture book home roles, but only a scant number of relative and friends were found in the illustrations.

More Negro than Caucasian home roles were shown, with more mothers and fathers being present. Few adults other than parents were shown.

Character interaction.--Though a variety of types of character interaction were identified the variety of persons with whom Negro main characters interacted was limited. None of the Negro main characters interacted in any way or at any time with a Negro female teen-ager or a Caucasian baby. Negro male teen-agers and babies, and Caucasian male and female teen-agers and female juveniles were found in numbers less than ten. The variety of persons did not differ markedly from period to period. The variety and type of interaction did differ during the four historical periods. The amount of physical interaction increased from under five occurrences in the first period (1930-1944) to slightly over twenty occurrences in the last period (1965-1968), possibly reflecting a greater amount of interaction which was being encouraged in society as a whole. Instances

of parallel interaction are most frequent in all periods and intermediate amounts of non-physical interaction were found in all periods.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

The purpose of this study was to analyze the pictorial treatment of American Negro characters found in recommended children's picture books published between 1930 and 1968.

The major questions that this study asked were:

Are a variety of Negro physical characteristics shown in the illustrations of recommended children's picture books and does the variety differ markedly during the four historical periods studied?

Are Negroes shown in a variety of interior and exterior environmental contexts and does the variety differ markedly during the four historical periods studied?

Are Negro adults shown in a variety of work and home roles and does the variety differ markedly during the four historical periods? Are a greater frequency of Negro adult roles present than Caucasian adult roles and does the frequency differ during the four historical periods studied?

Do the main characters in the picture books interact with a variety of persons in a variety of ways? What is

the frequency with which they interact with persons of the same or different race, sex and age and does the frequency differ markedly during the four historical periods?

With what frequency do different types of interaction occur and does the type of interaction differ markedly during each of the four periods?

Can any statements be made as to the difference in treatment of the Negro characters in the several areas of analysis among the four historical periods outlined in the present study?

A review of the literature indicated that no systematic studies had been done solely to determine how Negro characters had been depicted in the illustrations of books published for young children.

The books included for investigation were selected from lists of books recommended by librarians and children's literature specialists. All the books recommended were included for study if they met the following specifications: contained Negro characters, were realistic fiction picture books designed for young children and were set in and copyrighted in the United States of America between 1930 and 1968. For the purpose of tracing historical developments and making comparisons, the books were divided into four historical periods: 1930-1944; 1945-1954; 1955-1964; 1965-1968.

The method used to investigate Negro character's treatment was content analysis. Four main categories were devised: Physical Characteristics, Environmental Characteristics, Adult Roles, and Character Interaction. Components of each of the four main categories were then identified. Eight Physical Characteristics were examined and provision was made for recording designations of differences in gradations and types within each of the characteristics.

The main category of Environmental Characteristics was divided into two sub-categories: Interior and Exterior. Five components of Interior Environmental Characteristics were examined and provision was made for recording designations of differences in gradations of each of the components. Exterior Environmental Characteristics were also identified and provision was made for recording designations of differences in gradations of each of the components.

Adult roles were divided into Non-Home and Home roles. Three main components of Non-Home (work) Roles were identified: Professional, Occupational, Laborer. Designations were recorded according to the race and sex of the individual pictured holding a particular work role. Home roles were identified in the illustrations and recorded according to the race and sex of the individual pictured.

Three main types of Character Interaction were identified: Parallel, Non-Physical and Physical. The main character's interaction with other characters pictured was recorded according to the type of interaction and the race, sex and age group of the other character or characters. Provision was also made for recording the main character's interaction with groups.

The frequency with which each of the items being studied was found in the illustrations was totaled for each of the four historical periods designated: 1930-1944; 1945-1954; 1955-1964; 1965-1968. Comparisons among the periods were then made and certain conclusions drawn about the findings.

### Conclusions

The major conclusions with reference to the treatment of Negro characters in recommended children's realistic fiction picture books published between 1930 and 1968 were as follows:

(1) Negro characters were depicted with a variety of skin colors, hair textures, hair styles, nose, lip, and eye formations and body builds. Characters in general showed the least amount of variety in their hair coloring. While the variety did not differ markedly, during the historical periods, there were some differences. Most exaggerations, as in eye and lip formations and body build, occurred in the earliest period (1930-1944) and seemed to reflect the prevailing social concepts of the time.

(2) Almost no important conclusions could be drawn about environmental conditions because of the paucity of interior and exterior situations in all historical periods. Period four (1965-1968) did include, however, more interior and exterior details, possibly because of the growing social desire to show Negroes in more realistic settings.

(3) Considering all historical periods, there were more Negroes in work roles in the first two periods (1930-1944 and 1945-1954), than there were Caucasians in the last two (1955-1964 and 1965-1968). The Negroes in the first period were more likely to be shown in professional roles than occupational. In the second period, more Caucasians were found in all roles--professional, occupational, and laborer. This apparent discrepancy with the social revolution of the latter periods might be accounted for as an attempt to show more complete integration within society as a whole.

More Negro than Caucasian home roles were shown, with more mothers than fathers being present. Few adults other than parents were shown. Understandably, more Negro than Caucasian home roles were shown because almost all of the juvenile main characters were Negroes.

(4) Though a variety of types of interaction and characters were identified for all periods, none of the

Negro main characters interacted in any way or at any time with a Negro female teen-ager or a Caucasian baby. Few Negro male teen-agers, Negro babies, Caucasian male and female teen-agers, and Caucasian female juveniles were identified.

The interaction among a variety of characters did not differ markedly from period to period. However, the variety and type of interaction did differ during the four historical periods. The amount of physical interaction increased from period one (1930-1944) to period four (1965-1968), most probably reflecting the greater amount of interaction which was being encouraged in society as a whole.

#### Recommendations and Implications for Further Study

Increasing numbers of books which include Negro characters are being published each year and it is recommended that the increase continue in order to create not only a larger number of books from which to choose, but also to create a wider variety of books.

Results of the present study indicate that a greater amount of variety in the treatment of Negro characters in children's realistic fiction picture books may be achieved, at least in part, by the inclusion of the following:

(1) More Negro characters with both light and dark skin coloring.

(2) A greater number of Negro characters with brown and other hair coloring and with their hair styled in three or more braids and in loose, natural styles as they accurately reflect the Negro population as a whole.

(3) Increased numbers of Negro characters with crinkly hair textures, and fewer Negro characters with hair textures that are either not shown or are indefinite.

(4) A larger proportion of Negro characters with slight and large body builds.

(5) A greater number of realistic interior and exterior living conditions which accurately reflect the conditions of the Negro population as a whole.

(6) More Negro adults of both sexes in occupational and laborer roles, and more Negro males in professional roles.

(7) Adults other than mothers and fathers which are realistically present in the homes of the Negro population as a whole.

(8) More interaction between Negro main characters and Negro and Caucasian teen-agers of both sexes, babies of both races, and Caucasian female juveniles.

(9) A greater amount of physical and non-physical interaction between the Negro main characters and all other characters.

The justification for the above recommendations lies in the basic premise that picture books, which seemingly purport to be realistic in content, should strive for accuracy and balance in the situations and items which they present in the books' illustrations. Further justification is based on the research findings presented in Chapter II which indicate that pictures do affect children's concepts about themselves and others, and that the information presented through pictures may perpetuate erroneous or accurate, healthy or unhealthy ideas about one's self and others. The final justification for making the above recommendations is that it is being assumed that Negro children who differ in the physical characteristics they possess, and who find themselves living in a variety of contexts are entitled to see themselves and their surroundings depicted in the books they are given to look at and read.

It is strongly urged that the recommendations made based on the findings of the present study, be incorporated in the illustrations of children's realistic fiction picture books in a spirit which is sensitive and humane, and in a manner which is aesthetically pleasing, intellectually stimulating, and emotionally satisfying to young children.

It is realized that the capriciousness of the artist in portraying Negro characters may largely account for the high incidence of indistinct and unidentifiable physical and environmental characteristics. However, as members of American society artists do either consciously or unconsciously reflect societal values, and the possibility exists that artists creating Negro characters in illustrations, who are uncertain or hesitant about creating what they think they see, will present characteristics in an indistinct or unidentifiable manner. It is also realized that the artist may not always want to achieve utter realism in the figures he draws; the artist may deliberately distort or exaggerate in order to create certain aesthetic effects. The purpose of this study was not to focus on the aesthetic, subtle nuances of the artist's work. The investigator tried to note objectively the content of the illustrations--the Negro characters' physical characteristics, environmental conditions, adult roles, and interactions.

Hopefully, through the inclusion of the recommendations made, American children will be provided with a more accurate, well-rounded concept of what it means to be a Negro living in American society.

#### Implications for Further Study

For the sake of comparison, it would be interesting to study how variously Caucasian characters and their environments are presented in realistic fiction picture book

illustrations. Is there a high frequency of indistinct characteristics? Are a variety of Caucasian physical characteristics depicted? Are Caucasian characters shown in a variety of environmental situations and a variety of adult roles? Do Caucasian main characters interact in a variety of ways with a variety of characters?

The same question should be asked, it seems, even more urgently about American Indian characters. There is a severe paucity of realistic fiction picture books which include American Indian characters. More books will have to be published before a comparable study could be done which involved the treatment of the American Indian in realistic fiction picture books.

More picture books which include Mexican American and Puerto Rican characters are presently being made available and it would seem to be worthwhile to study the amount of variety in physical characteristics, adult roles, environmental conditions, and the types of character interaction that are present in these books.

A further study which would investigate additional elements in the treatment of Negro characters would be helpful in creating a wider base from which recommendations which may lead to an even greater variety in the treatment of Negro characters may be made.

The treatment of Negro characters in the illustrations of books for older children and in other types of fiction and non-fiction for younger children could be studied in terms of the four areas investigated in the present study and other additional areas. The results might help to create a broader knowledge of how the Negro has been treated in the illustrations of books designed for children, and help to answer the question: what does it mean to be a Negro in America?

A more sophisticated and accurate method may be devised to determine the presence or absence of certain illustrative features and the degrees of variation among the same feature.

If the present study were to be replicated, more raters could be used and the results could be made more statistically significant by using a different instrument, coding procedure and tests of significance.

The texts of the children's picture books included for study could be analyzed to determine if and how the major questions posed in the present study are answered.

The treatment of Negro characters in children's realistic fiction picture books published since 1968 could be studied in order to continue to trace the treatment of Negro characters in illustrations.

Studies could be conducted which would deal with one or both of the ends of the total communication's spectrum; determining the artists' and publishers' intent when producing book illustrations which contain Negro characters and/or determining the impact of such illustrations on young children.

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## APPENDIX A

### General Directions for Raters

The object of your evaluating the enclosed ten children's picture books is to ascertain the existence or non-existence of certain elements in the pictorial treatment of the Negro characters found in the books' illustrations. You are being asked to analyze the content of each illustration in each of the books using a precise, pre-determined method. The general method of content analysis requires that a code be set up in order to facilitate the recording of information.

You will be working with several codes. One code will be a letter code that labels characters according to race, sex, and age. (NMj = Negro Male Juvenile). You can find this code and its equivalents written out for you on the right hand side of the evaluation sheets with which you will need to use the code.

In addition to the letter code you will be working with number codes. There are two types of number codes that you will be using. The one number code corresponds to the items that may be found in any one illustration. Thus, instead of writing the names of all the items you see in an illustration or merely checking the items found in a pre-determined list, you will record the number of the item you see in the illustration. The numbers and their

equivalents will be found opposite the recording grids for Physical Characteristics, Adult Roles, and Physical Interaction. Note that instead of using the letter code for characters as you did when evaluating Physical Characteristics (NMa = Negro Male Adult), you will be using a number code for both the Adult Roles and Physical Interaction (NMa = 2).

The second type of number code that you will be using will record the degree to which an item is present in an illustration. This type of code will be used in analyzing Environmental Characteristics. Note that the number code equivalents for Environmental Characteristics are found to the right of the Environmental Characteristic's recording grid.

In summary, you are being asked to look for five different kinds of things in the illustrations of the enclosed books: Physical Characteristics, Environmental Characteristics, Adult Roles, and Physical Interaction. You will be using both letters and numerals as coding devices. It may be helpful to you if you remember that you will always put numerals on the recording grids. If letters are ever used they will be put in the left hand column labeled Characters.

Begin with the book's first illustration. It will be found either above, below, opposite or under a line or more of text. Do not evaluate any illustrations found on

the book's cover, flyleaves, or title page. Some illustrations take up two pages (a double-page spread), but the spread is to be recorded as one illustration. Some pages will have two separate illustrations on one page. These should be recorded as two illustrations.

You will probably have to look at each illustration in each book four different times: for Physical Characteristics, for Environmental Characteristics, for Adult Roles, and for Physical Interaction. Explicit directions for each of the four sections are enclosed. Read the directions carefully before beginning. If you have any questions about how to proceed, please feel free to call me at any time.

### Physical Characteristics

#### Directions for Raters

Identify each Negro character as found in the book's illustrations. (No Caucasians). Although any one character may appear in more than one illustration, his physical characteristics should be evaluated only once.

The first time a Negro character is shown record on the evaluation sheet in column labeled Character his sex and age status using the letter code found on the master list.

After determining the sex and age of the character, evaluate his physical characteristics according to the

alternatives provided under the Key on the right hand side of the evaluation sheet. Record the appropriate number for the characteristic being evaluated in the appropriate box on the grid that is parallel with the character's code letters.

If, in the first illustration of a character, you find that certain characteristics are unclear, before marking them as such, check other illustrations in the book in which the character appears to see if the characteristics in question are more clearly drawn. Evaluate the characteristic when it is most clearly presented. However, if there is a conflict in presentation (in one illustration it may be evaluated one way and in another it may be evaluated differently), use the first illustration in which the character most fully and clearly appears as the standard.

Characters appearing only as a member of a group of twelve or more people should not be evaluated. Orientals and racially undeterminable characters should be omitted. If a character's physical characteristics are unclear because of his position in the illustration or the way in which the artist has drawn him, do not include the character for analysis. Backviews should not be evaluated.

## Definitions of Characters, Groups, and Objects

- (N) Negro - any character so identified by the viewer; should not include Orientals, Indians, Mexicans, Italians or other ethnic groups.
- (C) Caucasian - any character so identified by the viewer; but includes Orientals, Indians, Mexicans, Italians and other ethnic groups not identified as Negro.
- (M) Male - any character so identified by the viewer.
- (F) Female - any character so identified by the viewer.
- (a) Adult - any character so identified by the viewer.
- (t) Teen - any character judged to be between the ages of 13 and 20.
- (j) Juvenile - any character judged to be over 2 but under 13 years of age.
- (b) Baby - any character judged to be under 2 years of age.
- Group - two or more characters.
- (NG) Negro Group - all members of group are Negroes.
- (CG) Caucasian Group - all members of group are Caucasians.

- (MC) Mixed Caucasian Group - More than 50 per cent of the group members are Caucasians and less than 50 per cent are Negroes.
- (MN) Mixed Negro Group - More than 50 per cent of the group members are Negroes and less than 50 per cent are Caucasians.
- (I) Integrated Group - Fifty per cent of the group members are Caucasians and 50 per cent are Negro.
- (R) Relative or Neighbor - any adult so identified by the viewer.

### Environmental Characteristics

#### Directions for Raters

You will be evaluating both interior and exterior environmental characteristics using a number code that will correspond to the degree to which certain items are present in each illustration. The number code you are to use and its equivalents as well as the definitions of the items you are evaluating may be found on the right hand side of the evaluation sheet you are to use for recording environmental characteristics. Remember to examine every illustration. Even though you may not be able to evaluate the illustration in terms of environmental characteristics, at least record the number of the illustration.

Adult RolesDirections

Examine each illustration and record the types of adult roles you find by using the number code found to the right of the recording grid. Read the role definitions carefully. Note that some of the roles are non-home roles and some are home roles. Place the number codes in the proper columns. You will be evaluating both Negro and Caucasian roles. If adults appear in any illustration and their race or role is unclear, omit them from analysis.

InteractionDirections for Raters

(If there is no main Negro character, omit the book from analysis.) Begin with the first illustration (1). Record the number of the illustration by putting the number one in the column labeled Illustrations. (The second illustration you analyze will be number two, and so on.) Focus on the main Negro character. (The text may be used to establish the main Negro character, if necessary.) Put his letter code on the line labeled Character. (Refer to the right hand side of the evaluation sheet for the proper code.) What is the main Negro character doing? For example, if he is engaged in non-physical interaction (2) with a Caucasian Male juvenile (10) you would put the number ten in the column labeled Non-physical Interaction

(2) and make sure that the number is parallel to the number of the illustration. (For the number code for characters refer to the equivalents found on the right hand side of the evaluation sheet next to the recording grid.)

If the main character engages in two or more forms of interaction at the same time, record each form separately in the appropriate column using the proper code number for each character, interacted with by the main Negro character.

Code No. \_\_\_\_\_

I. Key To Physical CharacteristicsI. Skin color

- 1=light (tan or light gray)  
 2=medium (brown or gray)  
 3=dark (dark brown or black)

III. Hair Texture

- 1=crinkly (tightly curled or many waves in each strand of hair)  
 2=curly (not tightly curled)  
 3=wavy (not curled but molded)  
 4=straight (no wave or curl at all)  
 5=indistinct (solid color)  
 6=indistinct (color not solid; fuzzy outline)  
 7=not shown

V. Eyes

- 1=normal  
 2=exaggerated  
 3=indistinct

VI. Nose

- 1=flat, broad  
 2=high bridged  
 3=button  
 4=indistinct

VII. Lips

- 1=thin  
 2=medium  
 3=thick  
 4=exaggerated  
 5=indistinct

II. Hair Color

- 1=black  
 2=brown  
 3=other (white, red, etc.)  
 4=not shown

IV. Hair Style

- 1=braided or in pony tails (1 or 2)  
 2=braided (3 or more)  
 3=Cropped (scalp shows)  
 4=cropped (scalp doesn't show)  
 5=high and natural  
 6=loose and natural  
 7=pulled back  
 8=styled  
 9=long curls  
 10=indeterminable

VIII. Body Build

- 1=slight  
 2=average  
 3=large  
 4=exaggerated  
 5=not shown

Characters	
Skin Color I	
Hair Color II	
Hair Texture III	
Hair Style IV	
Eyes V	
Nose VI	
Lips VII	
Body Build VIII	

### III. Key To Environmental Characteristics

## Interior - Exterior

## Number Code

- 0 = Not Present  
1 = Barely present (sketchy or only one present)  
2 = Definitely present (clearly and fully shown or more than one present)  
3 = Present and being used (where applicable)

## Definitions

# Interior

Reading Matter - newspapers, books, magazines, etc.  
 Viewing-Listening Matter - radio, TV, record player, etc.  
 Decor Items - candles, wall hangings, vase of flowers.  
 Crowded Conditions - objects in close juxtaposition.  
 Disorderly Conditions - objects not in usual place; disarrayed.

## Exterior

- Multiple Dwellings - apartments, duplexes, etc.
- Single Dwellings - one or two story houses.
- Temporary Dwellings - trailers, tents, club houses, etc.
- Community Buildings - schools, post offices, etc.
- Machines - cars, bicycles, construction machines, etc.
- Crowded Conditions - objects in close juxtaposition.
- Greenery - trees, lawns, flowers, etc.

## III. Key To Adult Roles

Home	Non-Home	Non-Home Character Code	Role Definitions - Non-Home
		1=NF Professional	Professional - doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc.
		2=NF Professional	Occupational - milkman, plumber, storekeeper, etc.
		3=CM Professional	Laborer - farmer, factory worker, cab driver, etc.
		4=CP Professional	
		5=NM Occupational	
		6=NF Occupational	
		7=CM Occupational	
		8=CP Occupational	
		9=NM Laborer	
		10=NF Laborer	
		11=CM Laborer	
		12=CP Laborer	
		Home Character Code	Code Equivalents
		1=NF Mother	N = Negro
		2=NM Father	C = Caucasian
		3=CP Mother	M = Male
		4=CM Father	P = Female
		5=NF Grandmother	
		6=NM Grandfather	
		7=CP Grandmother	
		8=CM Grandfather	
		9=NF Relative or Neighbor	
		10=CP Relative or Neighbor	
		11=NM Relative or Neighbor	
		12=CM Relative or Neighbor	

## IV. Key To Interaction

Illus. No.	Parallel Interaction	Non-Physical Interaction	Physical Interaction	Character Code
				1=UW
				2=UFA
				3=UJ
				4=UJ
				5=UJ
				6=UJ
				7=UJ
				8=UJ
				9=UJ
				10=UJ
				11=UJ
				12=UJ
				13=UJ
				14=UJ
				15=UJ
				16=UJ
				17=UJ
				18=UJ
				19=UJ
				20=UJ
				21=UJ

## Main Character

## Definitions of Interaction

Parallel - Main character not looking at, not touching any other character.

Non-Physical - Main character looking at but not touching any other character.

Physical - Main character is touching or is in physical contact with another character.

## CODE Equivalents

N=Negro  
 C=Caucasian  
 M=Mixed  
 I=Integrated  
 O=Object  
 A=Animal  
 CG=Two or more Caucasians;  
 no Negroes  
 NG=Two or more Negroes;  
 no Caucasians  
 MC=<50%>50%N  
 MC=<50%>50%C

## APPENDIX B

## Fater's Evaluations of Individual Books

## Physical Characteristics

Book Code Number	3			8			16			17			23			29			32			36			54			71		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
<u>Skin Color</u>																														
1-Light	0	0	0	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	12	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	
2-Medium	0	0	0	8	5	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	11	13	13	3	2	4	3	6	6	1	0	1	8	12	17	5	4	3
3-Dark	3	3	3	0	2	0	3	3	4	3	2	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	2	2	
<u>Hair Color</u>																														
1-Black	2	1	3	11	11	11	3	3	4	0	3	3	19	23	22	4	4	4	0	5	5	0	0	0	2	0	16	4	7	6
2-Brown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	8	11	0	3	0	0
3-Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
4-Not Shown	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
<u>Hair Texture</u>																														
1-Crinkly	0	1	0	3	8	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	10	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	5	1	4	4	1
2-Curly	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	2	6	3	2	3
3-Wavy	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
4-Straight	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	2	4	4	0	0	0
5-Indistinct(s)	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	3	1	1	2	1	0	2	15	4	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-Indistinct(f)	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	2
7-Not Shown	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	8	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	0	0	0
<u>Hair Style</u>																														
1-Braided(1,2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
2-Braided(3)	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3-Cropped(1)	0	0	0	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4-Cropped(2)	0	0	0	5	5	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	5	6	8	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	4	4	4	4	3
5-High and Natural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
6-Long and Natural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0

	3			8			16			17			23			29			32			36			54			71			
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	
7-Pulled back	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	6	1	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1		
8-Styled	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	7	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	2	1	2	
9-Long curls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
10-Indeterminable	2	2	2	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	4	3	9	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	3	3	10	0	0	0		
<u>Nose</u>																															
1-Flat, broad	1	3	3	8	9	5	1	1	0	0	1	1	7	18	10	0	1	1	4	5	0	0	0	0	7	10	6	6	6	5	
2-High-bridged	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	2	1	0	1	2	11	5	15	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	2	5	1	1	1	
3-Button	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4-Indistinct	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	6	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	0	0	
<u>Lips</u>																															
1-Thin	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	
2-Medium	0	0	0	10	4	7	3	3	3	0	3	1	16	12	16	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	1	0	7	10	1	0	6	5	
3-Thick	3	0	0	1	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	7	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	1	1	7	7	1	1		
4-Exaggerated	0	3	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5-Indistinct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	2	4	1	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	12	0	0	0	
<u>Body Build</u>																															
1-Slight	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2-Average	0	1	1	10	3	11	3	3	4	3	2	3	20	17	20	3	2	4	2	2	3	1	0	1	10	12	11	7	7	6	
3-Large	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	
4-Exaggerated	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5-Not Shown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	
<u>Eyes</u>																															
1-Normal	0	3	0	11	11	10	3	3	3	2	3	3	18	23	24	0	4	4	1	6	0	1	1	0	8	12	9	7	7	6	
2-Exaggerated	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
3-Indistinct	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	0	6	0	0	1	4	0	11	0	0	0

Rater's Totals-Physical Characteristics  
of All Ten Books Compiled

	A	B	C
<u>Skin Color</u>			
Light	16	16	17
Medium	39	43	53
Dark	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
	69	73	84
<u>Hair Color</u>			
Black	45	57	74
Brown	12	12	1
Other	8	1	2
Not Shown	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	69	73	84
<u>Hair Texture</u>			
Crinkly	22	20	11
Curly	16	8	11
Wavy	5	8	3
Straight	9	6	10
Indistinct(s)	9	14	20
Indistinct(f)	0	3	12
Not Shown	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>
	69	73	84

	A	B	C
<u>Hair Style</u>			
Braided(1)	3	3	0
Braided(3)	2	2	2
Cropped(1)	8	5	4
Cropped(2)	23	25	25
High and Natural	0	1	2
Loose and Natural	0	4	2
Pulled Back	3	7	16
Styled	18	11	7
Long Curls	0	0	3
Indeterminable	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>23</u>
	69	73	84
<u>Nose</u>			
Flat, broad	34	54	32
High-bridged	19	16	29
Button	3	2	2
Indistinct	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>21</u>
	69	73	84
<u>Lips</u>			
Thin	3	9	3
Medium	39	40	36
Thick	15	19	19
Exaggerated	0	3	4
Indistinct	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>22</u>
	69	73	84

	A	B	C
<u>Body Build</u>			
Slight	1	12	2
Average	59	49	64
Large	5	12	6
Exaggerated	3	0	3
Not Shown	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>
	64	73	84
<u>Eyes</u>			
1-Normal	51	73	59
2-Exaggerated	5	0	3
3-Indistinct	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>
	69	73	84

## Rater's Frequencies for Individual Books--

## Environmental Conditions

		Interior																																
		A			B			C																										
		21			48			46																										
		141			144			157																										
		3			8			16			17			23			29			32			36			54			71					
Reading Matter		A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C			A B C					
1		0 1 0			0 1 0			0 0 0			0 1 0			0 4 2			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 1 3			0 4 3		
2		0 0 0			1 0 0			0 0 0			1 1 1			1 2 2			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			1 0 0			0 1 0					
3		0 0 0			0 1 1			0 0 0			0 0 0			3 6 3			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 1			0 0 1					
Viewing-Listening Matter																																		
1		0 0 0			1 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0					
2		0 0 0			0 1 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			1 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0					
3		0 0 0			0 0 1			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0					
Decor Items																																		
1		0 0 0			1 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 1			0 2 2			0 1 1			1 0 2			0 1 0			1 1 3			0 0 0					
2		0 0 0			1 1 1			0 0 0			1 2 1			1 3 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 1 0			0 0 0					
Crowded Conditions																																		
1		0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 1			0 0 0					
2		0 0 0			1 1 1			0 0 0			0 0 0			2 6 6			0 0 0			0 0 2			0 0 0			2 2 3			0 0 0					
Disorderly Conditions																																		
1		0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 1			0 0 0					
2		0 0 0			0 1 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 1 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 0 0			0 1 3			0 0 0					

## Rater's Totals-Interior Environmental Characteristics

Reading Matter	Viewing-Listening Matter	Decor Items	Crowded Conditions	Disorderly Conditions
A	7	2	5	0
B	23	1	9	3
C	17	1	13	4

## Rater's Totals-Environmental Conditions

## Exterior

		3			8			16			17			23			29			32			36			54			71		
		A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Single Dwellings	1	1	0	1	4	3	1	3	2	3	8	12	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Multiple Dwellings																															
Temporary Dwellings	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	6	3	6	0	0	0
Community Buildings	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Businesses	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
Machines	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Greenery	1	0	0	12	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Crowded Conditions	1	1	0	1	10	15	23	0	7	12	0	14	16	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	36	8	1	4	8	3	12	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	1	2
	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	6	3	4	0	0	0	0

# Rater's Totals-Exterior Environmental

## Characteristics

	Single Dwellings	Multiple Dwellings	Temporary Dwellings	Community Buildings	Businesses	Machines	Greenery	Crowded Conditions
K	22	19	0	2	7	15	68	8
S	19	11	0	21	18	5	63	4
J	15	8	0	17	17	14	74	8

## Rater's Evaluations of Individual Books

## Total Number of Adult Roles

Non-Home				Home			
Book Code No.	A	B	C	Book Code No.	A	B	C
3	0	0	0	3	1	2	2
8	0	6	3	8	2	2	2
16	2	2	2	16	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	17	2	2	2
23	11	9	11	23	6	4	3
29	0	0	0	29	2	2	2
32	1	1	1	32	4	1	2
36	0	0	0	36	2	2	2
54	6	5	6	54	2	2	2
71	1	1	1	71	1	2	2
Total	22	25	25	Total	23	20	20

# Rater's Evaluations

## Total Number of Individual Adult Roles

	Non-Home			Home		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1.Negro Male Professional	4	4	4			
2.Negro Female Professional	3	2	4	1.Negro Female Mother	7	7
3.Caucasian Male Professional	0	0	0	2.Negro Male Father	6	4
4.Caucasian Female Professional	3	2	2	3.Caucasian Female Mother	2	4
5.Negro Male Occupational	1	1	2	4.Caucasian Male Father	1	1
6.Negro Female Occupational	2	3	2	5.Negro Female Grandmother	1	1
7.Caucasian Male Occupational	3	5	3	6.Negro Male Grandfather	0	0
8.Caucasian Female Occupational	0	0	0	7.Caucasian Female Grandmother	1	1
9.Negro Male Laborer	1	7	4	8.Caucasian Male Grandfather	0	0
10.Negro Female Laborer	0	0	0	9.Negro Female Relative Neighbor	3	2
11.Caucasian Male Laborer	5	1	4	10.Caucasian Female Relative Neighbor	0	0
12.Caucasian Female Laborer	0	0	0	11.Negro Male Relative or Neighbor	1	0
				12.Caucasian Male Relative or Neighbor	1	0
Total	22	25	25	Total	23	20



Rater's Evaluations of Individual Books  
Home-Adult Roles

Book Code Number	3	8	16	17	23	29	32	36	54	71
	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C	A B C
1.Negro Female Mother	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 0 0	1 1 1	1 2 2	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 1	0 0 1
2.Negro Male Father	0 0 0	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	2 1 1	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 1	1 1 1
3.Caucasian Female Mother	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 1 1	0 1 0	0 1 0
4.Caucasian Male Father	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 0 0
5.Negro Female Grandmother	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
6.Negro Male Grandfather	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
7.Caucasian Female Grandmother	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0
8.Caucasian Male Grandfather	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
9.Negro Female Relative/Neighbor	0 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	2 1 0	0 0 0	1 0 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
10.Caucasian Female Relative/Neighbor	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
11.Negro Male Relative/Neighbor	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
12.Caucasian Male Relative/Neighbor	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0

## Rater's Totals-Adult Roles

## Non-Home Adult Roles

A	B	C
22	25	25

## Home Adult Roles

A	B	C
23	20	20

## Rater's Evaluations of Individual Books

## Interaction-Parallel

	3			8			16			17			23			29			32			36			54			71		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1-NMa	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
2-NFa	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	6	3	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
3-NMf	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
4-NFf	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5-NMt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-NFt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7-Nb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8-CMa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
9-CFa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-CMf	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	4	14	15	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-CFf	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12-CMt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13-CFt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14-Cb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15-CG	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1
16-NG	0	0	0	26	25	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	14	14	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
17-MN	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0
18-MC	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	6	7	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	3	0
19-I	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0





## Rater's Totals

	Parallel Interaction			Non-Physical Interaction			Physical Interaction		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1-NMa	5	5	6	4	4	4	4	4	3
2-NFa	11	13	11	18	16	16	2	2	2
3-NMj	6	5	6	10	4	9	6	3	4
4-NFj	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5-NMt	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-NFt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7-Nb	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
8-CMa	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0
9-CFa	0	0	1	6	4	5	3	1	3
10-CMj	18	19	19	13	21	6	4	4	7
11-CFj	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
12-CMt	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
13-CFt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14-Cb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15-CG	5	3	7	0	1	0	0	0	0
16-NG	40	42	44	3	4	3	2	0	0
17-MN	3	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
18-MC	8	11	12	3	1	3	0	0	0
19-I	5	7	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
Totals	103	114	119	61	60	48	21	14	19

## Rater's Totals - Character Interaction

	A	B	C
Parallel	103	114	119
Non-Physical	61	60	48
Physical	21	14	19

## APPENDIX C

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