

VIOLENCE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE : A CONTENT  
ANALYSIS OF A SELECT SAMPLING OF CHILDREN'S  
LITERATURE AND A STUDY OF CHILDREN'S  
RESPONSES TO LITERARY EPISODES  
DEPICTING VIOLENCE

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
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THESIS



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

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a Select Sampling of Children's Literature and a Study of  
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In a study of two distinct but related aspects of children's literature, a detailed content analysis was first undertaken. Books studied were realistic fiction selected by the American Library Association as Notable Books between 1960 and 1970. In the content analysis the following were singled out for examination: total space devoted to violence, details or intensity of violent descriptions, the role assumed by heroes, villains and others during acts of violence, kinds of violent acts perpetrated, the relationship of participants in the act of aggression and value judgments expressed about aggression. The books were divided into two groups, historical fiction and modern realistic fiction and results compared. Violent episodes were analyzed for sensuous (appealing to the senses) and non-sensuous treatment. A comparison was also made for books published in the United States and the British Commonwealth countries, as well as for each of the books written by an author appearing several times on the Notable Book List.

In the second part of the study, violent episodes were read to groups of first, third and seventh grade school children from suburban, rural and inner city schools. The children were then asked to complete a questionnaire containing comprehension questions, as well as others directed at evaluating reactions to violence.

The content analysis revealed that over the ten year period there was no substantial increase in the violent content of children's books. Historical fiction was, on the average, two times as violent as modern realistic fiction. Comparison of books by the same author showed that authors generally produce books with roughly the same amount of violence. Books published originally in the Commonwealth countries contain approximately the same amount of violence as their American counterparts. Throughout the ten year period one-half of the violent acts were committed by minor characters. There was a slight trend toward more acts of violence between strangers in historical fiction. The overwhelming majority of violent acts were described in a sensuous fashion. In general, complete information on the act and effect of violence were included. The great majority of value judgments about aggression were against such acts.

As regards children's responses to violent episodes in literature, half or more of the children indicated that they liked the episodes read to them. Children from inner city schools with real social disorder more often said they

liked violent episodes than those in rural or suburban schools. Children from inner city schools also demonstrated a higher level of understanding than the others. Third grade children in a rural school thought a story with a rural setting close to real life; suburban and inner city school children less frequently thought the story realistic. On the other hand the great majority of the seventh graders thought an historical fiction book similar in format to a cowboy and Indian story was realistic. There appears to be no correlation between individual responses to the questionnaire and personality traits measured on the Sears Aggression Test. However, since the sample of children in the study was small, results were viewed as tentative.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Need

As a result of a series of extraordinary events, Americans as a national group have become acutely aware of the strains of violence which apparently are part of the very warp and woof of our society. These events, including among others, the assassination of three outstanding Americans, John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, a critical racial problem marked by conflict like the Detroit riot of 1967, and an unpopular war in Vietnam, have weighed heavily on Americans. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. may well have been speaking for many Americans when he said:

What sort of people are we, we Americans? . . . The answer to which much of the world is bound to return is that we are today the most frightening people on this planet . . . The ghastly things we do to our own people, and to others, must at last compel us to look searchingly at ourselves and our society . . .<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Existential Politics on the Cult of Violence," Phi Delta Kappan, Volume 50, Number 1 (1968), p. 9.

These statements were part of a speech given the day Robert Kennedy was murdered. They expressed the shock and horror of the moment; but the words, impassioned though they were, stated clearly some feelings widely shared across the country.

As part of the shock wave which generated considerable soul-searching, President Johnson, in the summer of 1968, established a National Commission for the Study of the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Its final report, published in December, 1969, but first completely available to the public in 1971, included statements on violence found in many aspects of American life, among them television. According to the report, many television programs are too violent for young children. The Commission offered four recommendations to television companies:

1. Broadcasting of children's cartoons containing serious, non-comic violence should be abandoned.
2. The amount of time devoted to the broadcast of crime, western and action adventure programs containing violent episodes should be reduced.
3. More effective efforts should be made to alter the basic context in which violence is presented in television dramas. Dramas in which confrontations are resolved by violence should be avoided.
4. The television industry should become more seriously involved in research on the effects of television violence. Future programs should be influenced by the findings of these studies.<sup>2</sup>

The findings and recommendations of the Commission were not unique in any way. For many years critics have

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<sup>2</sup>National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, To Establish Justice and Insure Domestic Tranquility, pp. 202-203.

pointed to mass media as a factor in increased violence in this country. Writers, including, among others, Dr. Fredric Wertham, psychiatrist and author of The Seduction of the Innocent,<sup>3</sup> Professor Wilbur Schramm of Stanford University and author of Television in the Lives of Our Children,<sup>4</sup> and Herbert Blumer and Philip Hauser, authors of Movies, Delinquency and Crime<sup>5</sup> and instructors at the University of Chicago Department of Sociology. Schramm, Blumer and Hauser, as well as others, have advocated changes in programming on television and self-censorship for the comic books and moving picture industries. On the other hand, Dr. Wertham, to mention only one, has pointed to mass media as a training ground for juvenile delinquency.

In work parallel to the group above, some social psychologists like Leonard Berkowitz, professor of psychology at the University of Wisconsin and author of Aggression, A Social Psychological Analysis<sup>6</sup> have studied violent behavior in humans. Most of the research coming from authorities like Berkowitz and Robert Sears, Dean of the School of Humanities at Stanford and one of the

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<sup>3</sup>Fredric Wertham, The Seduction of the Innocent (New York: Rinehart, 1953).

<sup>4</sup>Wilbur Schramm, Television in the Lives of Our Children (Stanford University Press, 1961).

<sup>5</sup>Herbert Blumer and Philip Hauser, Movies, Delinquency and Crime (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

<sup>6</sup>Leonard Berkowitz, Aggression, A Social Psychological Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).

authors of Frustration and Aggression<sup>7</sup> indicates that there may well be considerable correlation between violent behavior and models provided for children. Moreover, most experimental studies by these psychologists have suggested that observed violence stimulates aggressive behavior, rather than the opposite.

Some critics of American literature have also pointed to outstanding American writers as being strongly influenced by the violent nature of American society. Kenneth Lynn, professor of American studies in the new Federal City College described the high level of violent content in writing by Jack London, Stephen Crane and Ernest Hemingway in an essay appearing in a report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Violence in America.<sup>8</sup>

In recent years some people working with children's literature have also noted considerable violence in modern realistic fiction for children. Robert Burch, author of several children's novels, said:

. . . I find the trend toward stronger realism healthy. I do not think we should scare children, but, on the other hand, I do not think we should lie to them by pretending the world is an entirely safe place.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>J. Dollard, Niel Miller, Leonard W. Doob and R. R. Sears, Frustration and Aggression (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).

<sup>8</sup>Kenneth Lynn, "Violence in American Folk Lore and Literature," Violence in America, ed. by H. D. Graham and Ted R. Gurr (New York: Signet, 1969).

<sup>9</sup>Robert Burch, "The New Realism," The Horn Book, 47:3 (1971), p. 260.



Lee Bennett Hopkins<sup>10</sup> pointed out that in fact adults cannot protect children from the horror of war. The youngsters need only turn on the television to learn about real war. In her opinion, what we really need in stories is a set of values which the child can use to find his way through an increasingly frightening world.

On the other hand, at least one English critic, Julia MacRae,<sup>11</sup> voiced some doubt about some junior novels from America, which she thought may not be suitable for children, at least English children.

In the same vein, Dorothy Pettit,<sup>12</sup> writing in the English Journal, maintained that educators should be on the alert for too many deaths in all their gory details, particularly in westerns and mysteries.

Some critics of mass media like Wertham, as pointed out earlier, would have agreed with her, for he considered violence in mass media a factor in developing delinquents. However, reading literature probably hardly influences delinquent behavior. Speaking about delinquents and

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<sup>10</sup>Lee Bennett Hopkins and Misha Arenstein, "Nervose of the Thought: War and Peace in Children's Books," Elementary English, 48:5 (1971), pp. 460-462.

<sup>11</sup>Julia MacRae, "A Second Golden Age? In a Time of Flood?" Virginia Haviland, The Horn Book, 47:4 (1971), p. 418.

<sup>12</sup>Dorothy Pettit, "The Junior Novel and How They Grew," English Journal, 52:2 (1963), pp. 512-520.

reading, Dr. William Kvaraceus<sup>13</sup> pointed out that controlled studies of delinquents show them in significant contrast to non-delinquents in reading skills and interests. In one study, 22 per cent of the delinquents read nothing at all, as contrasted with 11 per cent of the non-delinquent controls. Therefore, in his opinion, violent episodes are not important factors in directing the behavior of youngsters who act out their aggressive inclinations.

On the other hand, Daniel Fader and Elton McNeil,<sup>14</sup> two professors from the University of Michigan, were able to interest delinquent boys at Maxey Training School and others in reading through a program using paperback books. The children sustained their reading interests even after the program was concluded.

Delinquents are only a small proportion of the total population, however. Young readers may well be reading materials which have greatly increased in violence. To date no research has attempted a study of children's reaction to violent content, although Pitcher has analyzed reactions of preschoolers to stories about "war and death and other aspects of ethics and morality."<sup>15</sup> She found:

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<sup>13</sup>W. Kvaraceus, "Can Reading Affect Delinquency?" American Library Association Bulletin 59 (1965), pp. 516-521.

<sup>14</sup>Daniel N. Fader and Elton B. McNeil, Hooked on Books, Program and Proof (New York: Berkley Medallion Books, 1968).

<sup>15</sup>E. G. Pitcher, "Values and Issues in Children's Literature," Elementary English, Volume 46 (1969), pp. 287-288.

Although stories for children sometimes present themes suitable to and popular in adult literature, such as war and death, and various aspects of ethics and morality, it is unlikely that the themes have the same impact on their elders. Death and warfare are forms of aggression and as such are favorite themes. Children are fascinated by what good and bad are and seek constant interpretations of these values . . . Adults (should realize) the limitations of children's verbal understandings in contrast with their extraordinary capacity for emotional experience.

She thinks stories may sometimes aggravate fears or activate aggression, but she also suggests that these fears may generally be worked out in the presence of a loving adult or other children. She believes that children enjoy being a little frightened as long as matters turn out all right. In her opinion, preschool, kindergarten, third, fourth and fifth grade children are seriously limited by an inability to understand anything but the simplest and shortest plots. Their limited background of experience also restricts the degree to which they can understand a story that goes beyond their here and now world.

It should be noted that this study deals only with preschool children. It does not touch on the reactions or interpretations made by school-age children. It also does not attempt a content analysis of children's books containing violence.

For a number of reasons an analysis of violence in children's books and reactions of children to violence in the books they read may be useful and of interest to educators. Because of the increase of violence in public life, because of violence frequently found in mass media,

because of the research of social scientists, which indicates violence in mass media does influence behavior of children, because of the presence of violent content in children's literature, finally, because no studies have apparently treated this subject of violence in children's literature fully, the following study has been undertaken.

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study is to ascertain whether children's literature published between 1960 and 1970 has increased in actual pages devoted to violent content. The sampling of literature read for this study consisted of modern realistic fiction and historical fiction books listed in the Notable Children's books selected by the American Library Association. Additionally, the objective is to determine which characters in the sampling commit acts of violence, what kinds of violence they commit, how vividly or with what intensity acts of violence are depicted and what attitudes are expressed by the author toward violent acts. Finally, children's reactions to violent content in books is to be evaluated and correlated with scores received on the Sears Aggression Test and with the geographical location of the schools they attend.

#### Significance of Study

The study can be of value to educators in a number of ways. Critical reading skills can be applied to the treatment of violence in children's books. Once kinds and

frequency of violence are known, teachers can develop strategies for teaching the critical appraisal of these episodes. The same kinds of appraisal techniques can be applied to and compared with other media like television, the newspapers and the comics, which contain considerable violence and which are important parts of present-day life. Whatever the media, juvenile readers can determine when scenes of violence are necessary for the development of the plot or characterization. They can learn to analyze episodes for intensity. Eventually they will have the ability to recognize the presence and use of violence in an objective manner.

Understanding individual reactions to violent scenes may also be helpful to educators concerned with the well-being of their charges. Patterns emerging from the questionnaire given children in this study can be used as a guide for teachers and librarians in selecting books for children to read. The same patterns may also be useful to publishers, who are, after all, interested in selling their product; and who, therefore, may wish to use materials most attractive to potential readers and their teachers.

Besides being a practical guide to teachers working with children in the elementary and middle schools, this study can have meaning for educators who are concerned with implicit values taught in school. A searching look at materials used in the schools should be made because

children learn not only the explicit lessons found in their books and classrooms; they learn attitudes, as well. If books have become increasingly violent, they need to be evaluated as learning vehicles both for content and for the model they suggest for future behavior.

#### Hypotheses

1. From 1960 to 1970 the content of children's literature, as sampled in Notable Books chosen by the American Library Association, increased in amount and intensity of violence.
2. From 1960 to 1970 heroes and villains appearing in children's literature, as sampled in the Notable Books, increasingly use violence of a wide variety in the course of plot development to attain character's goals.
3. From 1960 to 1970 violent acts between intimates occur more often than between strangers in children's literature as sampled in the Notable Books selected for children.
4. From 1960 to 1970 violent acts in children's books, as sampled in the Notable Books selected for children by the American Library Association, are more frequently treated in a sensuous fashion, rather than in a non-sensuous style.
5. From 1960 to 1970 attitudes expressed toward violent acts depicted children's literature, as sampled in the Notable Books, are most frequently opposed to aggression.
6. A positive relationship exists between geographical location of the school the children attend and the verbal response of children to violence in realistic fiction.
7. A positive relationship exists between personality as established on the Sears Aggression Test and individual responses to violent episodes in children's books.

### Assumptions

1. Violence in books creates a reaction of some kind.
2. Children of all ages learn from the violence presented in a book.
3. Children between the ages of 10 and 14
  - a. Understand their emotions well enough to explain them.
  - b. Can explain their interpretations of a violent scene.
  - c. Are willing to explain their reactions and interpretations, whether emotional or intellectual.
4. A child's emotional reactions to a violent scene reflect his
  - a. personality
  - b. geographical location.

### Limitations of the Study

The study is limited to all modern realistic and historical fiction books included in the Notable Books lists for children selected by the American Library Association from 1960 to 1970.

The children used in this study were three classes of approximately 25 children each, from first, third and seventh grades. At each level there was one class from an inner city school system, two rural schools

and a suburban school. Altogether there were 217 children who participated.

### Definitions of Terms

Violence--the overt expression of physical force intended to hurt or kill.

Violent Episode or Context Unit--a scene of whatever duration between violent parties; it may include anything from a full scale battle to a single encounter between two characters. It is limited by entrances and exits of characters, by changes in topic of discussion or by changes in locale. It constitutes the actual unit of measuring violence.

Coding Unit--actual acts or threats of violence. For a context unit to be included in the study, it must contain the Coding Unit.

Juvenile Books--books ranging from those written for preschoolers to those written for "young adults." The audience ranges from ages 3 to 14.

Sensuous Treatment of Violence--treatment which is very close to a real-life situation. Details might include information on suffering, pain and death and would be of such a nature as to appeal to the senses.



Nonsensuous Treatment of Violence--treatment of a violent scene which is not close to a real-life situation. Lacking in detail. Treatment of the scene may be stylized or information may simply be lacking.

Aggression--a basic emotional drive of all human beings, associated largely but not entirely with frustration. (In this paper the term is never used to mean active mastery or possession, the second definition commonly associated with the word.)

Prosocial Aggression--aggression which is directed toward another individual or object in a socially acceptable fashion.

Anti-Social Aggression--aggression directed toward another individual in a socially unacceptable fashion.

The need for this study has been explained in Chapter I, along with the purpose, hypotheses, and assumptions. The following chapters contain discussions of other aspects of the subject. Chapter II includes thorough review of related literature. Chapter III contains an outline of the sample used, the measures and devices included in the study, the general plan followed, as well as testable hypotheses and questions. Included also are models used to test the hypotheses and questions. Chapters IV and V are analyses of the results. Chapter IV of the content analysis and Chapter V of the response made by the children. The final chapter, VI, contains a summary and conclusions which can be drawn from the study.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the past, violence has been studied from many points of view, but rarely has the subject focused on literature. Instead, most research has been concerned with mass media developed during the course of the first half of the twentieth century. These popular forms of entertainment were often the topic of research and discussion because concerned citizens and experts alike were vocal in their complaints about the high level of violence found in them. Literature, on the other hand, was not singled out for several reasons. It was not particularly noteworthy for excessive aggression; fewer people were touched by books. However, each form of mass media became the focal point for intense debate and a wide assortment of research as the medium reached the height of its popularity. Following widespread discussion and study, in almost every case, the United States Congress has investigated the topic and concluded its study with recommendations for self censorship and a decrease in violence.

In a parallel development, which is, however, not directly associated with discussion and research on mass media, many psychologists have studied the subject of aggression in human beings. These experimenters have not always approached the topic from the same point of view or philosophy, nor have they always come to the same conclusions. Some of their work, however, touches directly on reactions to violence in mass media. These investigations are discussed here.

### Movies

One medium which has been the topic of considerable discussion and some research is the films. Like the comic books, films are often accused of having a detrimental effect on <sup>their</sup> viewers. In 1929, 12 independent research projects were undertaken under the auspices of 18 social scientists who, in turn, were sponsored by the Payne Fund. These projects were published separately and then summarized in a single volume.<sup>1</sup> Among other topics the projects contained a content analysis of 1,500 movies appearing in 1920, 1925 and 1930. From these a random sample was drawn. Thirty-eight per cent featured crime and/or violence. Edgar Dale, the author, found that if one went to the movies once a week, on the average one would see a violent film once a month. Villains were not always, according to him, shown to be repulsive. Quite often they were

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<sup>1</sup>W. W. Charters, Motion Pictures and Youth, A Summary (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

physically courageous and met danger fearlessly. A random sample of 115 films taken from the same group showed 449 crimes in only 97 moving pictures with 19 per cent committed by male and female heroes, 50 per cent by villains and the rest by groups or individuals not identified. Guns were used 30 per cent of the time with knives and shooting most commonly used in addition. Heroines were protected but heroes were (14% of the time) in tight places where lethal weapons were needed. Villains were less successful than heroes in achieving their goals. Lady villains were responsible for eight murders.<sup>2</sup>

Several of the Payne Fund studies indicate that films affect children viewing them, Peterson and Thurstone<sup>3</sup> studied changes in attitudes as a result of exposure to the movies. In one case 182 seventh through twelfth graders in Geneva, Illinois, were tested and found to have strong anti-Chinese prejudices. After seeing a film entitled Sons of the Gods, which showed Orientals in a friendly light, the examiners found that the children reversed their attitudes. In another test, 434 Crystal Lake, Illinois, grade and high school children viewed Birth of a Nation with a sound track different from the original. The film and sound track showed strong

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 50-51.

<sup>3</sup>R. C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, Motion Pictures and Social Attitudes of Children (New York: Macmillan, 1933), pp. 39-50.

prejudices against Black people. As a result of exposure to the altered film, the children revealed new, intolerant attitudes, which persisted eight months later. Attitudes toward crime and punishment were also changed significantly after exposure to three films, Numbered Men, The Criminal Code, and the Big House, as measured on an attitude scale. Less effect was noted when the children saw only one or two films. The authors conclude that movies affect viewers considerably.

Films apparently affect children in ways proportional to their age or experience. W. S. Dysinger and Christian Ruckmick<sup>4</sup> found that scenes of pseudo-tragedy, conflict and danger severely affect children under 12 years of age when measured by a galvanometer. Youths nearer 16 are less intensely affected; viewers older than 19 are affected even less acutely. The researchers conclude that children perceive differently from adults, who cannot equate their experience with those of children, who lack experience. Individual scenes of danger, aggression and violence arouse pre-adolescent children more than sexual scenes, and more than the whole moving picture. Moral messages tacked on at the end of such a picture are lost on these children. The younger the child the more he responds to the separate items of the movie emotionally.

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<sup>4</sup>Charters, op. cit., p. 26.

The younger he is, the less he understands the continuity and moral of the movie.

Films also affect sleep habits of children. Samuel Renshaw, Vernon Miller, and Dorothy Marquis<sup>5</sup> conducted a study which involved 170 children over a four year period and which used electronic equipment to record changes in sleep patterns after movie attendance. The children viewed 58 movies ranging from low key films to some studded with violence. Movement in sleep patterns after movie attendance increased as much as 90 per cent in some children. This condition persisted as much as two or three nights. Children under ten years of age showed a more frequent decrease in motility, a situation that the authors thought characteristic of depressor drugs sometimes associated with insomnia.

Herbert Blumer and Philip Hauser report in two different studies<sup>6</sup> that while movies do affect behavior of children, they are an important factor in the development of only 10 per cent of male delinquents. Twenty-five per cent of the female delinquents studied, on the other hand, were affected by films. Motion pictures played an especially important part in the lives of children reared in socially disorganized areas, but the researchers note that films do influence non-delinquent children from less

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-47.

disorganized areas because the youngster forgets his own identity when watching a film and gets deeply involved emotionally, something that does not happen with adults who tend to be more objective about evaluating movies they attend. Films also play an important role in informal guidance of children. The researchers, therefore, called for responsible behavior on the part of producers, parents and the public and for experimentation until a solution of the problem is found.

#### The Comics

During the 1950's there was a considerable flurry of interest in crime comic books, a very popular pastime with large numbers of children all over the United States and Europe. Dr. Fredric Wertham, a psychiatrist, who was particularly interested in criminal psychology but well known, as well, for his crusade in the fight against censorship of adult fiction, was prominent in the debate about crime comics. He used a clinical approach in his book, Seduction of the Innocent, pointing out through case studies that children become psychopathic because of the social climate. He said that they are not born violent; violence is planted in their minds, and crime comics are a contributing factor in many maladjustments. No organizations control the kinds of comics published; as a result, too often the crime and not the punishment is visible. In his opinion, children reading these comics are retooling for illiteracy while moving in the direction

of delinquency and sex mania. If nothing else, he believes we are teaching children to be insensitive.<sup>7</sup>

In another book, The Sign of Cain, Wertham further concludes that adults accept crime comics because emotionally healthy children do not appear to be harmed. Furthermore, adults think vicarious pleasure will allow children to turn off real tendencies to violence through "catharsis." Adults also think that family life will shield children, that there is no real proof of the relationship between real violence and fantasy violence.<sup>8</sup> In his opinion, these are serious errors in judgment.

A few years after the Seduction of the Innocent appeared, a British psychologist, P. M. Pickard, undertook a study of comics in England. Published in 1961, Dr. Pickard asked over 500 British children, ranging in age between nine and eleven, to fill out a questionnaire describing what they liked and disliked about comics. The children were also asked if they were fearful or had dreams after reading crime comics. A group of adults rated the same comics read by children. The author found children and adults thought much the same kind of comic was enjoyable; both preferred to avoid comics containing horror and violence. She concludes, ". . . it becomes

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<sup>7</sup>Wertham, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Frederick Wertham, Sign of Cain (New York: Rinehart, 1953).



patently clear that what they (children) dislike is having their own horrid nightmares . . . without any assistance towards surmounting them."<sup>9</sup>

Fredric Thrasher found that comic books were very influential with 313 Chicago gangs who used comics in their activities. The gangs obtained names and also procured suggestions for vandalism and other destructive activities directly from these sources.<sup>10</sup> However, in spite of this comment, the same author points out in an article appearing in the Journal of Education Sociology<sup>11</sup> that Dr. Wertham was not scientific in his analysis of the causes of juvenile delinquency because his propositions were not supported by adequate research. Instead, the latter's claims rested on a select group of extreme cases. Thrasher concludes that up to that time (1949), there had not been any acceptable evidence that there is a significant relationship between comics and delinquent behavior.

Several content analyses of comic books were conducted during the same period. Morton Malter analyzed the content of 185 comic books from 17 publishers. His data

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<sup>9</sup>P. M. Pickard, I Could a Tale Unfold. Violence, Horror, and Sensationalism (New York: Humanities Press, 1961), p. 191.

<sup>10</sup>Mentioned in Senate Judiciary Hearings, Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, 83rd Congress, April 21st and 22nd, and June 4, 1954, p. 12. (F. Thrasher, The Gang.)

<sup>11</sup>F. Thrasher, "The Comics and Delinquency: Cause or Scapegoat," The Journal of Educational Sociology (1949), pp. 195-205.

suggests that the percentage of pages devoted to humor and crime are about equal. He also found that approximately one third of all comics were completely devoted to humor. He, therefore, concludes that the attacks on the comics were unwarranted.<sup>12</sup> Somewhat along the same lines, Parent's Magazine reports a study of the Committee on the Evaluation of Comic Books. The group found 154 comics were not objectionable. They used as criteria the artwork, grammar, plot, characters, setting and morbid emotionality.<sup>13</sup> The Interim Report of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency made to the Senate on March 14th, 1955, contains a list of methods used in crime and horror comics to portray violence; supernatural phenomena involving werewolves, vampires, zombies, or sometimes real people; words used to stimulate anticipation of the horror, reinforce belief, describe killings; other symbols like the red background of a picture for blood, sometimes the sequence may be used to stimulate the imagination of the reader up to a shocking climax in the next frame. In addition, the subcommittee points out that criminal careers are glamorized in comic books; defenders

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<sup>12</sup>Morton Malter, "The Content of Current Comic Book Magazines," Elementary School Journal (1952), pp. 501-510.

<sup>13</sup>Reported in Senate Judiciary Hearings. Subcommittee Hearings on Juvenile Delinquency, 83rd Congress, 1954, United States Printing Office, p. 10.

of law and order are represented frequently as people who kill and commit crimes to defend "justice."<sup>14</sup>

Several studies attempted an analysis of the relationship between comic books reading habits and other factors. Hault,<sup>15</sup> for example, reported a study of 235 children, aged 10 to 17. He found that delinquents and non-delinquents read about the same number of comics, but delinquents read many more harmful comics. Heisler<sup>16</sup> also found no significant relationship between reading comics and factors such as reading ability, achievement in English vocabulary, intelligence, personality or the size of the home library.

The United States Senate concludes in its Interim Report that the country cannot afford the "calculated risk of feeding its children through comic books a concentrated diet of crime, horror and violence." With this objective in mind, all materials that potentially exert detrimental effects should be eliminated from publication.

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<sup>14</sup>United States Senate Interim Report Number 62, "Comic Books and Juvenile Delinquency," 84th Congress, 1955, pp. 10-15.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Hault, "Comic Books and Juvenile Delinquency," Sociology and Social Science Research, 33 (1949), pp. 279-284.

<sup>16</sup>F. Heisler, "Comparison between Those Elementary School Children Who Attend Moving Pictures, Read Comic Books, and Listen to Serial Radio Programs to Excess with Those Who Indulge in These Activities Seldom or Not At All," Journal of Educational Research, 42 (1948), pp. 182-190.

This aim was to be achieved through vigilance on the part of parents, publishers and citizen's groups.<sup>17</sup>

### Television

In recent years television and violence on television have taken precedence over comic books and movies in the minds of many social scientists and critics partly because television is ubiquitous, partly because television is the most popular form of entertainment for children.

Apparently, some children would rather watch television than pass their time with any other entertainment. Florence Brumbaugh<sup>18</sup> asked a group of randomly selected children to complete the statement: "If I could choose one, it would be \_\_\_\_\_ (books, comics, movies and television)." Television ran first and books second.

What is it then that children watch on television? The Association for Better Television and Radio monitored programs in the Los Angeles area for one week between the hours of six and nine in the evening. They found 91 murders, 7 stage holdups, 3 kidnappings, 10 thefts, 4 burglaries, 2 cases of arson, 2 jailbreaks, the murder of 15 or 20 persons by explosion, 2 suicides, blackmail,

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<sup>17</sup>United States Senate Interim Report Number 62, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

<sup>18</sup>Reported in Robert L. Shayon, Television and Our Children (New York: Longmans and Green, 1951), p. 29.

cases of assault and battery too numerous to tabulate.<sup>19</sup> Schramm found a similar high incidence of violence in 1960.<sup>20</sup>

In a study conducted by Robert O'Hara,<sup>21</sup> two programs of each of the following action series were watched: Peter Gunn, Mr. Lucky, Lawman, Bourbon Street Beat, The Untouchables, Gunsmoke, Adventure in Paradise, Marshal and Deputy. Out of 1250 minutes, there were 327 acts of violence directly involving the central characters. In addition, there were 146 acts of violence, each of them involving secondary characters. The violence ranged from slapping, pushing and grabbing to extreme fistfights ending in the injury and death of one or more of the characters. Of 327 acts of violence, 287 were not logically grounded or supported by the plot. O'Hara concluded that violence is frequently used in television as a means of emotionally engaging the viewer and solving problems. The author concludes, "People in the real world do, of course, act emotionally and irrationally, but the media gives the appearance that action of this sort, not only

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>20</sup>Schramm, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>21</sup>Robert O'Hara, Media for the Masses (New York: Random House, 1961).

is the rule, rather than the exception, but it is also justified and desirable."<sup>22</sup>

In spite of these findings, two important studies have concluded that television is not harmful for normal children. One was conducted by Dr. Hilde T. Himmelweit<sup>23</sup> in England between 1954 and 1956, using a survey of two age groups, ten to eleven and thirteen to fourteen along with diaries and questionnaires. Viewers of both age groups watched television eleven to thirteen hours a week or about two hours a day. The amount of time these children spent watching depended on intelligence, personality, availability of other activities and social level of the home. In this study children preferred adult programs, particularly crime thrillers. They also liked variety shows, comedies and family serials. The appeal of television lay partly in its easy availability, consequent value as a time filler and the fact that it is an entrance into the adult world.

A content analysis is included in the study. In one week there were 25 plays on ITV (Independent Television) and BBC. Of these, 18 dealt with lawbreaking. Ninety-six per cent of the plays appearing on ITV were adventure plays. Values were upper middle-class; manual labor was given a very low status; goodness was also low on the scale of values presented; success was achieved

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<sup>23</sup>Hilde Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim and Pamela Vinee, Television and the Child (London: Nuffield Foundation, 1958).

through toughmindedness rather than kindness, thoughtfulness, etc. Violence was presented as inevitable, both for good and bad people. The researchers conclude that when parents are not available or when children are low in intelligence, values presented on television are important because they make a greater impact upon the viewers.

In the study cited above, reactions of children to television are also included. Children were frightened by westerns only when young or insecure. Adolescents were often frightened by crime, space fiction, detective murder stories, stories like Jane Eyre, all of which were more realistic than westerns. The authors conclude that, in general, television is similar to other media in the amounts of fear it engenders, regardless of violence. In the opinion of Himmelweit, television is unlikely to create aggressive acts, except in the emotionally disturbed.

Wilbur Schramm and his colleagues conducted a similar study in the United States. He found that an increasing number of children watch television (14% of the two year olds; 30% of the three year olds; 65% of the four year olds; 82% of the five year olds). More than any other media which "builds the set with which a child approaches media" television is important in the lives of children.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Schramm, op. cit., p. 27.

Dr. Schramm asked children the kinds of programs they prefer. He found that "perhaps the most significant thing . . . is how inarticulate they were on the topic. In general, they want more of the kinds of material they already see a great deal of."<sup>25</sup> When children reach the teens, Dr. Schramm found that they speak of television as keeping them from getting bored. He suggests that perhaps because the television provides such excitement, the rest of life seems pallid by comparison. Schramm found that taste in television programs ran toward adult programs, much of it fantasy. Taste for public affairs programs was little and late. Youngsters use television for many purposes, including entertainment, escape, and a source of information on social modes of behavior. For the very young, it is an effective way to learn; children exposed to television go to school with vocabularies about a grade higher than those who have not had the opportunity to watch. However, later incidental learning becomes less important. The child may instead use it to escape from conflict in the family. Television affects children in a number of ways. They may, for instance, become frightened when harm comes to some character with whom they identify. They may also react aggressively.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>26</sup>Quote from testimony of Dr. Schramm as part of the United States Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency Hearings, "Effects on Young People of Violence and Crime Portrayed on Television," Pursuant to S. Res. 48, 1962, p. 1770.



Dr. Ralph Banay, a psychiatrist at Columbia University, went even further than Schramm. He said that television is a preparatory school for delinquency.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Schramm's own study reports a number of incidents which seem to back up Dr. Banay's contention.<sup>28</sup> For instance, a Los Angeles maid caught a seven year old boy sprinkling ground glass into the family meal. Apparently, the boy was trying to find out if the trick worked as well as on television.

Television as a school for delinquency may be a moot question, but the findings of Professor Victor Cline of the University of Utah are not. He says that "children who have watched television the most show least physiological response to episodes of violence as measured with electrodes. He concludes that we are creating violence addicts. Many children are, as a result of television, already desensitized. Cline believes violent scenes may become models for later life. He says, "I am convinced United States soldiers who shot down Vietnamese women and children at Mylai were already desensitized."<sup>29</sup>

The children are not only desensitized; they are also impressed by the effectiveness of violence.

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<sup>27</sup>Testimony of Dr. Ralph Banay as part of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, S. Res. 62, 1955, p. 83.

<sup>28</sup>Schramm, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>29</sup>V. P. Cline, "How Violence Affects Children," Life, 68, January 20, 1970, pp. 57-58.

Zanjenc<sup>30</sup> found that they often approve of media behavior because the actions of the characters "work," that is, violent action is instrumental in achieving certain goals.

Another not so apparent effect is that children develop expectations of other people from their experiences in front of the television sets. Alberta Siegal<sup>31</sup> studied second grade children who heard one of two versions of a previously prepared drama involving a taxi cab driver. The experimental group watched a version in which the dramatic conflict was resolved by physical aggression. The next day the group completed a series of new stories from current newspapers in a fashion which was supposed to be similar to a real event. The experimental children wrote more aggressive endings than the control children who had not seen the aggressive conclusion to the film. The children had apparently learned that taxi cab drivers are aggressive.

Regardless of the model provided by television, young people watch television more often as they become more and more frustrated, at least among five and six year olds from upper middle homes. Maccoby<sup>32</sup> found no

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<sup>30</sup>R. Zanjenc, "Some Affects of the Space Serials," Public Opinion Quarterly, 18 (1954), pp. 367-374.

<sup>31</sup>Alberta Siegel, "The Influence of Violence in the Mass Media Upon Children's Role Expectations," Child Development, Volume 29 (1958), pp. 35-36.

<sup>32</sup>Eleanor Maccoby, "Why do Children Watch Television?" Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume 18 (1954), pp. 239-244.

such relationship in lower class homes with children of the same age. The author indicated that this may well be because upper class parents do not watch television often. Therefore, television becomes the means for escaping from family activities. Upper lower class children, on the other hand, watch television with their families. They, therefore, use television as a friendly family activity, and a means of socialization. Much the same relationship was found by Riley and Riley<sup>33</sup> and by Bailyn.<sup>34</sup> The latter also pointed out that the boys who like aggressive-hero stories and who have been exposed to a lot of mass media were likely to have attitudes of rebellious independence and to be relatively frustrated and aggressive. In addition, Riley and Riley conclude that younger children are more likely to have a greater preference for violence than older ones. The older ones who continued to watch considerable mass media were likely to have relatively few friends while being attracted themselves to peer groups.

The weight against television, much of it listed above, was such that the final report of the National

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<sup>33</sup>Matilda Riley and J. W. Riley, Jr., "A Sociological Approach to Communications," in The Process and Effects of Mass Communications, edited by W. Schramm (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1954).

<sup>34</sup>Lotte Bailyn, "Mass Media and Children," Psychological Monographs, 73 (1959), p. 471.

Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence<sup>35</sup>

recommends the following:

1. That the 'broadcasting of children's cartoons containing serious, non-comic violence should be abandoned.'
2. That the 'amount of time devoted to the broadcast of crime, western and action-adventure programs containing violent episodes be reduced.'
3. That 'more effective efforts should be made to alter the basic context in which violence is presented in television dramas.'
4. That the 'members of the television industry should become more actively and seriously involved in research on the effects of violent television programs and their future policies standards, and practices with regard to entertainment programs should be more responsive to the best evidence provided by social scientists, psychologists and communications researchers.'
5. That 'parents should make every effort to supervise their children's television viewing and assert their basic responsibility for the moral development of their children.'
6. That 'parents should express to the networks and to the local stations both their disapproval of programs which they find objectionable and their support of programs they like.'
7. That there be 'an evaluation of the effectiveness of the new movie rated system with an emphasis on the question of . . . violence and the enforcement of the admission standards regarding minors.'

#### Literature

While there has been relatively little research on violence in literature, there has been considerable discussion on the subject, much of it written in the last few

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<sup>35</sup>United States Government Document, To Establish Justice to Insure Domestic Tranquility. Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Document, 1969), pp. 279-280.

years. However, as long ago as 1957, De Boer<sup>36</sup> argued against violence in folk tales for children on the grounds that most were not suitable to children and probably damaging psychologically. By 1967, however, the whole picture had changed. S. E. Hinton,<sup>37</sup> writing in the New York Times Book Review, gave a strong argument for "telling it like it is" even when the materials must be violent.

Adults who let children watch hours of violence, unfunny comedy, abnormal behavior and suggestive action on television scream their heads off when a book written for children contains a fist fight. But violence, too, is part of a teen-ager's life. If it is not on television or in the movies, it's a beating at the local drive-in. Things like this are going to take place as long as there are kids. Only when violence is for a sensational effect should it be objected to in books for teen-agers. Such books should not be blood and gore, but not a fairyland of proms and double dates, either.

In an article published in the April 3, 1969 New York Times<sup>38</sup> Nicholson, editor of Delacorte books reinforced Miss Hinton's remarks when he said:

Judging from sales and mail, the most effective books reflect what is going on in the country--the racial problems, violence and so on.

In the same article John Donovan, head of the National Book Council explains the reason for this

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<sup>36</sup>John De Boer, "Violence in Children's Books," Elementary English, Volume 35 (1958), pp. 469-473.

<sup>37</sup>S. E. Hinton, "Teenagers Are for Real," New York Times Book Review, August 27, 1967, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup>Harry Gilroy, "In Juvenile Books It's Not all Fantasy," New York Times, Thursday, April 3, 1969, p. C49.

phenomenon. "There aren't many areas in our society that children don't know about. A four year old acquires a lot of wisdom in front of a television set."

If children fail to learn to read with enjoyment, they do so because they cannot find books which seem realistic to them. Reginald Maddock, author, put it as follows:

There are those who resist reading because reading is something adults make them do. Unless they are young children, their reluctance does not necessarily spring from lack of ability . . . Reading's for squares. They've tried it and it does nothing for them. The books they read as children--because they were forced to read them--are about artificial worlds nothing like the real world their young lives are lived in. Teachers and parents may get their kicks and fantasies from books, but they (children) know easier ways to get them more swiftly. I write at times for children like this. I try to write about real kids with real problems similar to their own. I write about bullies, hooligans, vandals; about teachers, truancy, homework, etc. These are the things they know about. These are the characters they identify with.<sup>39</sup>

Arnold Arnold<sup>40</sup> claims children can tell the difference between legitimate fictional conflict and media which exist only as a catalogue of sadism. Violence for the sake of violence is not, in his opinion, something new. Hoffman's Struwelpeter and Rohmer's FuManchu are examples of older stories which dwell on violence. Many outstanding

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<sup>39</sup>Quoted in Aidan Chambers, The Reluctant Reader (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 90.

<sup>40</sup>Arnold Arnold, Violence and Your Child (Chicago: Henry Rennery Company, 1969), pp. 50-55.

stories, however, use violence to sensitize the reader to social problems or for some legitimate artistic purpose. If anything, too often, children's books avoid mention of any real issues like death. In his opinion, as long as considerations for humanity are suspended, brutality, sadism and exploitation of violence for kicks can be infinitely escalated. He suggests that parents guide their children's reading toward material with ethical content, that publishers turn to materials with more social content, more reality.

Kenneth Lynn<sup>41</sup> claims that the recurring theme of violence in American folklore and literature in general is more than part of a long history. Rather it bears witness to the continuing violence in American life. He points out, however, that the social scientist takes too narrow a view when studying an element like violence in literature, for the scientist ignores the effects of "fictional conventions on the representations of realities,"<sup>42</sup> for instance, the dreams of peace which may be threaded through the bloodiest of stories or comic juxtapositions which "take the curse off the most unpleasant episodes." For him, then, the thrust of the work is more important than the details with which it is put together.

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<sup>41</sup>Lynn, op. cit., pp. 219-233.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

In a symposium on violence in literature, some of the same thoughts were voiced. In addition, one of the speakers, Solatoroff, pointed out that because action in novels most often appears without pictures, some of the "stench" is taken out of violence as it appears in writing. By putting it in artistic form, that is, by making it part of a more balanced view of nature and of life itself, more of the bite of violence is removed. He claimed that pornography does just the opposite; as does photography.

Another participant, Dr. Robert Coles,<sup>43</sup> was of the opinion that much of the worry about violence in literature is unwarranted. We worry about the subject because it is easier than to think about real war. Moreover, it is impossible to remove all violence or inclinations toward violence from individuals and thus create a new non-violent society. As another speaker in the symposium put it, "Violence and aggression are part of man's resources for survival."<sup>44</sup>

Dr. Karl Menninger,<sup>45</sup> in an article appearing in the Saturday Review, suggested another reason for the continuing importance of violence in literature. We like it because it is exciting and dramatic. We can participate in it vicariously without danger of punishment.

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<sup>43</sup>"Violence in Literature, Symposium," American Scholar, Volume 37 (1968), p. 484.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 495.

<sup>45</sup>Karl Menninger, "The Crime of Punishment," Saturday Review, September 7, 1968, pp. 218-225, 255.



One of the few studies on violence in literature is concerned with the same displacement. In his doctoral dissertation, George O. Wright<sup>46</sup> claims that folk tales and rituals which are aggressive in content provide a device by which aggressive feelings can be displaced in fantasy without disrupting effects, which would otherwise result in their direct expression. He found that a large amount of aggressive behavior in fantasy is connected with severe punishment for overt aggression in child-rearing practices. Thirty-three societies represented by 12 tales each were scored for severity of punishment when connected with expression of aggression. High anxiety for punishment in actual child-rearing practices were found to lead to folklore behavior in which the objects or agents of aggression were least like the hero. The hero in such a tale was not likely to triumph in the end. Low anxiety punishment was connected with the expression of aggression. The agents of aggression in such tales were similar to the hero or the hero himself expressed aggression. The hero was likely to be triumphant in the outcome of the story. High punishment anxiety leads to more intense aggressive behavior in folk tales. The author concludes that the relationship between child-rearing practices and aggression in folk tales is real.

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<sup>46</sup>George O. Wright, "Projection and Aggression: A Cross-Cultural Study of Folklore for Aggression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 49, pp. 523-528.

Two other studies also show our basic need to express aggression and our ability to displace it. In the first, L. M. Ames<sup>47</sup> asked a group of boys and girls ranging in age from two to five to tell the experimenter stories of their own invention. The outstanding theme at every age for both sexes was violence. There were more violent themes in boys' stories than in girls'. Age trends were highly variable but, in general, spanking was strong for the youngest group. Between four and five, many children told about victims who were dead or killed. The author notes that although there are many themes of violence, the children protected themselves in a number of ways. They might, for instance, remove themselves from the danger zone by having the bad things happen to their brothers and sisters, to someone of the opposite sex or to animals or objects. They also erased death and disaster by not having the bad things happen. In general, girls protected themselves more than boys.

E. G. Pitcher<sup>48</sup> recounts a similar experiment with another group of preschool children. She reports that many of the stories told to her were a complete or partial retelling of a fairy tale, a story of cowboys and Indians remembered from television or a recital from some Mother

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<sup>47</sup>L. B. Ames, "Children's Stories," Genetic Psychology Monographs, Volume 73 (1966), pp. 337-396.

<sup>48</sup>E. G. Pitcher, "Values and Issues in Young Children's Literature," Elementary English, Volume 46 (March, 1969), pp. 287-294.

Goose. Basic concerns, those of security and independence were integrated into the tales which were noteworthy for their dramatic themes and which usually concluded with good overcoming evil. Most surprising to Dr. Pitcher was that the themes of aggression involving death and catastrophe, as well as violence, predominated. The author concludes that the mainsprings of aggression and insecurity are fundamental and methods of dealing with them represent one of a whole gamut of solutions used during a lifetime. Children solve the problem by not dwelling excessively on the gruesome details. In her opinion, the stories chosen for children to read should be selected with children's limited verbal understanding and his "extraordinary capacity for emotional experience" kept well in mind.<sup>49</sup>

Some people think that publishers have not kept this in mind when permitting some recent, "relevant" books to appear on the market. When Robert Beauchamp spoke out against the "lilac-scented curriculum of Longfellow and his contemporaries," someone in the audience of librarians before whom he spoke argued that a replacement of the traditional curriculum did not "necessarily mean the dumping of the garbage can in the front room."<sup>50</sup> It would seem that a careful evaluation of recently published novels

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>50</sup>Ruth K. Carlson, "Analysis of Teenage Books," in Evaluating Books for Children and Young People, Perspectives in Reading (Newark, Delaware), p. 76.

for children should be made to see what is actually being published. Moreover, further investigations of children's reactions to violent content in realistic novels are also called for.

### The Psychology of Aggression

At the same time that critics and writers have been discussing violence in mass media and literature, experimental and theoretical psychologists have been exploring the subject from their own point of view. Some of their findings are relevant to violence in children's literature.

The study of aggression is not, however, new to psychology. It has been of considerable interest to psychologists and other workers in the social sciences since the time of Freud, who was the first to postulate a theory of aggression. He believed, at least at one point, that aggressive drives have a biological basis; but that inhibitions develop during childhood as a result of a resolution of the Oedipus Complex and the consequent formation of the superego or conscience. He called the aggressive drive, "Thanatos" or the death instinct, suggesting thereby that man carries within himself the seeds of his own destruction. With such a theory, there is little to be gained by efforts to prevent aggressive behavior from developing. All effort should, instead, be directed toward child-rearing practices which will develop inhibitions against violent behavior. One way to drain

off tension which develops from the presence of aggression, according to this theory, is through catharsis, release of emotional tension.<sup>51</sup>

Konrad Lorenz<sup>52</sup> and Anthony Storr<sup>53</sup> also believe that aggression is innate in man. Both claim that present-day civilized man suffers from insufficient discharge of his aggressive drive, which was needed earlier for survival.<sup>54</sup> Storr describes human aggression as an innate drive growing out of man's early need for self-preservation, a drive which is not only destructive but which also protected man in his drive for self-preservation. Then aggression, according to him, serves several functions, to preserve life through competition for food, to continue life through mating, and finally to insure peace and order within the community through some kind of social order, what he calls "the pecking order." He further suggests that the aggressive drive is always there. "It is probable that when no outside stimulus for aggression exists, man actually seeks such stimuli, much the way he does when sexually deprived."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Ernest Jones, editor. The Collected Works of Sigmund Freud (New York: Basic Books, 1959), Vol. 5, Chapter 25.

<sup>52</sup>Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1966), pp. 231-235.

<sup>53</sup>Anthony Storr, Human Aggression (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

<sup>54</sup>Lorenz, op. cit., p. 235; Storr, op. cit., pp. 21-33.

<sup>55</sup>Storr, op. cit., p. 21.

Particularly interesting is Storr's interpretation of aggression found in myths and legends. He feels that because all myths describe one kind of aggression or another, this proves that man is innately aggressive. As he put it, "fantasies of an aggressive kind are so ubiquitous amongst people of varying cultures that they cannot possibly be considered exclusive to neurotic and psychotic people."<sup>56</sup> These fantasies have in common children's need to explore the world around them, something that is natural and necessary for the growing child. According to Storr, the young child who is listening to folk tales is undisturbed by them, for he can enter the world of fantasy secure in the knowledge that he himself is safe with his own parents. He may, in fact, have some release from tension, some catharsis, because he can enter his own violent world of fantasy in safety surrounded by a loving family. As a result, he may be less disturbed by violence in folk tales than his parents, who tell him the story. As Storr put it:

There is little convincing evidence that reading of heroes, slaying dragons, or even gangsters shooting cops, has a disturbing effect upon or provokes displays of violence in these children who are not already predisposed. Whilst we may deplore the vulgarity of horror comics, we are not justified in supposing that such reading matter has accounted for murder or other aggressive actions in later life. This is not to deny that an exclusive diet of violent literature and television programmes may give a distorted picture of reality,

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

or have a harmful effect upon those children whose actual experiences in the world has been one of physical violence.<sup>57</sup>

In the opinion of Lorenz and Storr, we should turn research attention to learning methods of preventing aggression from becoming hostile.<sup>58</sup> Among other things, preventing men from abstracting may be one way to cut down on hostility. Development of weapons permits man to abstract his hostility because of the distance from the actual violent situation. A close-up view, therefore, would tend to make him aware of the horror involved. Presumably, media which focuses on the real details of violence actually taking place would prevent abstraction.

Freud, Lorenz and Storr assume that aggression is innate in man. Many psychologists studying the problem have done so from a totally different point of view. They have suggested, to quote the classic monograph of 1939, Frustration and Aggression,<sup>59</sup> that "aggression is always a consequence of frustration," a statement which has been a source of considerable discussion and experimentation since that time, much of the latter focusing on the factors which influence the amount of perceived frustration and the consequent instigation to aggression, as well as inhibitions to aggressive behavior. The more

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 85; and Lorenz, op. cit., p. 240.

<sup>59</sup> Dollard, et al., op. cit., p. 7.

significant experiments are discussed below, the first group concerned with general principles, the second with experiments directly associated with media of various kinds.

### Instigation to Aggression

Brown and Farber distinguished among four kinds of frustrating conditions: physical barriers, delays between initiation, and completion of the response sequence, omission or reduction of a customary reward, and eliciting a response tendency that is incompatible with the ongoing one.<sup>60</sup>

Dollard, et al.<sup>61</sup> theorized that aggressive behavior need not be overt. It could be expressed merely through fantasy. They also suggested that behavior need not be directed toward any frustrating situation or individual. As Berkowitz put it,<sup>62</sup> "The individual obviously will inhibit his hostile reactions if he is anxious about the display of aggression and fears." Moreover, this group maintains that frustration often arouses and increases the instigation to aggression, not, however, leading necessarily to open hostility.

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<sup>60</sup>J. S. Brown and I. E. Farber, "Emotions Conceptualized as Intervening Variables with Suggestions Toward a Theory of Frustration," Psychological Bulletin, Volume 48 (1951), pp. 465-495.

<sup>61</sup>Dollard, et al., op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>62</sup>Berkowitz, op. cit., p. 28.



This group has admitted that aggression can occur even when frustration is not an important factor in behavior, for instance, in instrumental behavior. Bombers in the second World War, for instance, were able to kill thousands of people without anger. They were concerned with winning the war. Bandura and Huston<sup>63</sup> have also shown that children can learn to behave with hostility by imitating parents or other adults. Moreover, Berlyne<sup>64</sup> has maintained that the individual's emotional state is a factor which can create variable behavior so that assessment of anger intensity from behavioral observations requires consideration of the emotional state of the hostile person, as well as the kind of behavior he has learned in response to provocation. Brown and Farber<sup>65</sup> have suggested that a child may learn to fight in order to get parental attention. Cross-cultural studies have also suggested that aggressive habits are learned through direct reinforcements of society and social class.<sup>66</sup> Even within one culture social class can make considerable

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<sup>63</sup>A. Bandura and Aletha Huston, "Identification as a Process of Incidental Learning," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 63 (1961), pp. 311-318.

<sup>64</sup>D. E. Berlyne, Conflict Arousal and Curiosity (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), p. 167.

<sup>65</sup>Brown and Farber, op. cit., p. 495.

<sup>66</sup>Bandura and Walters, "Reinforcement Patterns and Social Behavior: Aggression," in The Dynamics of Aggression, edited by Edwin Megargee and J. Hokanson (Harper and Row, 1970), p. 36.

difference in socialization of children. Sears, Maccoby and Levin<sup>67</sup> report that aggressive behavior in small children is "associated with environmental antecedents (like) parental permissiveness for aggression." In addition, they found such children come from physically punitive homes where the mothers lack self-esteem. In other words, parents provide an aggressive model and permit children to behave aggressively in the lower classes. These conclusions are congruent with the findings of Robert Cole, who has pointed out that middle class children are in remarkable control of themselves at age five or six, even when they are disturbed and when behaving aggressively. Ghetto children, by contrast, lack built-in controls.<sup>68</sup>

McCord, McCord and Howard,<sup>69</sup> on the other hand, found aggression in boys instigated by punitive discipline, threat and rejection; but they found even the most aggressive boys not aggressive if they were controlled closely. They also found non-aggressive boys more likely to come from families that place high demands on "polite,

<sup>67</sup>R. R. Sears, Eleanor Maccoby and H. Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing (Evanston, Illinois: Row-Peterson, 1957), p. 475.

<sup>68</sup>Robert Cole, "Violence in Ghetto Children," Children, Volume 14 (1967), p. 101.

<sup>69</sup>W. McCord, Jean McCord and A. Howard, "Familial Correlates of Aggression in Non-Delinquent Children," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 62 (1961), pp. 79-93.

responsible behavior," and who supervised the boys closely. They concluded that familial environment was the variable affecting a child's behavior.

In a recent paper<sup>70</sup> the Yale group have concluded that the strength of instigation to aggression in general is dependent on:

1. The strength or amount of frustration, the strength to instigation.
2. The effect of punishment, the inhibition to aggression.
3. The displacement of aggression, movement away from the object to which the aggression is directed.
4. The catharsis of aggression, the reduction of instigation to aggression.

#### Inhibition of Aggression

Dollard, et al., formulated a general statement in their 1939 monograph on the suppression of aggression:

The strength of inhibition of any act of aggression varies positively with the amount of punishment anticipated to be a consequence of that act.<sup>71</sup>

Research by Chasdi and Lawrence<sup>72</sup> lends support to this. Twenty-three nursery school children, aged three through six played with dolls during four periods. Half of the

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<sup>70</sup>Dollard, et al., The Dynamics of Aggression, p. 23.

<sup>71</sup>Dollard, et al., Frustration and Aggression, p. 33.

<sup>72</sup>Eleanor H. Chasdi and M. S. Lawrence, "Some Antecedents of Aggression and the Effects of Frustration in Doll Play," in Studies in Motivation, edited by D. McClelland (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955).

children were punished verbally during the first two sessions for any display of aggression; the other half were not. The first group showed significantly less aggression by the third session. After the second session, however, they were no longer scolded for aggression. In the remaining two sessions overt hostile behavior increased almost to the level of the control group which had steadily increased from the first session.

More recent research indicates, however, that punishment is inhibiting only when the emotion is roused. Once this emotional state has subsided, the responses which were punished will return to their initial strength. Therefore, punishment is only partly successful in inhibiting behavior. Moreover, other factors enter into the inhibition. Internal controls may influence behavior, perhaps because of the social status of the people involved. Aggression to a high status person may lead to punishment and is, therefore, avoided. Several studies have shown that people typically evaluate the position and power of individuals before expressing aggression, (Cohen,<sup>73</sup> Pastore,<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>A. R. Cohen, "Social Norms, Arbitrariness of Frustration and Status of the Agent of Frustration in the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 55 (1955), pp. 222-226.

<sup>74</sup>N. Pastore, "The Role of Arbitrariness in the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 47 (1952), pp. 728-731.

Graham<sup>75</sup> and Sears<sup>76</sup>). Also the individual may not wish to express hostility merely because he wishes the approval of the other individual, or because the frustrated subject knows the aggressive behavior is frowned on (even if not actually punished) and he, therefore, chooses a path of non-aggression.

Finally, cues provided by other people in a group can also influence behavior strengthening or inhibiting an instigation to aggression depending on the group in which the individual finds himself. Individuals assembled with peers for whom they feel an attraction exhibit stronger aggression than those who find themselves in a group of individuals whom they don't find attractive. French<sup>77</sup> found that when people have known each other for a long time, they express significantly more aggression than in an "unorganized group in which the individuals are not well acquainted." The authors conclude that in the second group the individuals anticipate more punishment

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<sup>75</sup>F. K. Graham, W. A. Charvat, A. S. Honig and P. C. Wertz, "Aggression as a Function of the Attack and the Attacker," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 46 (1951), pp. 512-520.

<sup>76</sup>Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op. cit., p. 475.

<sup>77</sup>J. R. P. French, Jr., "Unorganized and Organized Groups under Fear and Frustration" in Authority and Frustration, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, edited by K. Lewin (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1944).

than in the first group, where the people are well acquainted with each other.

### Aggression and the Media

Even though watching television, attending a movie or looking at a comic book cannot in themselves be considered strong frustrations or instigations to aggression, many researchers have attempted to find out if these media can act as an instigation to aggression. Some psychologists have concluded they can.

Brown and Farber,<sup>78</sup> for instance, believe that innate responses to anger can become functionally connected with almost any stimulus. Children can, as noted above, get into fights with their peers to attract the attention of some adult. Presumably the child who is already instigated to anger can well react aggressively after exposure to violent media of any kind. And some research suggests that this is true. Bandura, Ross and Ross<sup>79</sup> found that all groups of children exposed to an aggressive model showed more aggression than the control groups whether the experimental model was a filmed human model or a filmed cartoon model. They concluded that filmed mass media may serve an important source of social

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<sup>78</sup>Brown and Farber, op. cit., pp. 465-495.

<sup>79</sup>A. Bandura, Dorothea Ross and Sheila Ross, "Imitation of Film Mediated Aggressive Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 66 (1963), pp. 1, 3-11.

learning. They also suggested that the influence of mass media is not limited to deviants alone.

Lövaas<sup>80</sup> performed a similar experiment with an experimental group who saw an aggressive cartoon and a control group who saw a non-aggressive cartoon. Children in the experimental group played with hitting a doll afterwards more frequently than controls.

These hostile after-effects may even carry over into free play, according to Alberta Siegel.<sup>81</sup> Children of the same sex were paired after watching an aggressive or non-aggressive animated cartoon. Differences were not consistent but trends congruent with Bandura and Lövaas were found.

Mussen and Rutherford<sup>82</sup> found much of the same trends in a 1969 experiment using 36 first grade boys and girls who watched cartoons and then answered a series of questions afterwards.

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<sup>80</sup>Ivar Lövaas, "Effect of Exposure to Symbolic Aggression on Aggressive Behavior," Child Development Volume 32 (1961), pp. 37-41.

<sup>81</sup>Alberta Siegel, "Film Mediated Fantasy Aggression and Strength of Aggressive Drive," Child Development, Volume 27 (1956), pp. 365-378.

<sup>82</sup>P. H. Mussen and E. Rutherford, "Effects of Aggressive Cartoons on Children's Aggressive Play," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 62 (1961), pp. 461-464.

Walters, Thomas and Acker<sup>83</sup> studied the effects of the knife-fight scene from Rebel Without Cause. Before and after the experiment the subjects could inflict electric shock. Subjects exposed to aggressive film showed an increased tendency to give shocks after seeing the movie.

However, an experiment of Hicks<sup>84</sup> suggests that influence of filmed aggressive models is not significant on a long term basis. Children tested immediately after exposure to aggressive models on film were influenced appreciably by the violent content. However, six months later, they were not affected at all by the filmed model, but they were still affected by the actual adult model, although only marginally.

What happens to the model, whether filmed or actual, may influence imitation by the subjects. In 1963, Bandura, Ross and Ross<sup>85</sup> assigned nursery school children one of four conditions: aggressive model rewarded, aggressive model punished, no exposure to a model, model expressive but not aggressive. They found that children who witnessed an aggressive model rewarded showed more verbal

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<sup>83</sup>R. H. Walters, E. L. Thomas and C. W. Acker, "Enhancement of Punitive Behavior by Audio-Visual Displays," Science, Volume 136 (1962), pp. 872-873.

<sup>84</sup>D. J. Hicks, "Imitation and Retention of Film-Mediated Aggressive Peer and Adult Models," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Volume 2 (1965), pp. 2, 97-100.

<sup>85</sup>A. Bandura, D. Ross and S. A. Ross, "Imitation of Film Mediated Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 66 (1963), pp. 601-607.



or physical aggression imitative of the model than did the other groups. Walters<sup>86</sup> found evidence to support this, as did Lefcourt<sup>87</sup> when he used Rebel Without Cause and expressed disapproval of aggressive behavior of adolescents while the film was being shown. Later, subjects were given a chance to shock fellow students. There was an increase in number of shocks among those who heard a confederate approve the aggressive behavior in the film.

After a similar study, Berkowitz<sup>88</sup> concluded that filmed violence was less likely to elicit aggressive reactions from recently frustrated observers, for whom violence was presented as unjustified than those for whom it was presented as justified because the victim is a villain. Walters<sup>89</sup> further explains the complications in evaluating possible effects of television:

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<sup>86</sup>R. H. Walters and E. L. Thomas, "Enhancement of Punitiveness by Visual and an Audio-visual Displays," Canadian Journal of Psychology, Volume 16 (1963), pp. 244-255.

<sup>87</sup>H. M. Lefcourt, et al., "Anticipated Social Censure and Aggression-Conflict as Mediators of Response to Aggression Induction," Journal of Social Psychology, Volume 70 (1966), pp. 251-263.

<sup>88</sup>Leonard Berkowitz, "Effects of Film Violence on Inhibitions against Subsequent Aggression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 5 (1966), pp. 405-412.

<sup>89</sup>R. H. Walters, "Implications of Laboratory Studies of Aggression for the Control and Regulation of Violence," Dynamics of Aggression, edited by E. Megargee, p. 130.

An evaluation of the possible influence of film and television productions that depict violence is complicated by the fact that the hero often engages in socially sanctioned aggression in order to overcome the violent and aggressive villain . . . (which) reflect an eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth philosophy. The hero often secures unconditional rewards for his counter-aggression . . . with the . . . possibility that his behavior will be increased . . . The violent hero drama may have a strong potential for eliciting violent acts if the observer is already frustrated and has no other readily available means of securing his goals . . .

Sex of the aggressor has also been shown to be a factor in the transmission of aggression through the imitation of aggressive models. In an experiment reported in 1961 by Bandura, Ross and Ross,<sup>90</sup> 24 preschool children observed either an aggressive adult model or an inhibited, non-aggressive model.

Half observed same-sex models; half observed models of the opposite sex. Subjects were then tested for the amount of imitative, as well as non-imitative aggressive behavior. Imitation was found to be differently influenced by the sex of the model with boys showing more aggression than girls following exposure to the male model, the difference being particularly marked on highly masculine-typed behavior. The authors theorized that male models influenced behavior more than female because social deprivation of adult males in school settings or that personal characteristics influenced imitation.

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<sup>90</sup>A. Bandura, D. Ross and S. Ross, "Transmission of Aggression through Imitation of Aggressive Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 63 (1961), No. 3, pp. 575-582.

Robert Albert<sup>91</sup> attempted to find out how personality variables interact with violence in the media and what the effects of this interaction on a child's personality are. He studied 220 white, middle-class children between eight and ten years of age, dividing them into high and low aggression groups. He showed them a conventional cowboy movie in which aggressive acts were committed by the hero, a spliced version of the same film in which the villain rather than the hero won and went unpunished, and a film in which there was no resolution of the depicted aggression. He found that the novel ending, in which the villain goes unpunished, does not change the level of aggression. Children with high aggression showed a significant decrease in aggression when there was no ending. When there was an ending to the film, there was a significant increase in aggression among high aggression youngsters, but low aggression subjects were less affected. Children with low I.Q.'s were more affected than children with high intelligence. Younger children were also more affected than older ones. Albert theorized that high aggression subjects, high I.Q. subjects, were more able to aggress against a great variety of subjects. Triggering responses of high aggression subjects was a matter of interaction between aggressive drive and the presence of frustrating objects of aggression.

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<sup>91</sup>R. Albert, "The Role of Mass Media and the Effect of Aggressive Film Content upon Children's Aggressive Responses and Identification Choices," Genetic Psychological Monographs, Volume 55 (1957), pp. 221-285.

### Catharsis

While there seems very little doubt that catharsis actually takes place in many contexts, there is some doubt among psychologists when violence is involved. Most psychologists (as noted in the section on the Psychology of Aggression and Media) agree that violence in the media rouses aggression rather than catharsis. The minority believe that the latter takes place.

Catharsis is the process of releasing tension. When applied to aggression there are two interpretations. The individual performs an aggressive act and thus reduces the instigation to aggression, assuming that there is no further frustration; or the individual "lets off steam" and reacts by feeling better. Dollard,<sup>92</sup> et al., accepted the first theory in their famous paper of 1939. They also suggested that the individual expressing hostility can displace his anger against someone or something which appears similar to the original object of hostility. (See Brown and Farber, p. 29). Freudians thought that full catharsis can be achieved toward a substitute object; but Miller<sup>93</sup> explained that substitute objects receive less intense acts of hostility because the association

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<sup>92</sup>Dollard, et al., op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>93</sup>N. Miller, "Theory and Experiment Relating Psychoanalytical Displacement to Stimulus-Response Generalization," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 43 (1948), pp. 155-178.

between the original instigator to aggression and the object of the aggression may be weak.

Regardless of the object of hostility, the catharsis is always achieved through behavior to which the individual has become accustomed. Hokanson<sup>94</sup> found that some subjects experience catharsis through friendly, passive behavior while others do so through behavior of a hostile nature. The author theorized that an individual accustomed to violent reactions responded with catharsis when he was allowed his accustomed response. The same was true of passive people.

The process is valued mostly because of the insight it affords the individual who experiences it. At times the very act of talking about one's problems may clarify them or relief accrue from lowering guilt and anxiety and therefore lead to the reduction of internal conflict. Catharsis may also come from the implicit approval of the therapist who does not punish the subject.<sup>95</sup>

Those who believe in catharsis as a response to aggression have claimed that this process takes place when people view television or when children read crime comics. Although he found that play with aggressive toys raised

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<sup>94</sup>J. E. Hokanson and S. Shetler, "The Effect of Overt Aggression on Physiological Tension Level," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 63 (1961), pp. 446-448.

<sup>95</sup>Carl Rogers, The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1939).

the level of aggression,<sup>96</sup> Feshbach<sup>97</sup> decided after a recent series of studies that aggressive activity experienced vicariously will tend to increase the viewer's aggression under certain circumstances and decrease under others, increasing when the subject is not already aroused emotionally and decreasing when the individual studied is already excited. In another research project.<sup>98</sup> Feshbach and Singer found that groups of boys in a home for delinquents did not increase their aggressive behavior after viewing violent programs for six weeks. The experimental group, which had viewed the aggressive programs increased only aggressive fantasy production. The control group, which consisted of boys who had witnessed only non-aggressive content on television, made up fewer aggressive fantasies. Boys who had been exposed to aggressive television content showed significantly less behavioral aggression. The experimenters concluded that exposure to aggressive content seems to reduce or control aggression in hostile boys from relatively low socio-economic backgrounds. They believe the same is true of middle-class

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<sup>96</sup>Seymour Feshbach, "The Catharsis Hypothesis and Some Consequences of Inter-Action with Aggressive and Neutral Play Objects," Journal of Personality, Volume 24 (1956), pp. 449-462.

<sup>97</sup>Seymour Feshbach, "The Stimulating Cathartic Effects of a Vicarious Aggressive Activity," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 63 (1961), pp. 381-385.

<sup>98</sup>Seymour Feshbach, Television and Aggression (New York: Jossey-Bass, 1971).

boys because the boys perceive the programs as fantasy. Realistic content, like news or documentaries, would have a sharply different effect on youngsters.

Maccoby and Wilson<sup>99</sup> believe that catharsis is most likely to occur if the viewer covertly identifies with the characters, that is, if the situation is relevant to his life. This is particularly true if the viewer is the same sex as the characters with whom he identifies. Once this identification has taken place, he will remember the words and actions of the character. Moreover, boys react physiologically to violent scenes more than do girls.

The same procedure--identification, catharsis and insight--has been applied to a wide variety of emotional problems by psychologists and teachers interested in bibliotherapy. According to this group of people, an individual with an emotional problem reads about a character with a similar difficulty. He identifies with this person because he sees the similarity between himself and the character. When the individual in the book resolves his problem, the reader is also able to release tension through catharsis and develop some insight into his own problem. One advocate of bibliotherapy has described it as a means of working with one's problems through "dynamic

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<sup>99</sup>E. Maccoby and W. C. Wilson, "Identification and Observational Learning from Films," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology," Volume 55 (1957), pp. 76-87.

interaction between the personality of the reader and literature."<sup>100</sup>

Cianciolo<sup>101</sup> defines the steps in bibliotherapy as:

1. Identification: the act of affiliating some real or fictional character in literature with oneself or associates.
2. Catharsis: release of emotional tension. A purge for the emotions of reader.
3. Insight: Seeing the motivation of his own behavior more clearly.

Schrodes<sup>102</sup> outlines the major principles of the molar or Gestalt view of human behavior and the bibliotherapeutic process in terms of this psychological viewpoint:

A problem situation (in real life) is conceived (as) . . . unstructured life space. The problem situations dramatized in literature are not only structured but highly differentiated. The subregions are connected by defined paths not only from region to region, but from reality level to unreality level, from past to present, and from part to whole. Whether it represents a symbolization or extension of one's own experience, a novel or play is concerned with the same physical, social, and conceptual world in which the reader lives and with human beings whose emotions, needs, hopes and goals are different only in degree from his own. The reader can thus perceive the inner personal regions of the character as they serve as an impetus or deterrent to transversing the barriers of his environment . . . In the very perception of the barriers, in the awareness of the

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<sup>100</sup>D. Russell and C. Schrodes, "Contributions of Research in Bibliotherapy of the Language Arts Program," School Review, Volume 58 (1950), pp. 338-342.

<sup>101</sup>Patricia J. Cianciolo, "Children's Literature Can Affect Coping Behavior," Personnel and Guidance Journal, Volume 43 (May 1965), pp. 897-903. Similar definition is found in C. Schrodes, "Bibliotherapy: A Theoretical and Clinical Experimental Study" (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, 1950), p. 35.

<sup>102</sup>Schrodes, op. cit., pp. 884-885.



inner personal regions of the character, integration may take place. To the extent that the reader participates emotionally in this journey through topological space, he has recognized and extended his own life space. Certain barriers have been passed through symbolically and can be penetrated again . . . . The important question is whether the identification will be accompanied by insight, that is whether cognitive reorganization will take place. Not only may literature invoke a state of heightened emotion, but it may give the reader something to organize, interpret or analyze. This in itself is an integrating activity. The degree to which this organization will take place is a product of a number of factors, such as the nature and strength of the identification, the need of the reader to maintain his defenses, the evocative power of the piece of literature and the way in which the problem is structured for him.

In addition to the dynamics of bibliotherapy, several writers have also outlined approaches to the use of this kind of therapy. Blair<sup>103</sup> states that therapeutic use of books should only be undertaken when the books are at the independent reading level of the child involved. The child's personality should also be taken into consideration. Bone<sup>104</sup> and Timm<sup>105</sup> favor the use of role playing and other techniques.

Many writers have also attempted to show that many different kinds of literature can be used to facilitate more adequate personality development. Kircher<sup>106</sup> notes

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<sup>103</sup>Cianciolo, op. cit., p. 899.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 900.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 900.

<sup>106</sup>C. J. Kircher, Behavior Patterns in Children's Books (Catholic University of America Press, 1966), p. iii.

that books help to form character by providing emotional release and by allowing the reader to learn modes of behavior which lead to better self-management. Rosenblatt<sup>107</sup> argues for all literature as a comprehensible way to introduce the reader to the infinite possibilities that life offers. Wenzel<sup>108</sup> thinks that the dynamic balance between emotional and intellectual components permits the reader further socialization. Goldsmith<sup>109</sup> suggests fables for character building in the elementary school. Strode<sup>110</sup> discusses the short story for developing self-insight. Meckel<sup>111</sup> explores the novel and its impact on student personality. Planck<sup>112</sup> discusses the uses of science fiction and Agnes<sup>113</sup> of poetry. Squires<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Louise Rosenblatt, Literature as Exploration (New York: Noble and Noble, 1968), p. 6.

<sup>108</sup> E. Wenzel, "Children's Literature and Personality Development," Elementary English, Volume 25 (1948), pp. 12-31.

<sup>109</sup> S. Goldsmith, "The Fable as a Medium for Character Education," Elementary Education Review, Volume 16 (1939), pp. 223-225.

<sup>110</sup> J. Strode, Social Insight through Short Stories (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946).

<sup>111</sup> H. C. Meckel, "An Exploratory Study of Responses of Adolescent Pupils to Situations in a Novel" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1946).

<sup>112</sup> R. Planck, "Science Fiction," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Volume 30 (1960), pp. 799-810.

<sup>113</sup> M. Agnes, "Bibliotherapy for Socially Maladjusted Children," Catholic Education Review, Volume 44 (1946), pp. 8-15.

<sup>114</sup> James Squires, The Responses of Adolescents While Reading Short Stories, N.C.T.E., 1964.

even suggests that children can criticize literature more effectively if they are emotionally involved.

In spite of the wealth of writing on the subject, there has been relatively little experimental research on bibliotherapy. Several studies have shown that additunal change can take place after contact with books, however, Smith<sup>115</sup> conducted a survey of 502 elementary school children. Almost two thirds indicated that reading had made them change their opinions. Carleson<sup>116</sup> showed that bibliotherapy can be effective in improving attitudes toward Negroes, as did Jackson.<sup>117</sup>

Some studies have been concerned with special problems of students and the remedial effect bibliotherapy has on them. Cahoe<sup>118</sup> describes the technique with handicapped children. Junken<sup>119</sup> advocates its use for tutoring,

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<sup>115</sup>N. B. Smith, "Some Effects of Reading on Children," Elementary English, Volume 25 (1948), pp. 271-78.

<sup>116</sup>G. R. Carleson, "A Study of the Effect of Reading Literature about the Negro on the Racial Attitudes of a Group of Eleventh Grade Students in Northern Schools" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1948).

<sup>117</sup>E. P. Jackson, "Effects of Reading upon Attitudes toward the Negro Race," Library Quarterly, Volume 4 (1944), pp. 53-60.

<sup>118</sup>E. Cahoe, "Bibliotherapy for Handicapped Children," NEA Journal, Volume 49 (1960), pp. 34-36.

<sup>119</sup>E. M. Junken, "Therapeutic Tutoring for the Intellectually Adequate," The Reading Teacher, Volume 13 (1960), pp. 271-276.

Moody<sup>120</sup> for remotivating students. Waite<sup>121</sup> suggests the procedure as an aid in tutoring reading. Witty<sup>122</sup> presses for bibliotherapy to be used with retarded learners, for maladjusted students, and for various developmental problems, as well as for gifted students, for stutterers and for satisfying the emotional needs of all students.

In only a few cases have studies been concerned with the effect books have on hostile, aggressive children, or even on aggression in general. Craig<sup>123</sup> worked with a group of juvenile delinquents and found that the boys were able to get rid of their hostile feelings after reading books. Slocum<sup>124</sup> found bibliotherapy stimulated introspection after catharsis, with a group of delinquents on probation.

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<sup>120</sup>M. T. Moody, "The Reader Who Needs Remotivation," ALA Bulletin, Volume 58 (1964), pp. 795-797.

<sup>121</sup>D. C. Waite, "Therapy for Reading Ills," Penn School Journal, Volume 114 (1965), pp. 64-65.

<sup>122</sup>P. Witty, "Reading Success and Emotional Adjustment," Elementary English, Volume 27 (1950), pp. 281-296; "Needs of Slow Learning Pupils," Education, Volume 81 (1961), pp. 71-76; "Meeting Developmental Needs through Reading," Education, Volume 84 (1964), pp. 451-458; "A Balanced Reading Program for the Gifted," The Reading Teacher, Volume 17 (1963), pp. 131-137.

<sup>123</sup>L. P. Craig, "Boys and Books Get Together," The Child, Volume 16 (1952), pp. 98-109.

<sup>124</sup>G. P. Slocum, "Books for Probationers: A Court-Library Project," National Probation and Parole Association Journal, Volume 1 (1955), pp. 20-24.

While concerned with the social adjustment of normal children, Heminghaus<sup>125</sup> also touched on aggressive feelings of children in elementary school. In a controlled experiment in which one group received ordinary school treatment, a second group of children read books and then were exposed to a bibliotherapeutic process, followed by guidance. California Test of Personality, the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Test and the Thematic Apperception Test were also used. Significant changes occurred in self-adjustment, social adjustment, total adjustment and there was a decrease in aggression, the latter to a .01 level of confidence. The Thematic Apperception Test confirmed the direction and extent of the personality changes. Heminghaus noted that adjustment changes in the experimental group moved in a direction not parallel to normal adjustment for early adolescence, giving support to the hypothesis, namely that bibliotherapy can be used in producing greater personal and social adjustment.

Thus, even though bibliotherapy has been studied from a number of points of view, none of them have been directly or exclusively concerned with violence in literature as focus, nor have writers directed any attention to reactions of normal children to violent episodes.

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<sup>125</sup>E. G. Heminghaus, "The Effect of Bibliotherapy on the Attitudes and Social Adjustment of a Group of Elementary School Children" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Washington University, 1954).

### Content Analysis

Content analysis has been described as a process for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of a communication.<sup>126</sup> Objectivity is attained in this method, according to Berelson, by constructing precise terms and categories and coding those elements which fit these definitions. Scientific research is systematic; this is also a characteristic of content analysis. The data is obtained in such a way that someone replicating the study will get essentially similar results.

The success of a content analysis, according to Richard Budd, is dependent on the selection of its categories. "No content analysis is better than its categories, for a system or set of categories is in essence a conceptual scheme."<sup>127</sup> Elements which have been explicitly defined are grouped in several categories which are mutually exclusive and which cover the entire subject exhaustively. These elements are not standard to content analysis in general. Instead, Budd

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<sup>126</sup> Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1952), p. 16.

<sup>127</sup> Richard W. Budd and Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donahew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 39.

suggests that the categories derive from the hypothesis and from the goals of the study.<sup>128</sup>

Budd<sup>129</sup> states that content analysis is concerned with two units of measure, the coding unit and the context unit. The former is the smallest selected segment of content that is counted and scored. The context unit is the amount of material read in order to analyze the coding unit. Ralph White<sup>130</sup> has developed one kind of content analysis, a value analysis. He conducted an eight year empirical study of the value system of our culture. From this work he developed 50 categories, which, in his opinion, represents social values in America. He argues strongly for the application of this set of categories to any content because there is a core of sameness to all communications.

Many research studies have used content analysis in recent years. To mention only a few, Ralph White<sup>131</sup> conducted one on the value system found in the writings of Richard Wright. Lee Brown<sup>132</sup> conducted a content analysis of anti-Catholic documents circulated through

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<sup>128</sup>Berelson, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>129</sup>Budd, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>130</sup>Ralph K. White, Value Analysis, the Nature and Use of the Method (New York: Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, 1951).

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>132</sup>Lee Brown, "A Content Analysis of Anti-Catholic Documents Circulated through the Mails during the 1960 Presidential Election Campaign" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1961).

the mails during the 1960 presidential campaign, the election in which John F. Kennedy ran and was elected. Mary Frances Yeazell<sup>133</sup> used content analysis for a qualitative analysis of the value content of selected literature for ninth grade English classes. Dewey Chambers<sup>134</sup> studied social values in trade books for children ranging in age from five to nine years.

### Summary

The research reviewed in this chapter was divided into several categories:

1. Violence found and studied in the Mass Media
2. Violence found and studied in Literature
3. The Study of Violence in Psychology
4. Content Analysis

Mass media and psychology were reviewed as parallel topics in which considerable research has been conducted. Literature, on the other hand, has not been studied for its violence until recently. In the past few years, discussions have suggested that literature in general, children's books among others, may well be increasingly violent.

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<sup>133</sup>Mary Frances Yeazell, "A Qualitative Analysis of the Value Concept of Selected Literature from Ninth Grade English" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1966).

<sup>134</sup>Dewey Chambers, "An Exploratory Study of the Social Values in Children's Literature" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1965).



Studies in mass media have repeatedly suggested that movies, comics and television have too much violent content. Many studies suggest that children are affected by the violent content of mass media. Their attitudes change, emotional change takes place and physiological change occurs.

Numerous psychological studies also show that children are affected emotionally by the aggression they view. Instigation to aggression can be caused by frustration, but it also can be brought on by a model. Films, cartoons or people can provide the needed model. Inhibition to aggression can be due to punishment, close supervision, a threatening model, to mention only a few.

While most psychologists believe that viewing aggression leads to an increase in aggression, some few experimenters believe that exposure to vicarious aggression leads to catharsis or a dissipation of tension. Many studies on this subject were cited.

Finally, three well-known approaches used in content analysis were described. The general principles of content analysis were outlined, along with the opinions of some writers in the field. Some studies using content analysis were cited.

## CHAPTER III

### PROCEDURE

All realistic fiction books from the Notable Book list from 1960 to 1970 were selected for study of violent content. This special list was used because books included on it are singled out by a committee of the American Library Association as outstanding children's books each year.<sup>1</sup> They are, therefore, frequently bought by local libraries and are readily available for children to read.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, publishers of children's books depend heavily on libraries for their market; and the American Library Association therefore figures as a more important arbiter of popularity among children's books than they do among adult books. These books then are those most frequently available for children who read. Using the Notable Book list for the ten years, there were altogether 170 books, all of which were found and examined for violent content.

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<sup>1</sup>Membership of the Committee changes each year. Members are elected because of their leadership in Children's literature and their roles as children's librarians in school and public libraries.

<sup>2</sup>Patricia J. Cianciolo, "Criteria for the Use of Trade Books in the Elementary School Program" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963), pp. 136, 338-339.

Each of the books thus selected was analyzed in the following fashion. To test the hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 children's realistic fiction as sampled in the Notable Books selected for children by the American Library Association increased in violence both in amount and intensity.

Actual acts of violence constituted the coding unit. All acts of violence in all realistic fiction books were tabulated. For an episode or coding unit to be included in the study, it had to contain an overt expression of force which was intended to hurt or kill. The entire scene in which the violence takes place constituted the context unit, not merely the section containing the violence. The beginning and end of the scene was defined by entrances and exits of characters, as well as by change in topic or change in scene or locale.

The proportion of violent pages to total book pages was expressed as a fraction and as a percentage for each context unit found in the book.

$$\frac{\text{CONTEXT UNIT (PAGES)}}{\text{TOTAL BOOK PAGES}} = \text{PROPORTION OF BOOK DEVOTED TO VIOLENCE (PERCENTAGE)}$$

The following analysis was done to test the hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 heroes and villains increasingly committed a wide variety of violent acts in the Notable Book List selected for children by the American Library Association.

Each context unit was next subjected to further analysis. A scale was developed to determine which actors

perpetrated violent acts in each context unit: villain, hero, or minor character. In addition, the relationship between individuals involved in a violent act was analyzed for their relationship; namely whether the violent act was expressed toward an object. The hero was the protagonist, the villain the antagonist, intimates were participants who knew each other.

The scale was represented in such a way as to show the action or kind of violence described in the context unit. Included were wrestling, boxing, shooting, stabbing, wounding and killing. Other kinds of violent acts were however, included individually by listing them under "other." These actions were described by the actors mentioned above. The chart was used to record each actor and action involved in a given violent episode or context unit. Some units included several violent acts with a resulting "+" for each actor/action involved. Each "+" was given a value of "1" so that the actor/action category could be quantified for each context unit. Below is an example of the action/actor scale:

ACTOR/ACTION SCALE

	Actor Involved			Relationship	
	Hero	Villain	Minor Character	Strangers	Intimates
<u>Action</u>					
Wrestling					
Boxing					
Shooting					
Stabbing					
Wounding					
Killing					
Other (Specify)					

The following analysis was done to test the hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 children's realistic fiction, as sampled in the American Library Association for the Notable Book lists, more frequently presented violent content in a sensuous or realistic fashion rather than in a non-sensuous style.

To test this hypothesis each context unit was analyzed for intensity. For this scale one axis of the chart enumerated the details of the violence included in that unit: physical blows, weapons, blood, wounds, pain and death. These were described by a second axis indicating the mode used in presenting the material, either verbal or pictorial.

Scoring was done with attention to treatment of details for each violent act sentence by sentence. Sensuous details presented verbally were given a "+". Details without sensuous appeal were given a "-". Examples of some sentences and their scores follow:

"I shot two of them."<sup>3</sup> This received a minus, "-", because it was lacking in sensuous detail. "He had many times routed bands of Continental irregulars and militia."<sup>4</sup> This received a minus, "-", because the words used lacked sensuous details even though some detailed information was included.

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<sup>3</sup>Scott O'Dell, The Island of the Blue Dolphins (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1960), p. 76.

<sup>4</sup>L. Wibberley, Treegate's Raiders (New York: Ariel, 1962), p. 142.

An example of a "+" rating follows:

- (1) "Just as the big cat leaped, Bristle Face came from somewhere. I don't know where."  
 (2) It was like he just popped up out of solid rock. (3) He jumped at the cat at the same moment it jumped at me, and they hit together in mid air. (4) Well I never heard such growling and screaming and squalling and snarling and grunting and teeth slashing in all my life. I didn't hear it very long . . .<sup>5</sup>

The fact that sentence 2 contained a simile was not significant; it was given a "+" because it appealed to the visual senses of the reader. Attention is on vividness of detail, not on style of writing. Sentences 3 and 4 also received "+" because of attention to sensuous detail, hearing in these cases.

The same analysis was applied to pictures. They were evaluated for attention to sensuous details of violence, not for style. A representational picture which did not focus on violent detail received a "-". An example of this is found in the Year of the Bloody Stevens, p. 96,\* where a dead man drawn in a representational style is viewed by the hero but hidden from the reader by a tree. On the other hand pictures which appealed to the reader's senses were given a score of ++, even when they were distorted stylistically with expressionistic treatment, as in the illustration found on page 52 of Haugaard's Hakon of Rogen's Saga. Here the picture is not strictly

<sup>5</sup>Z. Ball, Bristle Face (New York: Holiday House, 1962), p. 79.

\*See Appendix D.

representational, but focus is clearly on death, as shown in the staring eyes of the chieftain, in the female figure in deep sorrow, hands over face, and in the heavy Viking weapons in the background. Scoring on the intensity chart is thus as follows:

TREATMENT OF VIOLENCE	<u>SCORE</u>
Sensuous in verbal material	+
Sensuous in pictorial material	++ <sup>6</sup>
Nonsensuous in verbal material	-
Nonsensuous in pictorial material	-

Each "-" was totaled with a value of "-1". Each "+" was totaled with a value of "+1". Thus, every context unit could be evaluated for intensity on a quantitative basis. All the context units in a single book were added together, thus making available a raw intensity score for each book analyzed. A higher score in the plus range indicated a more realistic or sensuous treatment of violence. A minus score indicated a less sensuous or realistic treatment of violence, also. An example of the Intensity Scale can be found below:

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<sup>6</sup>++ was assigned to pictorial material because pictures depicting violence call for a different kind of interpretation. Nonsensuous material in pictures and words, however, demand the same amount of imagination. They therefore received the same score.

## INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u>	
	Verbal	Pictorial
Physical blows		
Weapons		
Blood		
Wounds		
Pain		
Death		

A value scale was also treated. The attitudes expressed toward aggression in each violent episode included in the study were next analyzed in this scale. Applying this scale only to acts of aggression, Ralph White's value analysis was utilized in each context unit.<sup>7</sup> Symbols suggested by White were first recorded in the margin of each episode and later tabulated under one of three categories: 1. Against aggression; 2. In favor of prosocial aggression; and 3. In favor of anti-social aggression.

When the content for each of the 170 books had been analyzed, the averages of the total number of pages of all the Notable books for each year were determined in two ways. Each percentage of each book was first calculated by adding per cent for each book separately, dividing by the number of books and multiplying by 100. This was called the book average. Next all the violent pages of all the books were added together. These then became the

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<sup>7</sup>Ralph White, op. cit.



numerator, in which the total number of pages of all the books of a given year was the denominator for the fraction:

$$\frac{\text{All violent pages for one year}}{\text{Total number of book pages for one year}} = \frac{\text{Page Average}}{\text{for Year}}$$

An example of the two kinds of averages follow:

Two books were published in one year. If Book A had 20 pages, 10 of which were violent, the percentage would be  $\frac{10}{20} = 50\%$ . If Book B had 300 pages of which 30 were violent, the per cent would be  $\frac{30}{300} = \frac{1}{10} = 10\%$ . Book and page average would be calculated as follows:

$$\text{Book Averages: } 50\% + 10\% = 60\% \div 2 = 30\%$$

$$\text{Page Averages: } \frac{40}{320} = \frac{1}{8} = 12\%$$

In the book average each book regardless of length was given equal value. In the page averages, longer books were given greater weight. Thus, for example, in one year, out of total of 3,858 pages there might have been 370 pages or 9.6 per cent of the total number of pages that describe violent episodes. The percentage in a group of books for this year would range from 0 to a high of 32.1 per cent and the average over the total number of books, 22 in this year, would be 8.3 per cent.

Books for each year were categorized as historical fiction or modern realistic fiction and the corresponding page and book averages for violent pages were obtained. For one year historical fiction might have shown violent content of 16.6 per cent for the page

averages and 16.8 per cent for book averages. On the other hand, in the same year modern realistic fiction content might have been 5.78 per cent and 5.1 per cent, respectively.

Since a substantial number of books were authored by British and Commonwealth authors, a percentage of violent episodes were found for those books originally published in the United Kingdom. However, since the total number of these books in any given year was not very large, it was felt that no significant statistics could be obtained by further division into modern realistic fiction and historical fiction. For one year the page and book averages for the United Kingdom books might have been 9.7 per cent and 8.7 per cent respectively.

When each detail for each violent context unit had been evaluated, the totals of intensity scores for each year were next averaged over each year. The average raw intensity scores for one year might be +149. As before, historical fiction and modern realistic fiction were separated and books originating in the United Kingdom were also separately considered.

Since the total number of violent details obviously depends on the total number of pages in any one year, it was felt that a reasonably relative scale could be arrived at by dividing the number of violent details by the total number of book pages. It is this ratio which is referred to as the intensity figure. In one year, within a total

of 3,858 pages 576 details of violence might have been found, giving an intensity number of 14.9 per cent. Of these 576 details, 415 appear among the historical novels yielding an intensity figure of 30.4 per cent, as contrasted with 6.5 per cent for the modern realistic fiction. United Kingdom books in that year would have been the figure 13.8 per cent.

Next each author appearing on the Notable Book Lists more than once was separated from the other authors along with intensity scores for each of the books included in the study and written by that author. In this case the purpose of the scale was to find out whether writers produce books with consistent amounts of violence. Thus, one author might have intensity score of 1.8 per cent for one book and 1.2 per cent for a second book.

Procedure in the actor-action scale was as follows: Each of the actors, hero, villain and minor characters, for all the violence episodes in each year were added and averaged. Each kind of violent action was also added separately; wrestling, boxing, stabbing, wounding and killing, with each category averaged for the year. Out of a total of 168 violent episodes in one year 15 per cent would be committed by the hero, 14 per cent by the villain and 71 per cent by minor characters. In the same episodes 29 per cent might have involved intimates (people who knew each other) and 70 per cent strangers. Only 1 per cent of the violent acts would be directed

toward inanimate objects. Again these sub-categories were divided between historical and modern realistic fiction.

Scores were also kept for kinds of violence, again in this case percentages. In one year violent actions might have included 20 per cent stabbings, 15 per cent killings and 15 per cent shootings, among other actions. In one year, 15 per cent of the violence in historical fiction might have been committed by the hero, 14 per cent by the villain and 71 per cent by minor characters.

Additional scales were developed in an effort to prove the following hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 children's literature more frequently presented violent content in a sensuous fashion rather than a nonsensuous style.

Treatment of violence was divided into two categories: sensuous and nonsensuous. Raw scores were kept for each year and average percentages developed for each of them. Thus, for one year on the average 86 per cent of the violent incidents might have included sensuous treatment while only 14 per cent might have been nonsensuous treatment. These figures were also divided into historical fiction and modern realistic fiction.

In a second scale nonsensuous treatment were further divided into two categories:

1. No special style; merely lacking in detail.
2. Treated in some special fashion, but also lacking in detail.

The following was not considered stylized because the information was offered without special effects:

"I shot two of them, not the leader."<sup>8</sup>

The following was considered stylized because the author tried to make the speaker appear like a Cockney but no details were offered:

"He kicked up a flipping row in the yard."<sup>9</sup>

Again raw scores were listed and percentages developed from them.

One last analysis was done with the intensity scale in an effort to find out whether, on the whole, authors were including all the information of a given violent episode, injury and suffering, as well as the actual violent acts. Two categories were developed here:

1. The violent deed. This included the "blows" and the "weapons."
2. The effect of the deed. This included "blood," "wounds," "pain" and "death."

Again raw scores were averaged and presented in the form of percentages.

One final hypothesis was investigated:

Between 1960 and 1970 attitudes expressed about violent content in children's literature is most often against aggression.

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<sup>8</sup>O'Dell, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>9</sup>Florence Stucley, Family Walkup: A Story of the Berners Family (New York: Watts, 1961), p. 154.

In this investigation a record was kept of all value judgments about aggression, whether expressed directly by the author or by one of the characters in the book. All of these were recorded in abbreviated form as suggested by Ralph K. White in Value Analysis: The Nature and Use of the Method. The remarks were next listed in three different categories:

1. Value judgments against aggression
2. Value judgments in favor of prosocial aggression
3. Value judgments in favor of anti-social aggression.

Again raw scores were converted into percentages. Thus, in one year 89 per cent of the statements might have been against aggression altogether, 11 per cent of the value judgments might have been expressed in favor of prosocial aggression and no value judgments might have been expressed in favor of anti-social aggression.

In a further study, an attempt was made to prove the following hypothesis:

A positive relationship exists between geographical location of the school the children attend and the verbal response of children to violence in realistic fiction.

Three episodes with violent content were chosen from children's books:<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>See Appendix D for the entire episodes read to the children.

- Grade I     Fitzhugh, Bang, Bang, You're Dead (entire book)
- Grade III    Armstrong, Souder (pp. 21-34)
- Grade VII    Steele, The Year of the Bloody Sevens (pp. 91-103)

Each of these selections was presented to three groups of children in a tape recording, along with a short introduction to each of the stories. Following the reading, directions were read to the children for answering a questionnaire. This set of directions was also included on the taped reading.<sup>11</sup>

The complete questionnaire given to the students is reproduced below. In addition to questions numbered 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 12, which were used in this study, several other questions were included. These questions, which were not graded, were intended to permit students free expression and to direct their attention to those aspects of the story central to question numbers 3-7 and 12, and, at least in part, to divert them from the intended purpose of the questionnaire.

#### Questionnaire for Students

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Grade \_\_\_\_\_

1. What part of the story did you like best? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

<sup>11</sup>A taped reading was used in each case so that the same procedure was followed for each group. By presenting the episodes on a tape recorder, the reader was able to avoid changes in emphasis or facial expression. The reader could also avoid reacting to the environment in which the story was read.

2. What part of the story did you like least? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. In the scene, which of the following happened?
- (a) A fist fight.
  - (b) A shooting.
  - (c) Somebody was hurt.
  - (d) Somebody was killed.
  - (e) Something else happened.
4. Who took part in the fight? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Who was hurt, if anyone? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Who hurt him or tried to hurt him? \_\_\_\_\_
7. The scene made me feel:
- (a) Like not reading any more or hearing any more.
  - (b) Uncomfortable but unable to stop or unwilling to stop.
  - (c) Interested in knowing more details.
  - (d) Eager to read some more or hear some more.
  - (e) As if I were living the scene myself.
8. After I was finished I felt:
- (a) \_\_\_\_\_ should have acted differently.
  - (b) \_\_\_\_\_ did the best possible thing.
  - (c) Sorry for \_\_\_\_\_.
9. I could imagine how \_\_\_\_\_ felt. Yes ( ), No ( ).
10. I could imagine how \_\_\_\_\_ felt. Yes ( ), No ( ).
11. If I could, I would change the scene so that \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. I rate the scene:
- (a) Exactly like real life.
  - (b) Somewhat like real life.
  - (c) Not much like real life.
  - (d) Not at all like real life.
  - (e) No opinion.



Question numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6 were aimed at establishing the level of understanding of the story by the student. These four questions are:

3. In the scene, which of the following happened?
  - (a) A fist fight.
  - (b) A shooting.
  - (c) Somebody was hurt.
  - (d) Somebody was killed.
  - (e) Something else happened.
4. Who took part in the fight? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Who was hurt, if anyone? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Who hurt him or tried to hurt him? \_\_\_\_\_

If a student answered three of these questions correctly, it was presumed that his or her level of understanding was sufficient to permit meaningful responses to question numbers 7 and 12. Tabulations from the four comprehension questions were done in such a fashion as to indicate average percentage scores for the three grade levels and for the three geographical locations, suburban, rural and inner-city.

The questionnaire was given to nine groups of children, three groups each of children in the first grade, third grade and seventh grade. For each grade, one class was from a suburban school, the second from a rural school and the third from an inner-city school.

There were 23 children in the first grade suburban class, 25 children in the first grade rural school and 25

children in the first grade inner-city school. In the third grade classes there were 29 children in the suburban school, 21 in the rural school and 19 in the inner-city school. The seventh grade suburban school had 29 students, the seventh grade rural school had 21 children and the seventh grade inner-city school had 24 students. The number of children in each class is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1.--Sample for Pilot Study.

Grade	Location	Number of Students
I	Suburban	23
I	Rural	25
I	Inner-City	25
III	Suburban	29
III	Rural	21
III	Inner-City	19
VII	Suburban	29
VII	Rural	21
VII	Inner-City	24

In addition to the comprehension questions the questionnaire contained the following two questions for which answers were tabulated:

7. The scene made me feel:
  - (a) Like not reading any more or hearing anymore.
  - (b) Uncomfortable but unable to stop or unwilling to stop.
  - (c) Interested in knowing more details.
  - (d) Eager to read some more or hear more of it.
  - (e) As if I were living the scene myself.

12. I rate the scene:

- (a) Exactly like real life.
- (b) Somewhat like real life.
- (c) Not much like real life.
- (d) Not at all like real life.
- (e) No opinion.

The first of these questions served as an indicator of the child's enjoyment of the violent episode. Answers (a) and (b) indicated dislike for the scene, a feeling of discomfort. On the other hand, answers (c), (d) and (e) indicated a positive feeling about the scene.

The purpose of the second question was to see whether or not the children related closely to the events described in the scene.

Scoring was conducted as follows. For each class the total number of students who understood two-thirds of the comprehension questions was first tabulated, including number and percentages. The percentage of children from each grade level and from each geographical location who understood the story and found it more or less like real life was, therefore, available. In addition, the children's feelings about the violent episode were scored according to grade level and geographical location. Differences in percentages were to be considered proof of the relationship of geographical location and verbal response of the children.

A second hypothesis was examined. This hypothesis was:

A positive relationship exists between personality as established by the Sears Aggression Test and individual responses to violent episodes in children's books.

To test this hypothesis student responses to question number 7, reproduced on the preceding page, were used. First grade children were excluded from this part of the study since the Sears Aggression Test was validated on twelve year old children.<sup>12</sup>

Some weeks later, the children from the third grade and seventh grade classes were asked to answer the questions from the Sears Aggression Test, a standardized personality test developed at Stanford University by Robert R. Sears and validated on twelve year old children.<sup>13</sup> This test contains questions aimed at assessing the following personality attributes:

1. Aggression Anxiety (feeling of fear, discomfort and dislike of aggression).
2. Projected Aggression (measure of tendency to attribute aggression to sources outside of the self).
3. Self-aggression (injury or punishment to the self).
4. Prosocial Aggression (aggression used in a socially approved way for purposes that are acceptable to the moral standards of the group).
5. Anti-social Aggression (aggression normally unacceptable socially in the normal pattern of our culture).

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<sup>12</sup>R. R. Sears, "Relation of Early Socialization Experiences to Aggression in Middle Childhood," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., Vol. 63 (1961), pp. 461-465.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

The tests were scored according to instructions provided. A number score for each child and for each of the five categories was thus determined.

For each class and each category of the Sears Aggression Test two scatter diagrams were prepared. The first of these included one point on each scatter diagram for each aggression scale for each child who completed the questionnaire. The second set of scatter diagrams contained one point for each child who completed the questionnaire and who answered two-thirds of the comprehension questions correctly. Using only those students who had demonstrated adequate understanding of the story, product-moment correlation coefficients<sup>14</sup> were calculated for each class and each of the five categories of the Sears Aggression Test with respect to the responses of the children to the five choices of question number 7. In these calculations, responses (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) were assigned the numerical values of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, respectively.

Finally, the teacher in each class was asked to fill out a questionnaire for every one of the students in that class. The purpose of this questionnaire was to assess the child's intelligence, reading level, and socio-economic background. While most teachers filled out the form, the majority failed to state the source of information ("Name the test used:"), making their

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<sup>14</sup>Allen E. Edwards, Statistical Methods, Sec. Ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 102.

responses generally unreliable. For this reason the teacher's questionnaire was not used in this study. The questionnaire given to the teachers is reproduced below.

### Teacher's Questionnaire

Name of Student \_\_\_\_\_ Grade \_\_\_\_\_ School \_\_\_\_\_

Place a circle around one of the following:

1. The child has
  - (a) A high level of intelligence (above average).
  - (b) A middle level of intelligence (average).
  - (c) A low level of intelligence (below average).
2. The child has:
  - (a) A high general reading level (above grade level).
  - (b) A middle general reading level (approximately grade level).
  - (c) A low general reading level (below grade level).
3. Father's (or mother's) occupation \_\_\_\_\_
4. Highest educational level achieved by father \_\_\_\_\_
5. Highest educational level achieved by mother \_\_\_\_\_

### Reliability of Ratings

To establish the reliability of the Scores used in this content analysis, two procedures were followed. The author read each context unit twice in widely separated periods of time, thus permitting test-retest for each unit. In addition, three persons were asked to read one of the books, Durango Street by Frank Bonham, and carry through a complete content analysis. These persons were supplied with blank forms identical to those used by the writer and were given detailed instructions on the method used by the writer in the performance of the content analysis. In each case

the author did one analysis with the reader. The three individuals were a graduate student specializing in children's literature at Michigan State University, an elementary school librarian, and a former elementary teacher in the East Lansing Public School System.

Eight items in the content analysis were subjected to the reliability test. These items are: the percentage of the total book pages that are devoted to violence; the intensity score, in per cent, normalized to the total number of book pages; the six categories of the actor-action scale, expressed in percentages. These last six items are the percentage of the times the violent acts are committed by the hero, villain, and minor characters, and the percentage of the times violence occurs between strangers, intimates, or is directed at inanimate objects.

Two schemes are used to estimate reliability. The first is that suggested by Robert L. Ebel.<sup>15</sup> The eight items are treated equally and given equal weight. Using this scheme, the reliability of the ratings is 0.935, and the reliability of the average rating is 0.983.

Since the various items in the content analysis are not identical, although all concern violent content in one form or another, a second scheme was employed to estimate the confidence level for each separate category.

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<sup>15</sup>Robert L. Ebel, "Estimation of the Reliability of Ratings," Psychometrika, Vol. 16 (1951), pp. 407-424.

For each category the standard deviation from the mean rating was obtained, and these standard deviations are also presented. These standard deviations are also fairly small, ranging from 1.0 per cent to 5.7 per cent. The largest is for the intensity score.

The calculations of the reliability of the ratings and of the standard deviations for the separate categories are shown in Table 2 and Table 3.



TABLE 2.--Calculation of Reliability Coefficient.

Category	Rating in Per cent				Sum (S)	Sum Squared (SS)
	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4		
Pages of Violent Content	29	29	26	28	112	12,544
Intensity	71	73	60	69	273	74,529
Violence						
Hero	28	35	32	29	124	15,376
Villain	33	24	32	29	128	16,384
Minor Character	39	41	36	42	158	24,964
Strangers	28	31	40	30	129	16,641
Intimates	72	69	60	68	269	72,361
Objects	0	0	0	2	2	4
Sum	300	302	286	297	1,185	232,803
Sum Squared	90,000	91,204	81,796	88,209	351,209	
Sum of Squared Ratings = 58,457						
						Product of Sum and Mean = $\frac{(1,185)^2}{32} = 43,882$
SS_raters = $\frac{351,209}{8} - 43,882 = 19$ ;						SS_categ. = $\frac{232,803}{4} - 43,882 = 14,319$
SS_total = 58,457 - 43,882 = 14,575;						SS_error = 14,575 - 14,319 - 19 = 237
MS_categ. = $\frac{14,319}{7} = 2046$ ;						MS_error = $\frac{237}{7} = 35.3$
Reliability of Ratings = $\frac{2046 - 35.3}{2046 + (4-1)35.3} = \frac{2011}{2152} = 0.935$						
Reliability of Average Ratings = $\frac{2046 - 35.3}{2046} = 0.983$						

TABLE 3.--Calculation of Standard Deviation of Scores for Each Category (Scores in Per Cent).

Category	Mean Score	Deviation from Mean (X)				Sum of X <sup>2</sup>	Variance	Standard Deviation
		Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4			
Pages of Violent Content	28	1	1	2	0	6	2	1.4
Intensity	68.25	2.75	4.75	8.25	0.75	98.75	32.56	5.7
Violence								
Hero	31	3	4	1	2	30	10	3.2
Villain	32	1	8	0	3	74	23.67	4.9
Minor Character	39.25	0.25	1.75	3.25	2.75	21.25	7.08	2.7
Strangers	32.25	4.25	1.25	7.75	2.25	84.75	28.25	5.3
Intimates	67.25	4.75	1.75	7.25	0.75	78.75	26.25	5.1
Objects	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.5	3.0	1	1.0

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS: CONTENT ANALYSIS

The writer first tested the following hypothesis:

There was an increase both in amount and intensity of violent content contained in children's literature published between 1960 and 1970.

The analysis of books published during the ten year period, 1960-1970, showed considerable fluctuation in violent content. There were highs of approximately 16 per cent in the years 1961, 1964 and 1967, and lows in the years 1960, 1962 and 1966, all near 10 per cent. This pattern is apparent from the graph, Figure 1, showing page and book averages. The page averages for the ten year period were:

Year	Page Averages All Books
1960	10.6%
1961	16.0%
1962	9.6%
1963	11.6%
1964	15.3%
1965	13.4%
1966	10.8%
1967	16.6%
1968	12.0%
1969	13.2%

Figure 1.--Annual averages of violent content, expressed in per cent of space devoted to violence. Book and Page Averages are shown. Results are presented for all books and separately for historical fiction, modern realistic fiction, and for books originally published in the United Kingdom. The dashed line is a least-squares fit for Page Averages of all books.

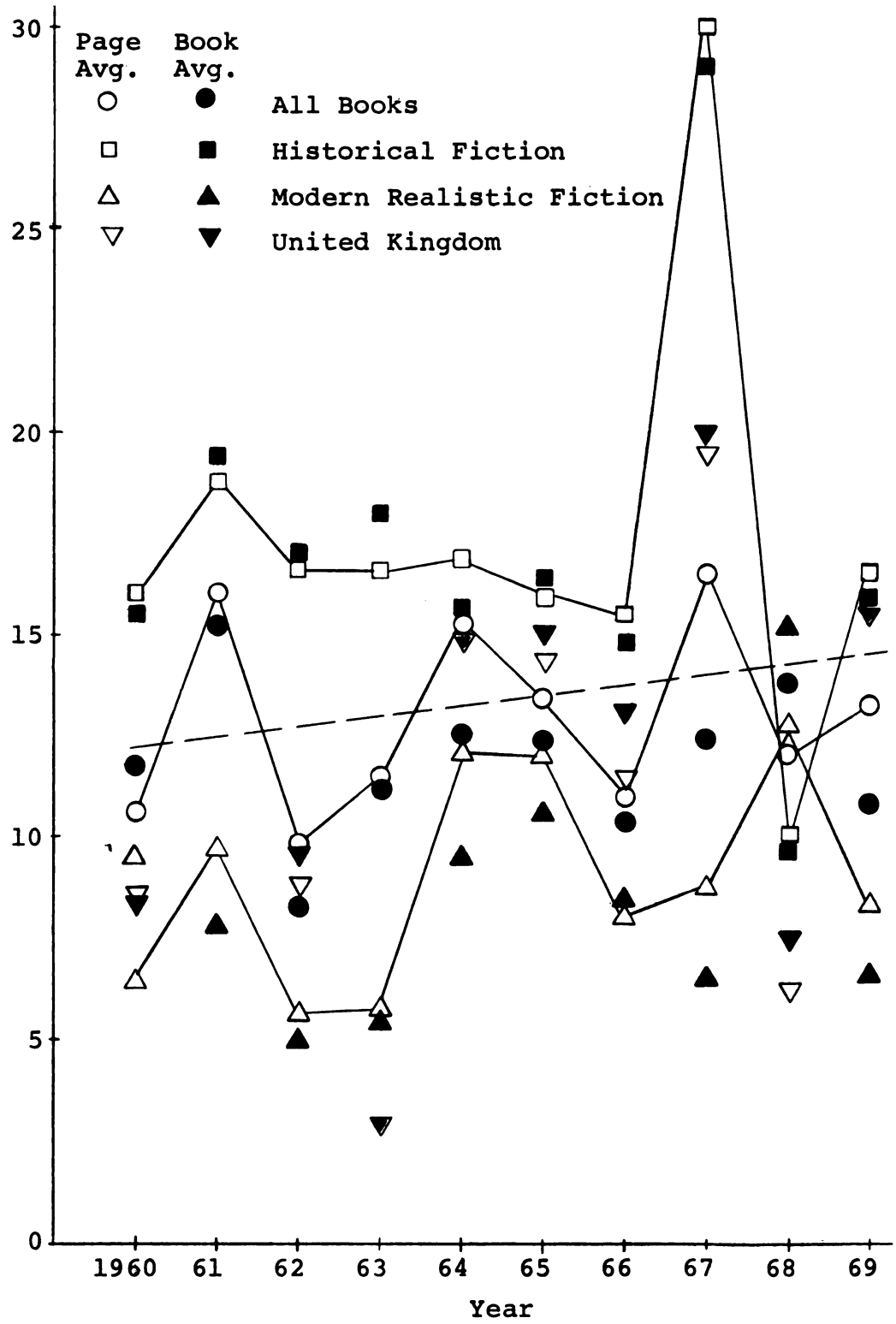


Figure 1

Figure 1.--Annual averages of violent content, expressed in per cent of space devoted to violence. Book and Page Averages are shown. Results are presented for all books and separately for historical fiction, modern realistic fiction, and for books originally published in the United Kingdom. The dashed line is a least-squares fit for Page Averages of all books.

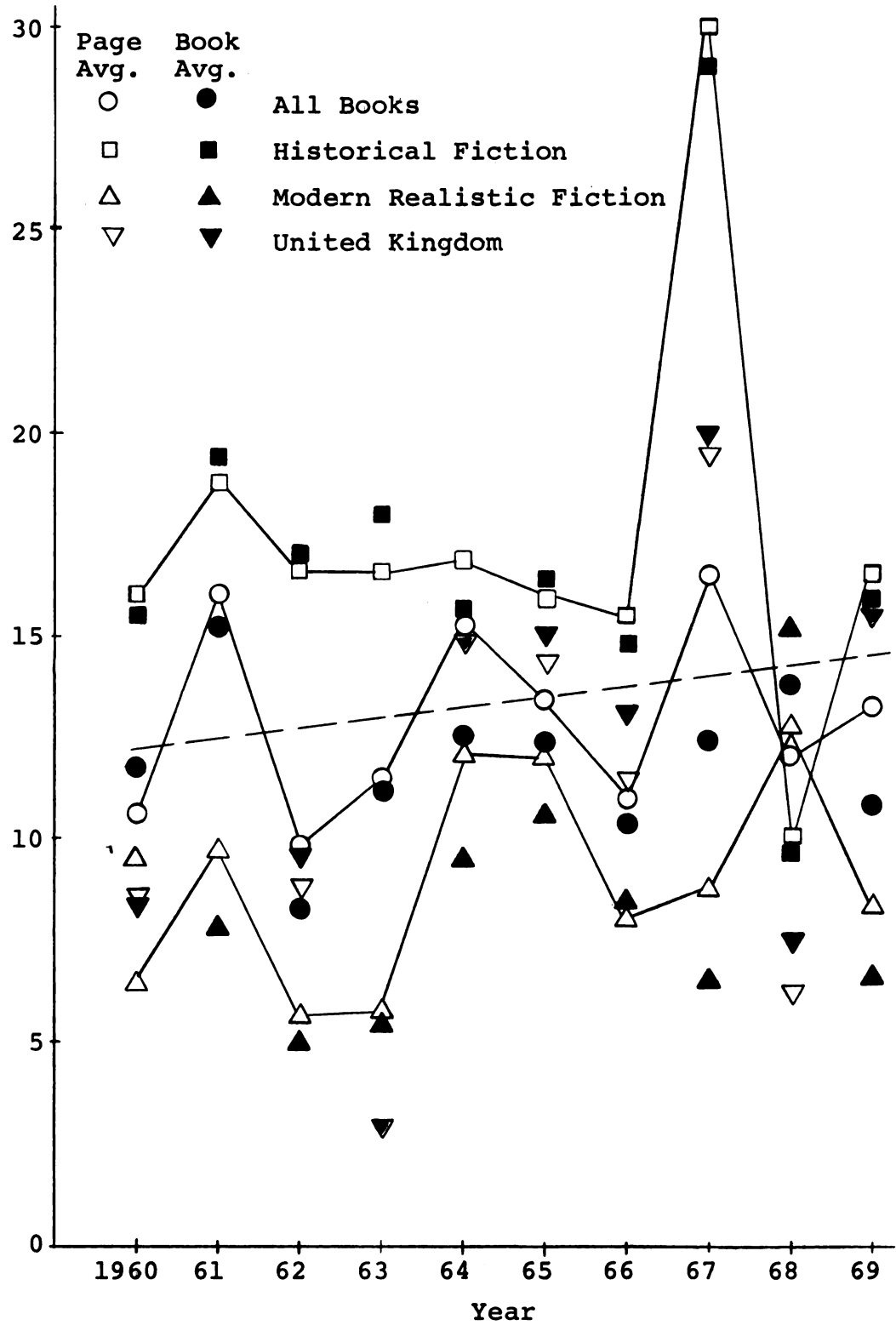


Figure 1

The book averages, appearing in Figure 1, follow much the same fluctuating pattern. While book averages show less fluctuation than page averages, there is still a rise to approximately 15 per cent in 1961. In 1964, 1965 and 1967, there are rises to 12 per cent. The highest score, however, is in 1969 with a book average of more than 16 per cent. The averages are below:

Year	Book Averages All Books
1960	11.8%
1961	15.3%
1962	8.3%
1963	11.5%
1964	12.3%
1965	12.2%
1966	10.5%
1967	12.5%
1968	9.9%
1969	16.5%

The averages for pages varied far more widely for modern realistic fiction. Here the range in fluctuation is much broader than in the previous analysis with low figures (5.7%) appearing in 1962 and 1963 and high figures in 1964, 1965 and 1968, each of these between 12 and 13 per cent.

Year	Page Averages Modern Realistic Fiction
1960	6.5%
1961	9.9%
1962	5.7%
1963	5.7%
1964	12.1%
1965	12.0%
1966	8.3%
1967	8.8%
1968	12.9%
1969	8.5%



The scores above do not indicate the actual amount of violence in any given episode. Context units may well be relatively long while containing only a short moment of violent action. An example of this is Ribbon of Fire by Allan McLean. Pages 15-20 represent one context unit. However, only one sentence refers to the actual act of violence:

The Factor caught me a stinger on the back of the hand with his riding crop.

In the same book, between pages 76 and 83, there is another violent episode in which the Factor and Lachlan Ban have a fight. In this context unit almost all of the space between pages 76 and 83 describes the violent scene, which is far greater intensity than the scene described above.

For this reason, the intensity score of each book is a better indicator of violence than the page and book averages. It is also for this reason that the fluctuations from year to year can be seen more clearly on the graph based on the intensity scale, Figure 2.

There is a rapid rise from 1960 to 1961, with intensity scores reaching a level of more than 20 per cent. After a dip in 1962 and 1963, there is a decided rise again in the ensuing years with the peak at 21.4 per cent in 1966. The last two years again show a drop, this time between 11 per cent and 12 per cent. The average intensity score for all books for each year is as follows:

Figure 2.--Annual Average Intensity Score, expressed in percentage of book pages. Results are shown for all books and separately for historical fiction and modern realistic fiction.

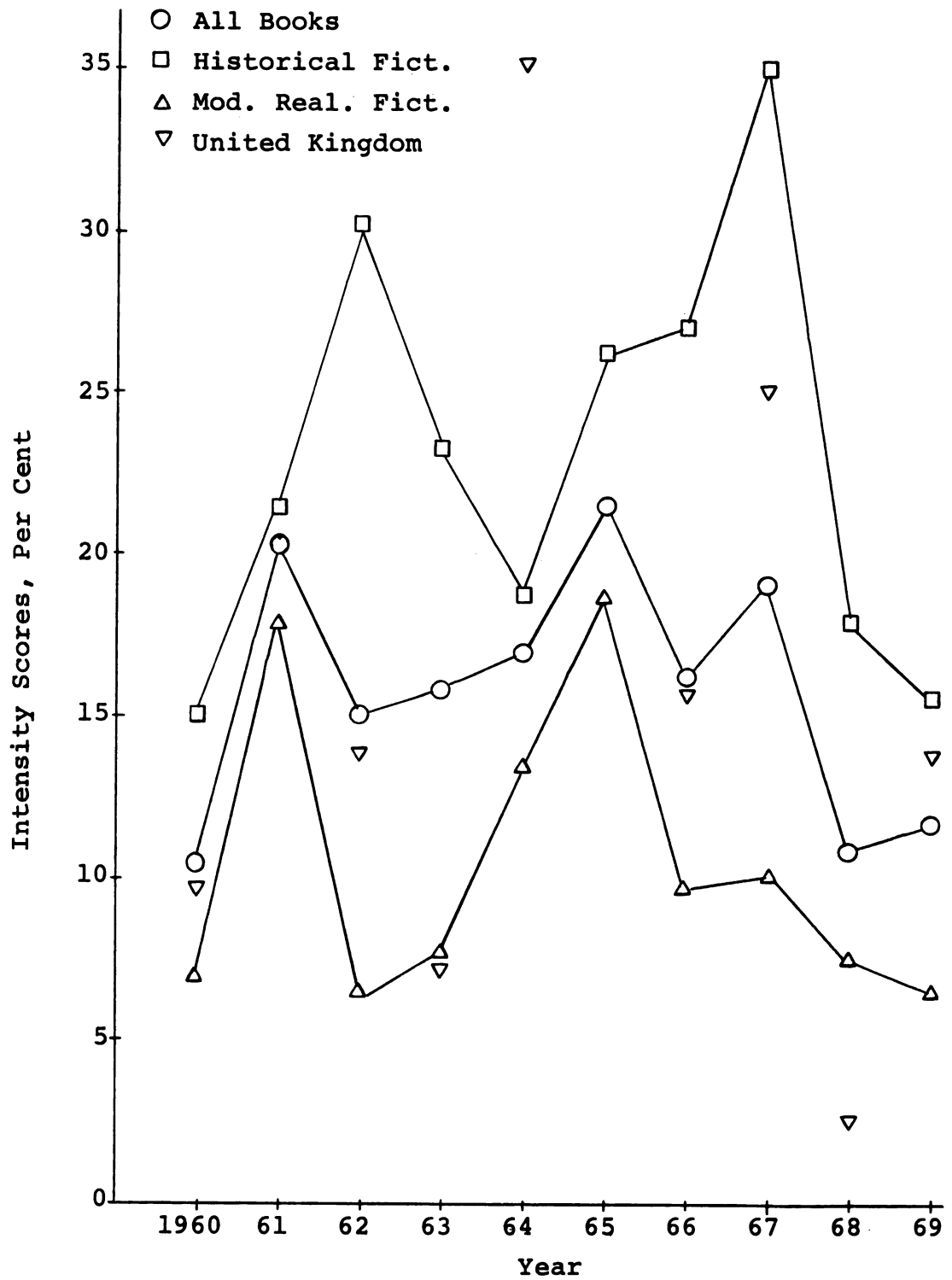


Figure 2

Year	Intensity Score All Books
1960	10.5%
1961	20.4%
1962	14.9%
1963	15.9%
1964	17.0%
1965	21.4%
1966	16.0%
1967	19.2%
1968	10.8%
1969	11.9%

The intensity scores have a wider range, on the whole, than those found in book and page averages.

Despite the erratic fluctuations, two conclusions may be drawn. First, contrary to the hypothesis, the violent content of these books did not change substantially over the ten year period although there is a steady increase between the year 1960 and the middle 1960's, followed by what may be the beginning of a trend toward less violence in the books examined. Over the entire ten year period the straight line in Figure 1, computed by a least-squares fit of the points to a linear function, shows a gradual increase in space devoted to violence from a level of approximately 12 per cent to approximately 15 per cent.

Second, although the book averages and page averages follow each other quite closely, the page averages are almost invariably higher than the book averages. This indicates that the shorter length books contain relatively fewer violent episodes, the latter generally being found in longer books, which are, for the most part, intended for older children. In particular,

picture books which have between 20 and 48 pages are almost devoid of violence. A typical example of the treatment found in picture books is Sam by Ann Herbert Scott. A beautifully illustrated book, this story is about the smallest one in the family in search of some attention. Verbal rejection, not physical violence, makes Sam cry and get comfort from his family.

The one year which does not have a lower book average than page average is 1968. Here the change can be attributed to one book, The Barn, by John Schonherr. This very short modern realistic fiction book contains an anomalously high number of pages devoted to violence, nearly 90 per cent, all of it concerned with a skunk and an owl in search of food.

By breaking the scores down into several categories, additional information about the books beyond testing the hypothesis was obtained. When the averages for historical fiction were compared with average scores for modern realistic fiction, a pattern emerged which was consistent throughout the ten year period, as can be seen in Table 4 and Figure 2. Space devoted to violence in historical fiction is twice as great as in modern realistic fiction, on the average. This is true both for the amount of space devoted to violent episodes and for the intensity scores.

Scores for historical fiction and modern realistic fiction also follow a widely fluctuating pattern. High

points in the fluctuations are again 1961, 1964, 1965, each of these years being in a range between 17.7 and 18.8 per cent. Intensity scores for historical fiction for the ten year period are:

Year	Intensity Score Historical Fiction
1960	15.2%
1961	21.5%
1962	30.4%
1963	23.1%
1964	18.7%
1965	26.2%
1966	26.9%
1967	35.0%
1968	17.9%
1969	15.6%

Similar fluctuations can be seen in the average intensity scores for modern realistic fiction, interestingly enough following the same fluctuating pattern:

Year	Intensity Score Modern Realistic Fiction
1960	6.9%
1961	17.9%
1962	6.5%
1963	7.5%
1964	17.7%
1965	18.8%
1966	9.8%
1967	10.0%
1968	7.5%
1969	6.6%

TABLE 4.--Comparison of Historical and Modern Realistic Fiction.

Year	Historical Fiction		Modern Realistic Fiction	
	Pages	Intensity	Pages	Intensity
1960	15.5%	15.2%	6.5%	6.9%
1961	18.8%	21.5%	9.9%	17.9%
1962	16.6%	30.4%	5.7%	6.5%
1963	18.1%	23.1%	5.7%	7.5%
1964	16.8%	18.7%	12.1%	17.7%
1965	15.9%	26.2%	12.0%	18.8%
1966	15.4%	26.9%	8.3%	9.8%
1967	30.1%	35.0%	8.8%	10.0%
1968	9.9%	17.9%	12.9%	7.5%
1969	16.5%	15.6%	8.5%	6.6%

Examination of the above tabulation shows that 1964 and 1965 are the only years in which page or intensity averages of historical fiction are not at least two times the scores for modern realistic fiction. In 1964, modern realistic fiction edges up closer to the average scores for historical fiction although the former are still considerably below the latter, 12.1 per cent and 13.7 per cent for modern realistic fiction and 15.9 per cent and 18.7 per cent for historical fiction. Intensity scores for 1965 show a greater disparity with 26.2 per cent for historical fiction and 18.8 per cent for modern realistic fiction although historical fiction still does not have twice the violent content. By way of contrast, historical fiction books published in 1967 are more than three times as violent as modern realistic fiction books published the same year. For the former, page and intensity scores are 30.1 per cent and 35.0 per cent, while

for the latter page and intensity scores are 8.8 per cent and 10.0 per cent.

At least part of the reason for the disparity is explained in the following chart. It lists the average intensity scores for all historical fiction books in the ten year period, but divides these books into those with a war setting and those with a non-war setting. The average intensity scores for books with war settings are very much higher than those for books with non-war settings (see Table 5).

TABLE 5.--Comparison of Historical Fiction Books with War and Non-War Settings.

Year	Intensity Score	
	War-Setting	Non-War Setting
1960	1.3%	15.1%
1961	28.2%	17.9%
1962	36.2%	24.7%
1963	48.4%	13.5%
1964	25.6%	14.2%
1965	49.0%	14.0%
1966		26.9%
1967	50.0%	29.5%
1968	25.4%	10.3%
1969	21.2%	8.3%

In all the years studied, except 1960, average intensity scores for books with a war setting are consistently higher than those with a non-war setting. This may well explain the disparity between modern realistic fiction and historical fiction, even though in the entire list of historical novels only 20 have a war setting. The remaining 42 have a non-war setting.



For purposes of comparison, the space devoted to violence in books from the United Kingdom was also analyzed. It was felt that books originally published in countries other than the United States might reflect different treatment of violence. Governments of some countries like Denmark and Switzerland do not permit children to view films with violent content. It is conceivable that these governments might impose censorship on children's fiction, as well.

There are some books on the list published in France, Germany, Holland and Greece and later translated and published in this country. However, there are so few books from these countries that it would clearly have been futile to attempt general conclusions. There are, however, 36 books from England, Canada or Australia. These were tabulated for page and intensity average scores. Even when all the Commonwealth countries are treated as one category, there are still some years when there are relatively few books on the Notable Book List. For instance, there are none in 1961, only one in 1964, two in 1963 and 1968. Thus even for British and Commonwealth books, the sample is perhaps too small for meaningful comparison.

Moreover, conclusions must be read with some caution for another reason. Selection of these books for the Notable Book List was made by American critics, who may have chosen foreign books following a prevalent

American pattern. Selections of these books for publication were originally made by publishers interested in pleasing American readers for sale on an American market.

Helen W. Painter in Evaluating Books for Children and Young People<sup>1</sup> says that children's books are generally selected for translations according to certain criteria, a universal theme, a well-developed plot, characters that are memorable, to mention only a few. In the opinion of the writer, Mrs. Painter may well be overlooking one important criterion. When publishers meet at the Frankfurt Book Fair they probably are looking for good literature, but they also hope to sell a product. To achieve their goal, they need writing that will please their public. A high degree of violence may be one criterion needed.

With these limitations in mind, the writer compared the average page and intensity scores for each year. Interestingly enough, the average number of pages devoted to violence in books from the Commonwealth countries is very similar to the averages for all books analyzed. The same is true for the average intensity scores. The years 1960, 1961, 1962, 1966 and 1969 differ from each other by less than three points. In 1963 and 1968, British books scored lower on page and intensity averages than all

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<sup>1</sup>Helen W. Painter, "Translations of Traditional and Modern Material," *Evaluating Books for Children and Young People. Perspectives in Reading*, No. 10, comp. and ed. by Helen Huss (Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1968), pp. 41-55.

the other books. In 1963, the scores are 2.9 per cent and 7.3 per cent for page and intensity scores, as compared with 11.6 per cent and 15.9 per cent for all books. However, for 1964, 1965 and 1967, intensity scores on British books are considerably higher than others. For example, for 1965 the page and intensity averages are 14.9 per cent and 26.6 per cent, while for all books the corresponding figures are 13.4 per cent and 21.4 per cent. However, when averaged over the entire ten year period page and intensity scores for Commonwealth books and for all books are within one point of each other (Table 6).

TABLE 6.--Comparison of Commonwealth and All Books.

Year	Commonwealth		All Books	
	Page	Intensity	Page	Intensity
1960	8.1%	9.7%	10.6%	10.5%
1961	No Books		16.0%	20.4%
1962	9.7%	13.8%	9.6%	14.9%
1963	22.9%	7.3%	11.6%	15.9%
1964	14.9%	35.3%	15.3%	17.0%
1965	14.9%	26.6%	13.4%	21.4%
1966	13.0%	15.8%	10.8%	16.0%
1967	19.8%	24.8%	16.6%	19.2%
1968	7.5%	2.4%	12.0%	10.8%
1969	15.6%	13.9%	13.2%	11.9%
Avg.	11.7%	16.5%	12.5%	15.2%

In another analysis involving intensity scores, each author writing more than one book during the ten year period was listed along with intensity scores for each

book written by that author. Not surprisingly, on the whole, authors include approximately the same amount of violence from book to book. For instance, Ivan Southall's books have scores of 1.8 per cent and 1.2 per cent. DeJong's The Last Little Cat had an intensity score of 1.0 per cent; Nobody Plays with a Cabbage scored a low 0.7 per cent; and his third book, The Singing Hill was 1.0 per cent. Patterns were found to be consistent, with author after author producing approximately the same amount of violence from book to book. Thus, a reader of James Forman could reasonably expect a relatively large amount of violence (31.7%, 88.7%), as can a reader of Eric Haugaard (62.8%, 30.0%, 39.7%). On the other hand, books by Paula Fox may be expected to be low in violent content. The same is true of books by Mary Stolz, Virginia Hamilton and E. Konigsburg.

However, authors in the latter group do not necessarily avoid violence altogether. It is true that books by Mary Stolz and Konigsburg are notably lacking in violent activity, but some of the authors in this group include violent situations avoiding, however, intense treatment of the situation. In Paula Fox's book, Edgar Allan, for instance, Ku Klux Klan members burn a cross on the front lawn of the hero's house. The author handles the situation by having it take place "off stage." We learn about the event the next morning when the family wakes up and sees the grass burned in the form of a cross.

The same is true of Virginia Hamilton's book, The House of Dies Drear. Pluto does smear the food all over the family kitchen, but we do not learn about the deed until he is gone and the family enters the scene.

On the other hand, Rosemary Sutcliff includes considerable detail in every violent episode. At the beginning of Mark the Horse Lord, for example, the hero, Phaedrus, is a gladiator. He fights a battle with a fellow slave with the reader learning about each blow. We share his weak feelings after an injury to his knee. We watch his partner's death. In short, we are with him, on stage, throughout the violent episode.

In conclusion, then, the hypothesis was not proved. Only a slight increase in amount and intensity of violence took place during the ten year period. However, certain other facts come to light from this study. Historical fiction proves to be twice as violent as modern realistic fiction. Picture books are low in violent content. Historical fiction with war settings score higher than those with other settings. Books published in the Commonwealth countries are of approximately the same level of violence as American books. Finally, writers appear to produce books with the same level of violence again and again.

The writer next undertook to prove the following hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 heroes and villains in children's literature increasingly committed a wide variety of violent acts against individuals they knew.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence<sup>2</sup> showed in a study of television drama considerable conflict between villain and hero with the latter acting aggressively in a pro-social fashion. In an effort to find out if the same kind of aggressive behavior was common in children's literature, the actor-action scale was developed.

During the period studied the average scores for heroes and villains again fluctuate considerably. In 1961 and 1967, on the average relatively few heroes commit violence. Both scores are 9 per cent. In 1961, more villains commit acts of aggression, 36 per cent; in 1967, however, minor characters are more frequently the offenders, 72 per cent of the time. Villains score higher on aggressive acts in 1969 also; that is, they commit acts of violence 48 per cent of the time. Throughout the period minor characters commit approximately half of the violent acts, but again there is considerable fluctuation from year to year. Minor characters commit most violent acts in 1960, with 56 per cent of all aggressive acts, in 1961 with 55 per cent, 1964 with 63 per cent, in 1967 with 72 per cent. The smallest number of aggressive acts by minor characters is in 1969 with 36 per cent. This erratic pattern is apparent in Figures 3 and 4 and Table 7.

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<sup>2</sup>National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, op. cit., p. 194.

Figure 3.--Actor-Action Scale. The percentage of the times aggressive acts are committed by hero, villain and minor characters are shown for each year. Results are presented for all books and separately for historical fiction and modern realistic fiction. The lines are least-squares fits, as indicated.

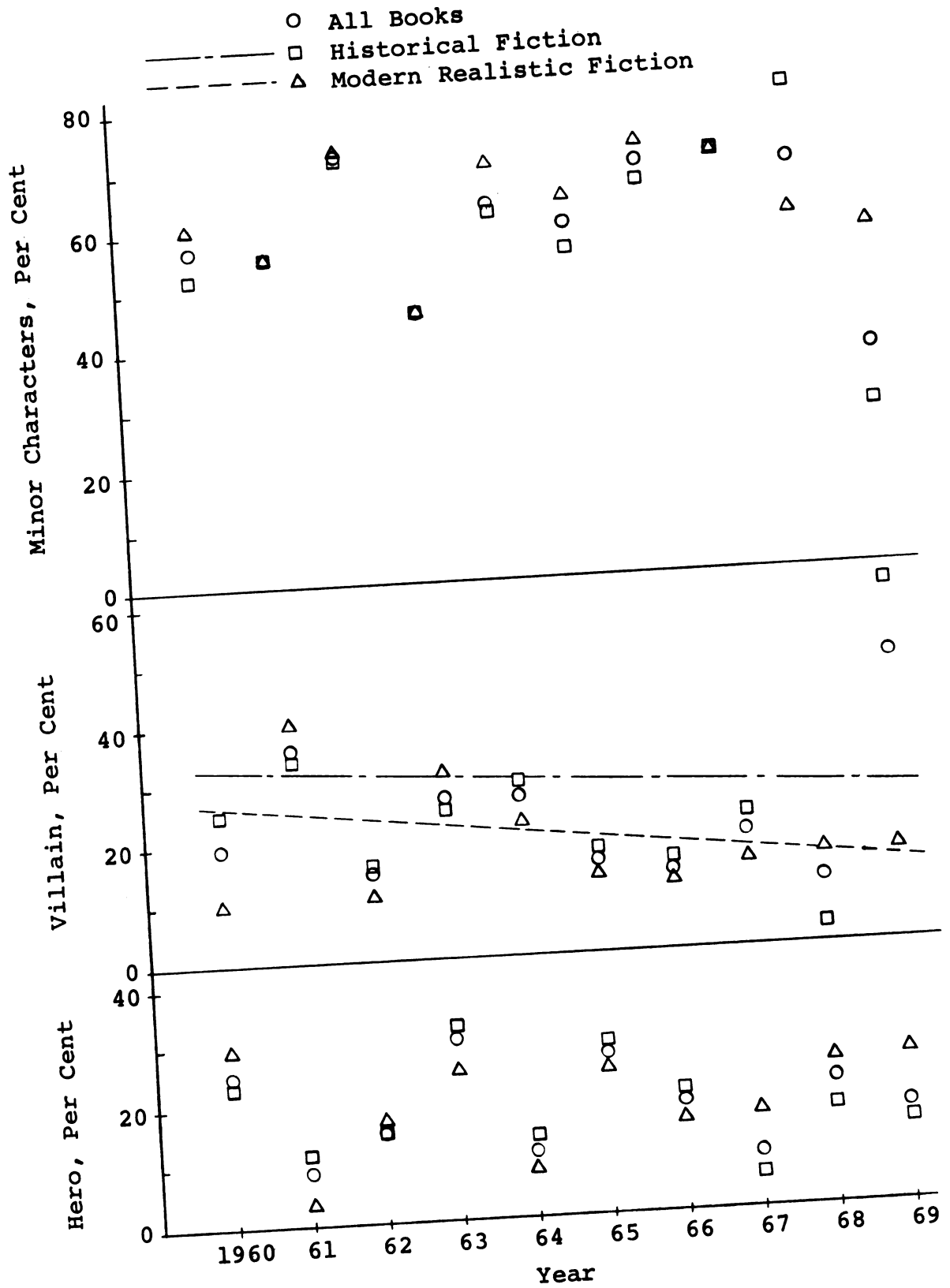


Figure 3



Figure 4.--The Actor-Action Scale. This figures shows the percentage of the times the aggressive acts are committed by the hero, villain or minor characters for each year of the ten year period.

- 1--designates hero
- 2--designates villain
- 3--designates minor characters

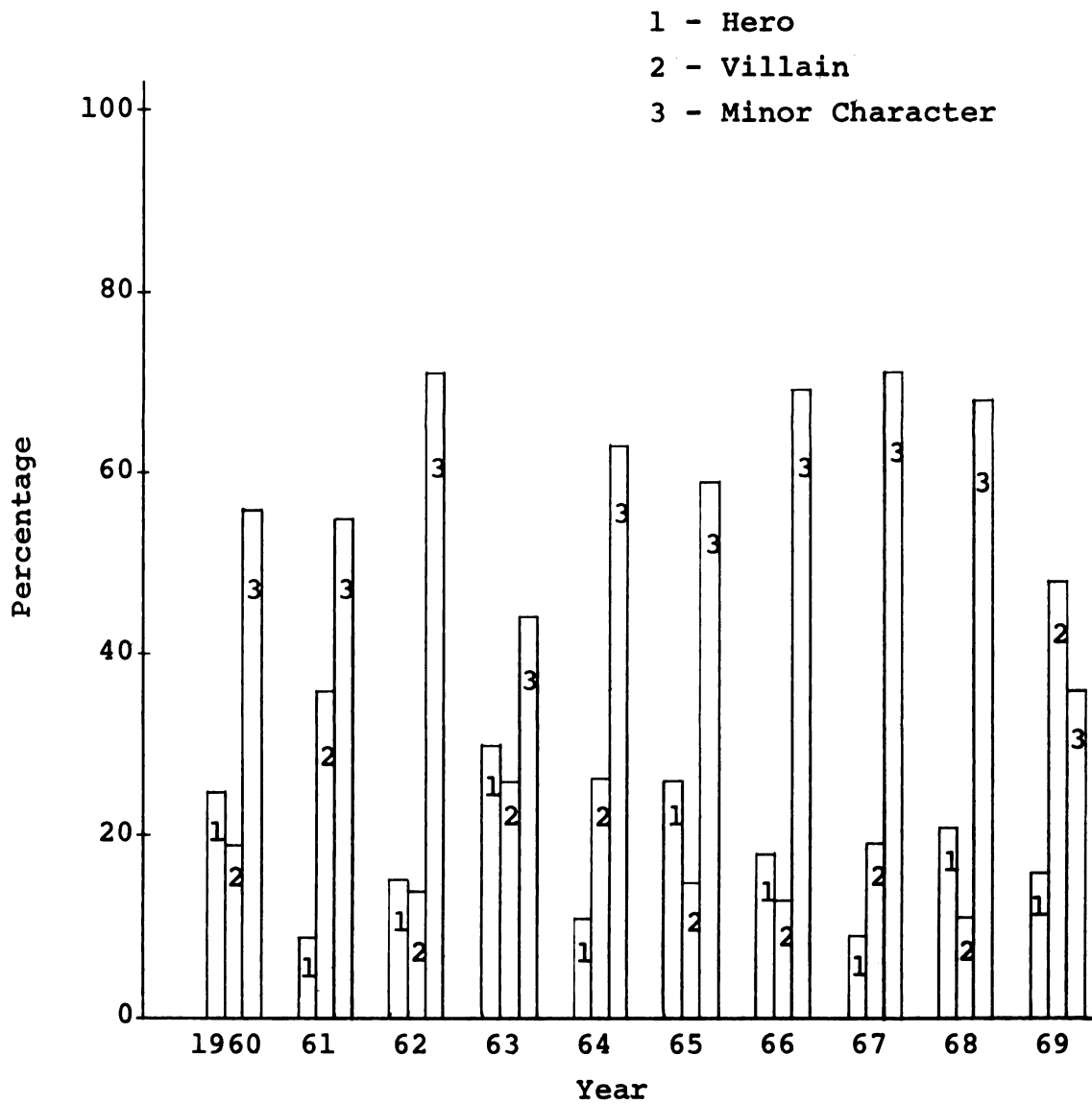


Figure 4

TABLE 7.--Distribution of Violence among Characters;  
Average Scores.

Year	Heroes	Villains	Minor Characters
1960	25%	19%	56%
1961	9%	36%	55%
1962	15%	14%	71%
1963	30%	26%	44%
1964	11%	26%	63%
1965	26%	15%	59%
1966	18%	13%	69%
1967	9%	19%	72%
1968	21%	11%	68%
1969	16%	48%	36%

Inspite of the erratic scores from year to year, some generalizations can be made about trends. As was pointed out already, for both historical fiction and modern realistic fiction neither villain nor hero are principally involved in these actions. More than half of the time it is minor characters who display aggressive action. Next, using a least-squares fit to a linear function, the relative frequency with which the villain is involved in the violent actions diminishes somewhat over the ten year period. This trend is particularly noticeable in modern realistic fiction, as is evident from Figures 3 and 4 and Table 8.

Interestingly enough, a second scale included in the study of the characters does not complement the findings of the actor-action scale. Here the objective was to find out the relationship between the aggressor and his

TABLE 8.--Distribution of Violence among Characters;  
Average Scores.

Year	Heroes	Villains	Minor Characters
Modern Realistic Fiction			
1960	29%	10%	61%
1961	4%	41%	55%
1962	16%	11%	73%
1963	24%	32%	44%
1964	8%	22%	70%
1965	23%	14%	63%
1966	15%	12%	73%
1967	17%	14%	69%
1968	24%	16%	60%
1969	26%	16%	58%
Historical Fiction			
1960	23%	25%	52%
1961	11%	34%	55%
1962	15%	14%	71%
1963	31%	25%	44%
1964	12%	27%	61%
1965	29%	16%	55%
1966	20%	14%	66%
1967	17%	14%	69%
1968	16%	3%	81%
1969	13%	60%	27%

victim. Are they strangers? Do they know each other, or is the victim an intimate object? The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence<sup>3</sup> found that violence in television drama often occurs between strangers who may well have no reason for aggressive actions against each other. Their aggression is then less realistic, perhaps less intense. It is often not necessary to the plot development.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

High points for aggression between strangers are 1961 (79%), 1964 (76%) and 1969 (81%). Only in 1968 does aggression between intimates reach a high of 44 per cent. The rest of the time scores are often considerably lower, as low as 16 per cent for 1969. Therefore, throughout the period between 1960 and 1970 most violence in children's books occurs between strangers.

Again, through the ten year period there is considerable fluctuation, as can be seen from Figure 5 and Table 9. Nevertheless, using a least-squares fit to a linear function, a slight trend away from violence between strangers and toward intimates is discernible.

TABLE 9.--Relationship Between Aggressor and Victim Average Score for All Books.

Year	Strangers	Intimates	Objects
1960	60%	39%	1%
1961	79%	20%	1%
1962	70%	29%	1%
1963	69%	29%	1%
1964	76%	24%	0%
1965	56%	41%	3%
1966	55%	35%	10%
1967	74%	21%	5%
1968	49%	44%	7%
1969	81%	16%	3%

Figure 5.--Actor-Action Scale. The percentage of the times aggressive acts occur between strangers and between intimates are shown for each year. Results are presented for all books and separately for historical fiction and modern realistic fiction. Least-squares fits for the two categories of books are shown.

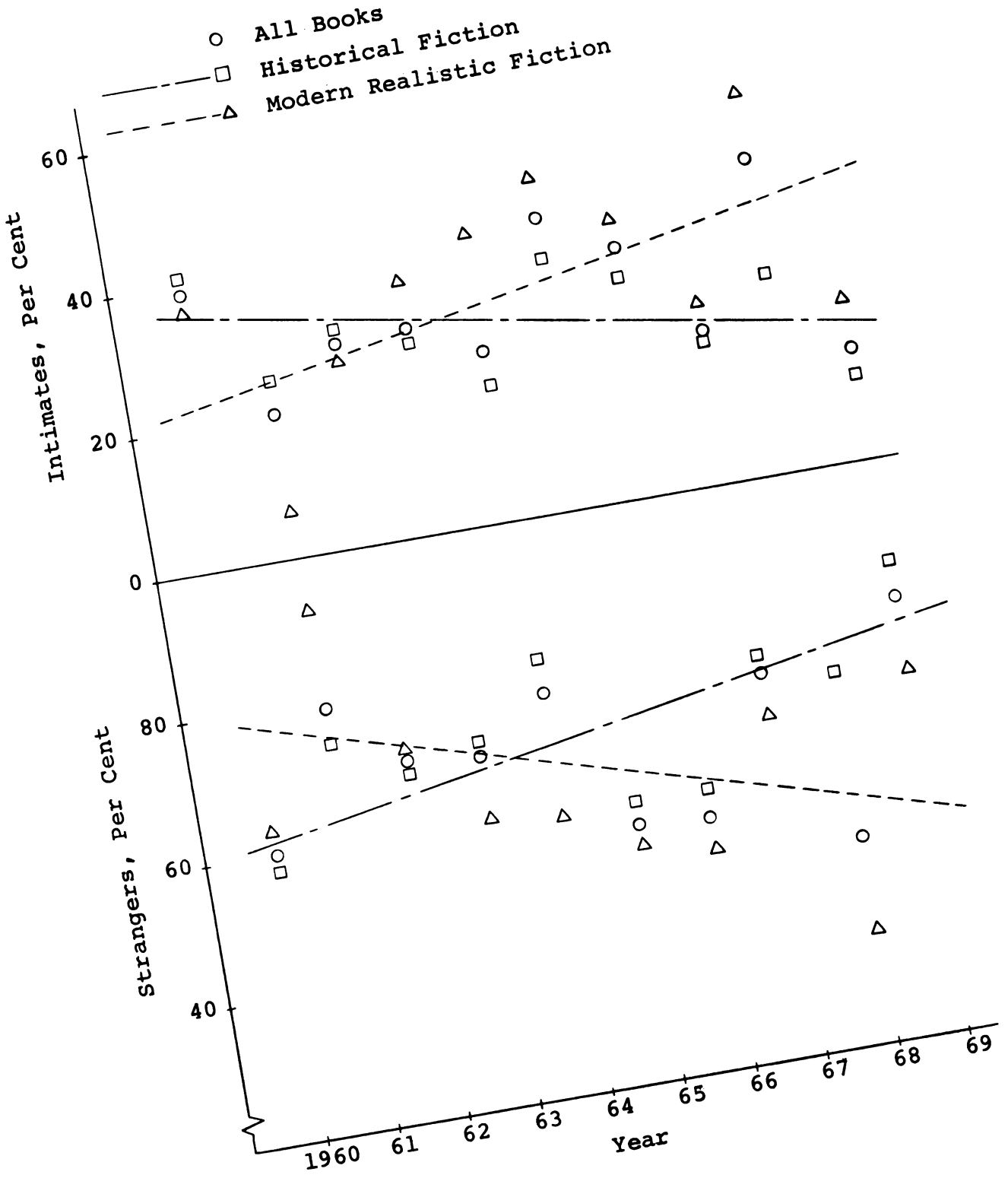


Figure 5

When the data are broken down further into scores for modern realistic fiction and historical fiction, the trend mentioned above becomes more clearly discernible. For modern realistic fiction, high points for strangers occur in 1961 (93%), 1962 and 1969 (71% in both years). With the exception of 1968, all of the scores in the "strangers" category are more than 50 per cent. On the other hand, none of the scores in the "intimates" category are more than 50 per cent, with the exception of 1968 (54%).

Throughout this period most violent episodes in modern realistic fiction take place between characters that do not know each other; but there is still a small trend toward increased aggressive activity between people that know each other.

For historical fiction average scores again fluctuate widely. High points for strangers were 81 per cent in 1964 and 86 per cent in 1969; the low point is 58 per cent for 1960. As in the case of modern realistic fiction, most fighting takes place between strangers. However, in contrast to modern realistic fiction, historical fiction exhibits a trend toward aggression between strangers and away from aggressive activity between intimates (Table 10).

In summary, then, the hypothesis was once more not proved. Throughout the ten year period most aggression is committed by minor characters. For both modern realistic



TABLE 10.--Relationship between Aggressor and Victim  
Average Score.

Year	Strangers	Intimates	Objects
Modern Realistic Fiction			
1960	63%	37%	0%
1961	93%	7%	0%
1962	71%	27%	2%
1963	60%	36%	4%
1964	59%	41%	0%
1965	53%	47%	0%
1966	51%	39%	10%
1967	68%	26%	6%
1968	36%	54%	10%
1969	71%	23%	6%
Historical Fiction			
1960	58%	41%	1%
1961	74%	25%	1%
1962	69%	30%	1%
1963	71%	28%	1%
1964	81%	19%	0%
1965	59%	35%	6%
1966	59%	31%	10%
1967	76%	20%	4%
1968	72%	28%	0%
1969	86%	13%	1%

fiction and historical fiction, villains commit fewer acts of aggression on the average. Although heroes commit more aggressive acts in modern fiction, they actually do so less often in historical fiction during the ten year study. For all years studied, changes are only slight; in fact, significant changes do not appear. In both kinds of literature acts of aggression most often occur between strangers, rather than between people who know each other. There is a slight trend toward acts of aggression between

intimates in modern realistic fiction, but in historical fiction the trend is toward aggression between strangers.

Throughout the ten year period a tabulation was kept of the kinds of activity carried out in the violent action.

While shooting and killing were most common of the actions originally identified in the action scale, this scale was found inadequate for tabulating all the action, which normally ranged very widely, and therefore, the "other" category was added to the scale. For instance, for 1962, 46 per cent of the notations fall into this "other" class, which includes tearing, beating (most common), throwing, burning, clawing, biting, kicking, trampling, tying up. Percentages from year to year are shown on the following page.

Evidently, the activities cover the panoply of violent behavior, with shooting and killing generally most common except for the catch-all "other" category describing the variety of aggressive activities enumerated on the following page.

Next, an attempt was made to prove the following hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 children's literature more frequently presented violent content in a sensuous fashion rather than in a non-sensuous style.

Throughout the ten year period most descriptions of violent activity was handled in a sensuous fashion by

## Violent Actions

Year	Wrestling	Boxing	Stabbing	Wounding	Killing	Shooting	Other
1960	10%	7%	7%	7%	20%	22%	27%
1961	0%	2%	18%	4%	7%	26%	43%
1962	5%	6%	7%	10%	15%	11%	46%
1963	0%	3%	24%	11%	18%	24%	20%
1964	2%	5%	2%	1%	39%	18%	42%
1965	6%	10%	11%	11%	18%	14%	30%
1966	6%	7%	5%	7%	20%	11%	44%
1967	1%	17%	6%	8%	32%	16%	20%
1968	4%	6%	3%	5%	14%	15%	53%
1969	4%	5%	1%	11%	11%	14%	54%

the authors involved. Sensuous treatment ranges between 85 per cent in 1967 and 95 per cent in 1966. Only a small percentage of the violence is treated in a non-sensuous manner. The largest percentage occurs for the year 1967 (15%), the smallest for the year 1967 (5%). It is clear from this that the authors of realistic children's books attempted to present material in a fashion similar to life. The year by year percentages are tabulated in Table 11.

TABLE 11.--Treatment of Violent Actions; All Books.

Year	Sensuous	Non-Sensuous
1960	92%	8%
1961	91%	9%
1962	86%	14%
1963	91%	9%
1964	92%	8%
1965	92%	8%
1966	95%	5%
1967	85%	15%
1968	92%	8%
1969	92%	8%

A division of the data between historical fiction and modern realistic fiction shows that there is no significant difference between these two kinds of books, although in 1967 sensuous treatment reaches a low of 75 per cent for modern realistic fiction, with a corresponding high of 25 per cent for non-sensuous treatment. Tabulations are shown in Table 12 for both modern realistic and historical fiction.

TABLE 12.--Treatment of Violent Actions.

Year	Sensuous	Non-Sensuous
Historical Fiction		
1960	92%	8%
1961	84%	16%
1962	84%	16%
1963	89%	11%
1964	91%	9%
1965	93%	7%
1966	94%	6%
1967	92%	8%
1968	93%	7%
1969	93%	7%
Modern Realistic Fiction		
1960	93%	7%
1961	94%	6%
1962	90%	10%
1963	99%	1%
1964	94%	6%
1965	91%	9%
1966	95%	5%
1967	75%	25%
1968	91%	9%
1969	87%	13%

The content studied consistently used sensuous treatment of violent episodes. Therefore, the hypothesis was proved.

One other analysis was done with the non-sensuous materials. In an attempt to find out what kind of non-sensuous sentences were included in the books studied, the quotations were listed under one of two categories:

1. No special style; merely lacking in detail.
2. Treated in some special fashion, but also lacking in detail.

The following was not considered stylized. The information was offered without special effects. "The foxes came when I was cooking my food and stood outside gazing. The wild dogs also came, gnawing at the whole ribs, growling because they could not come in. I shot two of them, not the leader."<sup>4</sup>

The following was considered stylized because the author tried to make the speaker appear like a Cockney. However, no details were offered. "He was kicking up a flipping row in the yard."<sup>5</sup>

When all the non-sensuous sentences were thus listed, it was found that the majority treated non-sensuous sentences without special stylistic effects. In other words, on the whole, writers of children's fiction either use realistic treatment of violence or pass over the material without special attempts to create effects. This, of course, is totally different from the treatment given aggression on television, where pictorial violence is frequently highly stylized. Year by year percentages for non-sensuous treatment are shown in Table 13.

One further analysis was done with the intensity scale. In an effort to find out where the emphasis was placed, the scale was divided into two parts. The first part, weapons and blows, was considered a reference to the

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<sup>4</sup>O'Dell, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>5</sup>Stucley, op. cit., p. 154.

act of aggression. The second part of the intensity scale deals with the effects of the blows--injuries, blood, pain, death. The objective of this analysis was to find out if the authors of children's realistic fiction give the reader a complete picture of violence. Television programs often present the act (for instance, a gun fight), but the consequences of the act are passed over without detail (for instance, the suffering and death of the character).

In the case of children's realistic fiction almost every writer presents some information about effects in almost every book. For instance, Treegates Raiders by Wibberley, a historical fiction book about the Revolutionary War, has a score of 107 for "blows" and a score of 55 for "effect of blows." Hills End by Southall has corresponding scores of 7 and 10, respectively. A few books, like Jennifer, Hecate, William McKinley and Me, Elizabeth by Konigsburg, have no description of the blows. It should be noted, however, that this book, like other books with zero score under "effect of blows," has very little violent activity at all. The score for this book, for instance, under the "blows" category is 1. The blow in this case was a description of the heroine stepping on the toes of her hostess at a birthday party. After effects naturally enough were minimal.

The following tabulation gives the ratio of the raw intensity score attributable to the effects of violence divided by the total intensity score.

Year	Effects of Blows
1960	41%
1961	43%
1962	36%
1963	39%
1964	34%
1965	38%
1966	42%
1967	44%
1968	37%
1969	40%

Finally, an effort was made to test the following hypothesis:

Between 1960 and 1970 attitudes expressed about violent content in children's literature is most often against aggression.

Not surprisingly, the great majority of the writers expressed negative attitudes about violent content at some point in the content unit, particularly when the violence was anti-social. Pro-social violence, on the other hand, appeared more frequently.

As in the case of other scales, scores for values fluctuate widely. There are highs for expression of attitudes against aggression for the years 1962 (89%) and 1966 (85%). The lowest score, 52 per cent, is for the year 1960. While more than one half of the values expressed are opposed to aggression, most of the time from 10 to 30 per cent of the remaining values are expressions of attitudes in favor of socially acceptable aggression. Only an insignificant number of values are expressed toward anti-social aggression. The highest score for this last category is 6 per cent (1965 and 1968). (See Table 13).



TABLE 13.--Value Scale.

Year	Against Aggression	For Aggression	
		Pro-Social	Anti-Social
1960	58%	37%	5%
1961	52%	45%	3%
1962	89%	11%	0%
1963	76%	20%	4%
1964	78%	21%	1%
1965	59%	35%	6%
1966	85%	15%	0%
1967	70%	27%	3%
1968	82%	12%	6%
1969	73%	27%	0%

In spite of the fluctuations in these percentages which are evident in the preceding table, there do appear some small trends, as evidenced in Figure 6. Least-squares fit of the data points to a linear function show a small increase in values expressing opposition to aggression during the decade, and a corresponding small decrease in values favoring pro-social aggression. Admittedly, the trend is not very pronounced. In any event, throughout this ten year period more than half the values expressed in the literature were against aggression. Thus, in this instance the hypothesis was proved.

Figure 6.--Value Scale. The percentage of the times expressions favoring pro-social aggression and opposing all aggression appear are given for each year. Least-squares fits are also shown.

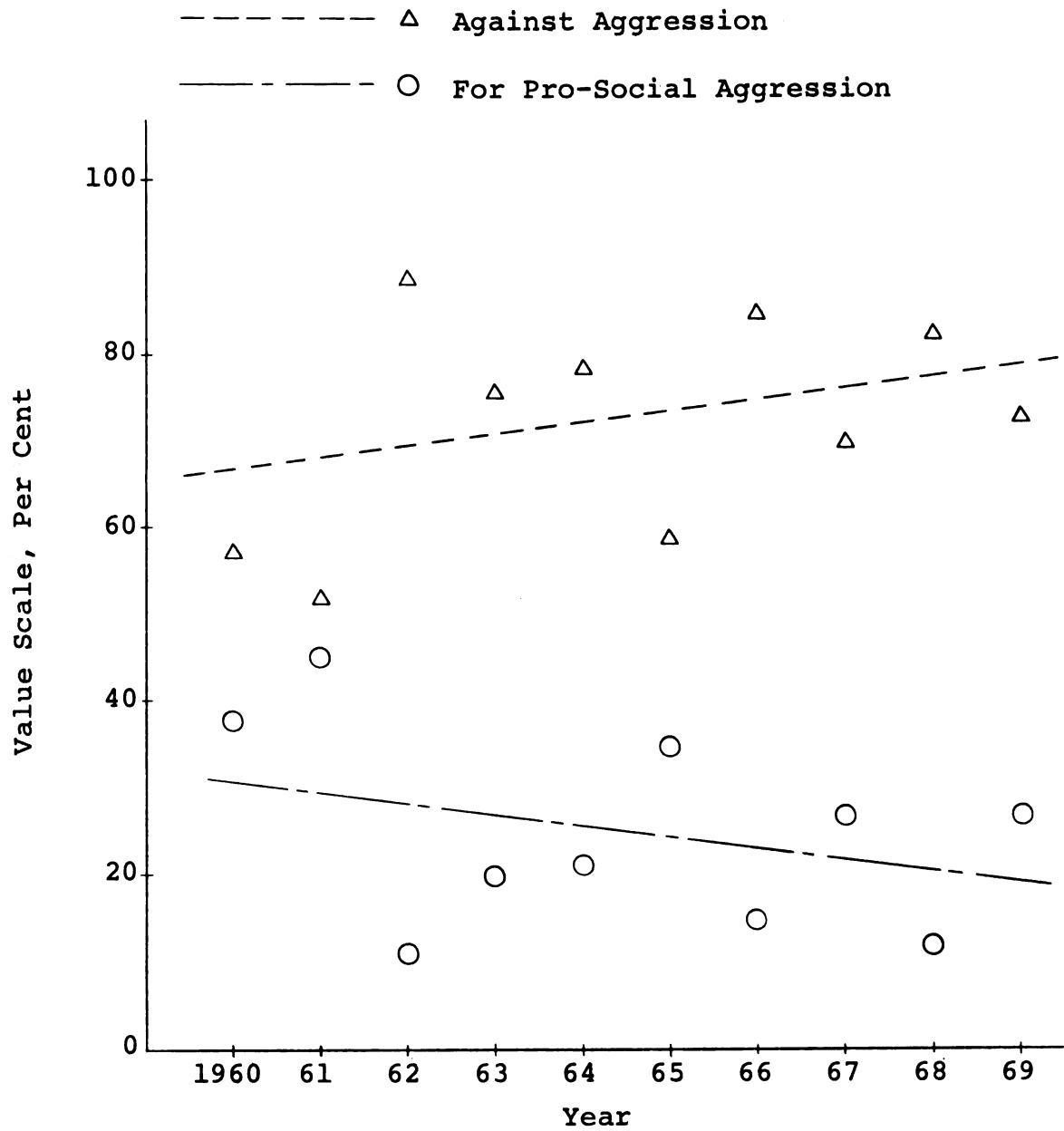


Figure 6

DiscussionFluctuations

Several points should be made about the tabulations described in the preceding section. First of all, even though the least-squares fit was used to smooth out the fluctuations, the fluctuations themselves may have meaning.

The often erratic variations may be accidental, or they may be due to several factors, for instance, the authors, the kinds of books written, the time the book was written, or even the selection committee of the Notable Book List.

There is always the possibility that authors writing at a given time are influenced by the public mood. After the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy in 1963 and 1968, there was a general public revulsion against violence in public life. This disgust might well have made writers sensitive to the ugliness of aggression and, therefore, particularly careful to avoid violent materials. In addition, from 1965, a general escalation of the Vietnam war might have had much the same effect on the artists. Since approximately a year is needed for writing a book<sup>6</sup> and another

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<sup>6</sup>Variations are, of course, great. Some books are done in a few weeks, others in five years.

year is needed for publication, effects would be felt almost two years after the public event influencing it.

If this line of reasoning is correct, low points in violence should appear in 1965 and 1970. The score for 1965 is neither high nor low. In fact, it falls directly on the line for the least-squares fit, thus suggesting that it is at the median. The year 1970, of course, is not part of the study. It should be noted, however, that only a small swing downward occurred after 1965.

Turning to the actual titles of certain years, the year highest in violent content is 1967. In that year there are eight historical fiction books out of a total of 23 books. One of these is Forman's Horses of Anger, a book about life in Nazi Germany during the Second World War. This book rates as the most violent for the entire decade (except for the short picture book, The Barn, by Schonherr). Even some of the modern realistic books for that year score rather high on the violence scale. An example of one of these is The Contender by Lipsyte, the story of a black boy who becomes an amateur boxer rather than be part of the drug scene or the underworld. Many of his fights are described in vivid detail.

By way of contrast, 1968 is the year with the lowest intensity score for violence. There are only four historical fiction books out of a total of 16, none of them particularly outstanding for aggressive behavior. Journey

from Peppermint Street, a story of life in Holland by Meindert de Jong, one of these, has nearly none. The Little Fishes, a historical fiction book about Italy in the Second World War, is also not particularly high in intensity. The modern realistic fiction on the list also happen to be relative low in violence. The Stone-Faced Boy has practically none. The same is true of Edgar Allan by Neufield, The Dream Watcher by Wersba and The House of Dies Drear by Virginia Hamilton. To be sure, The Barn by John Schonherr appears in the 1968 Notable Book List. As noted earlier, this book contains a considerable amount of violence, thus enhancing the book average for that year. However, it is a picture book with a total of only 41 pages, a rather small number when one considers that there are 2,221 pages in the entire list for the year.

The scores for individual authors add further weight to this argument. As shown above, patterns are consistent from author to author with each writer producing approximately the same amount of violent content from book to book. Thus, a reader of James Forman could reasonably expect a relatively large amount of violence, as can a reader of Rosemary Sutcliff. On the other hand, books by Mary Stolz may be expected to be low in violent content. The same is true of books by Virginia Hamilton and E. Konigsburg. These authors were not affected by public mood, at least as far as style is concerned. To

be sure, they were writing about subjects of topical interest, but they handle their subject in individual ways.

It would seem, then, that the erratic fluctuation of violence in children's books, specifically those in the Notable Book List, from year to year is due to the kinds of books listed and the authors of the books included that year. Since these lists are so easily affected by the habits of specific authors and the kinds of books listed, a further conclusion must be made. The sample, 170 books, an average of 17 books per year, is too small. This is particularly apparent for those years in which only a few books are included, for instance, 1961 (8 books) and 1964 (12 books). Conclusions must, therefore, be made with reservations.

The fluctuation of the annual scores, but especially the wide variation of individual book scores in a given year allow some conjecture concerning the selection committee for the Notable Book List. Whatever may influence the decisions of the committee, and presumably high literary merit is the principal criterion, violent content is apparently not very important. Each year, violent content in books selected, even neglecting picture books and counting only full length fiction, spans a range from 2 per cent or less to 30 per cent or more. The more violent among these books compete effectively in this respect with many television adventure programs.

Clearly, the selection committee does not allow violent content to influence its decision.

### The Content Analysis

A comparison of content analyses for mass media with this one will help to clarify the meaning of the scores mentioned above in the section on Conclusions. Edgar Dale in his study of movies<sup>7</sup> found that approximately 50 per cent of the violence was performed by villains, 19 per cent by heroes or heroines. The remaining 31 per cent was carried out by minor characters. Other content analyses of mass media show much the same relationship.<sup>8</sup> The modern realistic fiction included in this content analysis showed more than 50 per cent of the violent acts committed by minor figures with the remaining violence divided approximately equally between heroes and villains. Since the latter do not commit a large proportion of the violent activity in the stories, the villains must not necessarily be painted in black and white colors.

In fact, a close look at some of the villains in the stories shows that they are clearly more than one dimensional. For instance, in John Rowe Townsend's book,

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<sup>7</sup>W. W. Charters, Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary (New York: MacMillan, 1933).

<sup>8</sup>National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, To Establish Justice, to Insure Domestic Tranquility (U. S. Government, 1964), pp. 191-194.



Goodbye to the Jungle, the villain, Uncle Walter, is a thoroughly unsavory character who only half supports his family. He thinks nothing of walking out on them. He commits arson and theft. On the other hand, he is also very proud of his gifted son. He is capable of generosity and is occasionally ashamed of his behavior. He is a villain, but a very human one. He is a man capable of acting violently, but he is also a man capable of a full range of human activity.

The villain in Flambards by Peyton, Russell, is a man particularly given to violent behavior, beating his sons for every minor infraction of his unpredictable rules. On the other hand, he is also a man with a passion for fox hunting and horseback riding, neither of which he can do, thanks to a crippling accident. The reader learns to pity him and his futile rage against society and his useless legs.

Clearly, these characters cannot be identified exclusively as "bad guys," something that is fairly easy to achieve in the movies or television programs. The same is true of heroes and heroines. They are not necessarily "the good guys." Veronica, in Veronica Ganz by Sachs, enjoys fighting with the boys in her class, particularly with the boys who dare to fight back. When she loses a battle, she plans her revenge, only to discover that she has another weapon at her command, the fact that she is a girl.

Belinda in Little Plum behaves badly, stealing a doll and beating up her neighbor, Gem. She decides that if the little girl next door is unfriendly, she, too, can be unfriendly. She proceeds to do just that, acting anti-socially in the process.

In these stories, then, it is not easy to identify the characters, whether they are heroes or villains, as "good guys" or "bad guys." The villains are capable of good behavior, the heroes are capable of bad behavior.

The plotting is sometimes so realistic that identifying the villain is not perfectly straight-forward. To be sure, the villain is the antagonist, but sometimes several characters act as antagonists to the hero. For instance, Guido and his friends in The Little Fishes by Eric Haugaard want to run away from the war. The Nazis become the antagonists at one point in the story, the Americans with their bombing of Naples at another. At still a third point the children come across an Italian who forces them to become part of his thieving schemes.

Queenie Peevie in the story of the same name also seems at odds with many people, partly to save her own self-respect, partly to protect her father, who is in jail. Then her father returns from prison and shows himself as the individual who hurts her most.

Clearly, then, plotting in these books is more complicated than in television programs. The heroes do not achieve their goals through physical confrontation

and violence; the villains may not use aggression so readily.

Often, however, violent behavior is not central to the story at all. There is violence and excitement in Bristle Face by Ball, but it occurs as a single incident between the hero, his dog and a mountain lion which endangers their lives. The boy and the dog fight only because they must do so to save their lives. This constitutes a single moment of excitement in a book largely devoid of violence.

The same is true of Hills End by Ivan Southall. Children caught in a sudden storm return to the village to find it deserted. They also find a dangerous bull wandering around loose. They have no alternative but to fight it with the only weapon they have at hand, a rifle. The great majority of the books in the sample follow this pattern.

Many of the stories lack violence altogether, 25 out of 170. These stories do not lack conflict, but they do lack violence. In Landslide by Day some children are caught in a great landslide. They wake up in a house under the enormous pile of earth. No one knows where they are; and so, they have to free themselves entirely on their own. The story deals with their efforts to become free, toward which all activity is directed.

In Stevie by Steptoe the hero makes it clear that he does not like Stevie, but he does not fight with the little boy so unwelcome in the former's home.

When there is violent behavior, one of the characters or the author express values which are socially acceptable. For the most part expressions are against aggression. Less often opinions for socially acceptable aggression are expressed. For instance, Rufus in Durango Street thinks violence will only hurt him in the end; he becomes part of it because he cannot, at first, find another mode of behavior.

Belinda in Little Plum knows that her anti-social behavior will lead to punishment. She accepts this fact and proceeds anyway.

As noted earlier, violence ranged on the average between 12 per cent and 15 per cent for all the books studied in that decade. Modern realistic fiction scored even lower. In the final report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence<sup>9</sup> researchers found that in 1967 approximately eight out of every ten programs on television contained some violence, with 6.7 acts of violence occurring per hour on the average. If each of these episodes were to take three minutes (a conservative estimate), then 20 minutes out of every hour

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<sup>9</sup>National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, op. cit., p. 194.

would be concerned with some act or acts of violence. That is 33 per cent of the time, or more than twice as much as found in the modern realistic fiction books studied in this content analysis.

Not only is the amount of space devoted to violence relatively low in these books. Even the violent materials themselves are handled differently from the mass media. Violent acts range over a wide group of activities. Most frequently treated in a sensuous fashion, even non-sensuous materials, as noted above, are handled largely without stylistic flourishes. Moreover, aggressive acts are presented in such a way that the reader is aware of the suffering and other consequences of each act of violence. By comparison, physical pain, the details of physical injury or death as a consequence of violence are shown in only one out of four violent acts on television.<sup>10</sup>

Television and the books in this study are similar in only two respects. Aggressive acts occur more frequently between strangers in both media. Attitudes expressed are most often against aggression. The latter is perhaps no great surprise. Attitudes in favor of aggression would not be acceptable in this country at the present time. Even pro-social aggression is less and less frequently condoned, according to this study.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

Emphasis on aggression between strangers is, on the other hand, surprising. One would expect that in realistic fiction fighting takes place between individuals that know each other. Presumably such violence would be more intense, more like real life. A close look at the modern realistic fiction books suggests at least one reason for this. Most books, with only a few exceptions, deal with the problems and the solutions to these problems outside of the home. Even when there is a serious problem in the home, most of the stories do not treat the conflict within the family. Thus, Dave in It's Like This, Cat has some disagreements with his father, but he works out his difficulties outside the home.

The same is true of Veronica Ganz, who comes from a broken home. She and her mother have differences but aggressive conflict between them is not the focal point of the story. The Rough Road by MacPherson is an exception to this. Conflicts between his foster parents and Jim are spelled out in considerable detail. For the most part, however, realistic children's books in this study do not emphasize aggression within the family. Instead, much of it takes place outside the home, increasing the probability that violence will take place between strangers.

Nevertheless, the modern realistic fiction books included in this content analysis are written with the intention of honestly reflecting life. If they hold

their audiences, it is not through excessive violence. Rather, interest may well be aroused through realistic treatment of a number of subjects of universal interest in the United States. Many of the books, do, indeed, treat current problems. Soul Brothers and Sister Lou by Hunter, for instance, is about police harassment of Blacks, Family Walkup by Stucley, Durango Street by Frank Bonham and The Contender deal with gangs in the slums. The Rock and the Willow by Lee, Roosevelt Grady by Shotwell, The Loner by Wier and Queenie Peevie by Burch are concerned with poverty.

Chambers, writing in The Reluctant Reader,<sup>11</sup> said that modern stories about real problems found in the actual world appeal to the young of today, particularly to those who have never been interested in reading before. Clearly, these books do not depend on sensationalism but rather on realism for their success.

These conclusions are not necessarily applicable to historical fiction and picture books, however. The latter, with the exception of a few stories like The Barn by John Schonherr, lack violence almost entirely. They, therefore, do not really figure in the discussion.

Historical fiction, on the other hand, is about twice as violent as modern realistic fiction. Some of the books on the historical list are extremely violent, much

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<sup>11</sup>A. Chambers, The Reluctant Reader (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 91.

more so than television or the movies. More than half of Horses of Anger and nearly half of The Year of the Bloody Sevens by Steele are devoted to scenes of battle. The Cossacks by Bartos-Höppner scored a high 55 per cent for intensity and has 77 pages of the story devoted to fighting out of a total of 245. Horses of Anger, with 156 pages out of a total of 244 devoted to aggressive activity, has an intensity score of 89 per cent, the highest of the entire study.

These are perhaps exceptionally violent books, but because of their extreme violence, they can be used as an example of something very common in the historical fiction books in the study. They, like many of the historical fiction books are about war. As a result, the trend is increasingly for violence to occur between strangers, a reflection of fighting on the battlefield. Thus, in Horses of Anger the young boys in the story spend more than half of the story shooting at Allied planes on their way to bomb local factories. There are descriptions of war in Russia and Normandy, descriptions of Hans' family being bombed in their little city. Then there are descriptions of removing the bodies and debris after the battle is over. The Cossacks and many of the other war-oriented stories have similar scenes, even though they may not be so intense.

The stories, in fact, deal with violent moments in history. The hero becomes less important than his



counterpart in modern realistic fiction. Individual problems are not emphasized. In fact, a scrutiny of the story line in several historical fiction stories bears this out. Each has a young boy hero attached to an army or warring group. The character's personal life is secondary and sometimes sketched out in the barest detail. In I Marched with Hannibal by Hans Baumann we never learn anything about the hero's life except that he was the caretaker for an elephant in Hannibal's army. The young hero of Horses of Anger has a more developed personal life; even so, he never acts as a free agent. He merely reflects the growing horror felt by the German people during the war. Even at the end of the story he remains a figure on whom others act. He becomes attached to a group of young Nazis intent on fighting to the end even though he finally understands the futility and madness of war.

Not surprisingly, villains in the historical fiction books also tend to be one dimensional. Lieutenant Rabbe in Horses of Anger is hardly more than a sadistic monster. Until the final battle when he collapses under the strain, we only know him as a stereotype of the Nazi SS officer.

The villain in Across Five Aprils, Guy Wortman, is also drawn with the broadest strokes although the hero is developed more fully. He and his gang attack Jethro's family by burning down their barn and putting oil in the

well. They threaten the Creightons in many other ways, but we never learn why they behave so badly. We merely know them as cowards.

In spite of the treatment of heroes and villains the actor-action scores for historical fiction are much the same as for modern realistic fiction. Because the focus of the story is on the historical panorama, much of the violent action is between contenders in the public battle. The villain and the hero are swept along in a drama much larger than their own. Much of the fighting goes on between other persons.

The same is true of the intensity scale. Historical fiction books like modern realistic fiction books treat violence in realistic terms. The reader learns about the deed and the consequences of the deed. For instance, in Horses of Anger we learn about Ernst's burns and suffering after the tower falls.

Clearly, then, historical fiction books for children present a kind of public reality for their young readers. Emphasis is not on individual problems but rather on public. In the process wars and all their violence become an increasingly important part of the story line.

Then, in large part, realistic fiction books are honest in their treatment of violence. Authors of children's books for the most part present a kind of reality to their young readers, consistently treated in an honest, balanced fashion.

However, while some of the historical fiction books are much more violent than the modern realistic fiction in the sample, they still are not as violent, on the average, as the mass media. Only in 1967 do they approach the average of 33 per cent. In that year the average for historical fiction is 30 per cent.

#### Summary

In general, then, modern realistic fiction books for children (as sampled from the Notable Books between 1960 and 1970) are not excessively violent. They present violence realistically with a wide variety of people performing aggressive deeds. Violent acts are described in such a fashion that the reader is aware of the act and the emotions involved. The values are socially acceptable with only a few exceptions. In short, modern realistic fiction books for children in this sample reflect a real world in several categories, one of them violence.

Historical fiction books, on the other hand, reflect historical events realistically, but they do not present individual reality. Because they tend to focus on dramatic moments in history many deal with wars. The hero, as a result, tends to be a passive figure and the villains stereotypes. Real focus is on the historical panorama.

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS: RESPONSES OF CHILDREN

In this chapter we present the results of an attempt to prove two hypotheses. The first of these is:

A positive relationship exists between geographical location of the school the children attend and the reaction of the children to violence in realistic fiction.

Nine groups of children listened to three different episodes from three different books. Selections were read from Bang, Bang, You're Dead, Sounder and The Year of the Bloody Sevens.

The first book was read to three first grade classes, one in an urban inner-city school, one in a suburban school, and one in a rural school. Sounder was read to three third grade classes in inner-city, suburban and rural settings. Finally, The Year of the Bloody Sevens was read to three seventh grade classes, again in the same three settings.

The children listened to the stories from readings previously recorded on tape. Following the story, they heard, also on tape, directions for answering a questionnaire.

All of the children in all the groups answered questions 3 through 6 of the questionnaire:

3. In the scene, which of the following happened?
  - (a) A fist fight.
  - (b) A shooting.
  - (c) Somebody was hurt.
  - (d) Somebody was killed.
  - (e) Something else happened.
4. Who took part in the fight? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Who was hurt, if anyone? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Who hurt him or tried to hurt him? \_\_\_\_\_

These questions were included to ascertain the children's level of understanding of the episode. If they answered two-thirds of the questions correctly, it was presumed that the level of understanding was sufficient to permit meaningful responses to the remainder of the questionnaire.

Two hundred and seventeen children answered the questionnaire. Of these, 169 answered two-thirds of the above questions correctly. At each grade level the children from the inner-city communities displayed the highest degree of understanding with the children from the seventh grade scoring highest. In the inner-city schools, children in first grade scored 80 per cent, those at the third grade level scored 79 per cent and those at the seventh grade level scored 96 per cent. The third graders from the rural community evidenced the lowest level of understanding. Only 52 per cent of these children indicated that they understood at least two-thirds of the episode.

Of the first graders in the rural school 76 per cent showed that they understood at least two-thirds of the episode, and 86 per cent of the seventh graders from rural areas displayed understanding.

The results are tabulated below.

Grade	Location	Level of Understanding		
		Total Number of Students	Number who Understood	Percentage who Understood
I	Suburban	23	17	74%
I	Rural	25	19	76%
I	Inner-City	25	20	80%
I	Sub-Total	73	56	
III	Suburban	29	19	66%
III	Rural	21	11	52%
III	Inner-City	19	15	79%
III	Sub-Total	69	45	
VII	Suburban	23	21	91%
VII	Rural	28	24	86%
VII	Inner-City	24	23	96%
VII	Sub-Total	75	68	
	Total	217	169	

Several interesting points should be made about these scores. In the inner-city third grade class, out of 19 children, 13 interpreted the episode from Sounder incorrectly. They concluded that the dog, Sounder, was not injured, but rather killed in the scene in which the deputy shoots the dog. In other respects, however, these students appeared to understand the substance of the story correctly.

The number of students involved in the study was very small, so much so that in the first grade the addition of one person (from 19 to 20 in rural and inner-city schools) raises the percentage from 76 per cent to 80 per cent.

In general, there was an increase in level of comprehension from first grade to seventh grade. In all cases inner-city students scored higher on the questions although the difference is perhaps not large.

The next question which was analyzed was number 12. This question reads as follows:

12. I rate the scene

- (a) Exactly like real life.
- (b) Somewhat like real life.
- (c) Not much like real life.
- (d) Not at all like real life.
- (e) No opinion.

The purpose of the question was to see whether or not the children related closely to the events described in the scene.

In assembling the results, the writer included only those students who were able to answer two-thirds or more of the first set of questions. It should be noted that some of the students did not answer this question at all, most probably because it was the last one on the questionnaire and some students worked so slowly that they did not complete the questionnaire at the end of the hour. In addition, all first grade children were excluded from this question, as well as all other questions

following number 6.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the total number of responses is not the same as the total number of students who answered the questionnaire.

In Table 14 the results of student responses to question number 12 are summarized. The first column, labeled T gives the total number of students in each class who not only answered question number 12 but also had demonstrated an adequate understanding of the episode. Thus, the number in this column is either equal to or less than the number of students who understood the story correctly. The next column, labeled T', gives the total number of students who fulfilled not only the previous two conditions, but also expressed an opinion, i.e., the difference between the numbers under column T and column T' is just equal to the number of students who circled answer (e)--no opinion. Thus, in the third grade suburban class, out of a total of 19 students who had demonstrated an adequate understanding of the story, only 16 answered question number 12. Of these 16 children, 13 expressed an opinion and three circled answer (e) of question number 12.

Since the number of students who expressed an opinion in each class is relatively small, the tabulation presented below lists the actual number of students who

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<sup>1</sup>First grade children were excluded from the entire study except for the comprehension questions because the Sears Aggression Test is validated for children between the ages of eight and twelve.



TABLE 14.--Summary of Responses to Question 12.

Grade	Location	Totals		Possible Responses											
		T	T'	(a)		(b)		(c)		(d)		(e)			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
III	Suburban	16	13	1	8	6	46	3	23	3	23	3	23	3	23
III	Rural	10	7	3	43	4	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
III	Inner-City	13	13	2	15	4	31	0	0	7	54	0	0	0	0
	Total	39	33	6	14	14	—	3	—	10	—	—	—	6	6
VII	Suburban	20	18	6	33	11	61	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	2
VII	Rural	23	17	9	53	4	23	1	6	3	18	6	6	6	6
VII	Inner-City	21	19	7	38	8	42	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	2
	Total	64	54	22	23	23	—	4	—	5	—	—	—	10	10

answered one of the choices as well as the percentages for those who answered (a), (b), (c) or (d). The percentages are given relative to the number who did express an opinion, that is, relative to the number under column T'.

In the third grade suburban school one half of the students thought that Souder was rather like real life. The other half thought that the story was not like real life. In the third grade rural class, the pattern is substantially different and this difference may be significant. Out of 11 students who understood the story and answered the question, seven gave an opinion. Three, or 43 per cent of the children thought it was exactly like real life and four, or 57 per cent, thought that it was somewhat like real life. None of the students in the rural school thought it was unlike real life. The fact that the story is placed in a rural setting may suggest the reason for this. Even though the story takes place 90 years ago on a Black sharecropper tenant farm in the South, the children understood something of life in the country and could relate more readily to the action. It may be that this question deserves further study.

As regards the third grade inner-city class, 13 students understood the story and all 13 expressed an opinion. Two, or 15 per cent, said it was exactly like real life, seven, or 54 per cent, said it was not at all like real life, and four, or 31 per cent, concluded it

was somewhat like real life. In other words, in the inner-city school about half concluded that the story was close to reality and the other half concluded that it was unlike real life.

Turning now to the seventh grade, the pattern that emerges is rather different. At the suburban school 20 students answered the question. Of these, 18 gave a definite opinion; six, or 33 per cent, concluded that it was exactly like real life, eleven, or 67 per cent thought that it was somewhat like real life, one, or 6 per cent, thought it was not much like real life. No student said that it was not at all like real life.

In the rural school, of the 23 students who answered question number 12 and who understood the story, 17 gave an opinion. Of these 17, nine, or 53 per cent, concluded that it was exactly like real life, four, or 23 per cent, said that it was somewhat like real life, one, or 6 per cent, said that it was not much like real life, and three, or 18 per cent, concluded that it was not at all like real life.

Finally, in the inner-city seventh grade class, of the 23 students who understood the story, 21 answered question number 12. Of these, 19 stated an opinion. Seven, or 38 per cent, said it was exactly like real life, eight, or 42 per cent, said that it was somewhat like real life, two, or 10 per cent, said it was not much like real life, and two, or another 10 per cent, said that it was not at all like real life.

Several patterns emerge from these seventh grade responses. In all three schools the vast majority, some place between 76 per cent and 94 per cent of the students, concluded that the story, The Year of the Bloody Sevens, was very much like real life. Only a small number concluded that it was not like a real situation. Moreover, there did not appear to be substantial differences between the responses in the three schools. This is in contrast to the result for the third grade classes.

It should be noted that the book, The Year of the Bloody Sevens, is about a white boy traveling through Indian territory to Kentucky during the Revolutionary War. Although the content is handled realistically (see Appendix C), it still has the trappings of a cowboy and Indian story. Therefore, any assessment the children may have made could easily have been colored by their experiences with cowboy and Indian stories on television.

The responses to question number 7 were also considered in relation to the location of the schools. This question reads as follows:

7. The scene made me feel:
  - (a) Like not reading any more or hearing any more.
  - (b) Uncomfortable but unable to stop or unwilling to stop.
  - (c) Interested in knowing more details.
  - (d) Eager to read some more or hear some more.
  - (e) As if I were living the scene myself.

Answers (a) and (b) indicate a dislike for the scene, a feeling of discomfort. On the other hand,

answers (c), (d) and (e) indicate a positive feeling about the scene.

In all of the third and seventh grade classes more than one half of the students circled (c), (d) or (e). That is, more than one half of the students indicated that they liked the violent scene. The figures ranged between 55 per cent and 76 per cent for the third grade classes, and between 61 per cent and 73 per cent for the seventh grade classes. The percentages are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15.--Summary: Percentage of All Students Who Liked Violent Scene.

Location	Third Grade	Seventh Grade
Suburban	55%	61%
Rural	62%	73%
Inner-City	76%	71%

There is a difference, but not a large one, in the groups from different schools, although it is true that the percentages are somewhat lower in the suburban schools and the third grade of the rural school. The difference is slight, however, not large enough to indicate an actual distinction in attitude, especially when one considers the small sample, 144 students.

The sample becomes even smaller when the students who scored low on comprehension are excluded. Including

only those students who scored at least two-thirds of the comprehension questions correctly, the percentages are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.--Summary: Percentage of Students Who Understood the Story and Who Liked Violent Scene.

Location	Third Grade	Seventh Grade
Suburban	58%	62%
Rural	50%	73%
Inner-City	80%	70%

Again, in this more limited sample, there is essentially no difference in answers between this group and the larger one which includes the children who did not understand the episode well. There is, now however, a decided difference between the third grade suburban and rural children, as contrasted to the inner-city students. On the other hand, the figures for the seventh grade are all within the same range.

Part of the difference at the third grade level may well be due to a local crisis at that inner-city school. According to one teacher, the school had recently been the scene of two violent fights. In one, a boy was killed. In the second, one mother used a broken coke bottle to cut up another mother. Therefore, the children's

positive reactions may well be due to factors other than normal reactions to the stories.

Another point should be made about this question. In all classes except the third grade at the inner-city school the children immediately became attentive when they realized that the story dealt with something violent. Even when the students were talkative just before the story began, they invariably settled down and gave the episode their complete attention. In the third grade inner-city class, this was not the case. Throughout the reading, there was a constant movement in the room. Someone was whispering most of the time. In spite of the children's apparent inattention, comprehension, if anything, was higher than in the other third grade classes.

There were, however, demonstrations in all classes which indicated that many, if not all, of the children enjoyed the story. In the suburban seventh grade class one child said, "Gee, I would read a lot more if I knew I could read about things like this." Many of the children wanted to hear the story several times. They wanted to borrow the book, which the writer invariably brought in addition to the tape. Many asked for a detailed recounting of the rest of the story. Many started to act out the story. Some made up a poem.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Bang, Bang, you're dead  
We got you in the head.

In spite of this positive reaction, it appears that no unequivocal conclusions can be drawn from the available data as regards the hypothesis. The reason for this is that the number of students in the sample is too small. Within these limitations, the following trends might possibly prove significant on further study.

In the first grade classes the level of understanding was substantially the same for all three groups. The same was also true for the seventh grade. Only in the third grade classes is there a noteworthy difference. Third grade students from the inner-city school understood more of the violent episode. When only those who scored two-thirds or more on the comprehension questions are included, more of the children in the inner-city school liked the story than in the suburban and rural schools. On the other hand, inner-city school children in the same class related less closely to a story about Blacks in the South 90 years ago even though the class was more than one half Black.<sup>3</sup> Instead, they reacted the same as suburban school children who were almost entirely White. Both groups were equally divided between those who thought it was like real life and those who did not. The children in the rural school, on the other hand, thought Sounder close to real life.

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<sup>3</sup>At one point in the story Sounder the sheriff's deputy refers to the tenant farmer's color.



At the seventh grade level, there is a less marked difference in comprehension. In all three groups the large majority of the students understood the story. Moreover, in all three groups the majority of students concluded that the episode from The Year of the Bloody Sevens was much like real life. Approximately the same fraction of the children in all three groups said they liked the story and the violent episode. The range is between 62 and 73 per cent.

In conclusion, in the most tentative terms, there is possibly some connection between the location of the school the children attend and the children's reaction to violence in children's books.

The second hypothesis which was examined is:

A positive relationship exists between personality as established on the Sears Aggression Test and individual responses to violent episodes in children's books.

To test this hypothesis the students were asked to answer the following question:

7. The scene made me feel
  - (a) Like not reading any more or hearing any more.
  - (b) Uncomfortable but unable to stop or unwilling to stop.
  - (c) Interested in knowing more details.
  - (d) Eager to read some more or hear some more.
  - (e) As if I were living the scene myself.

An increasing enjoyment of violence was indicated from (a) (least amount of enjoyment) to (e) (most enjoyment).

Some weeks later the children were asked to answer the questions of the standardized Sears Aggression Test. Scores of the Sears Test were correlated with scores on question number seven, and were also displayed on standard scatter diagrams.

Thus, for instance, for the inner-city third grade class there are five scatter diagrams labeled I-III-1, I-III-2, I-III-3, I-III-4 and I-III-5. The five Arabic numbers refer to the five categories of the Sears Aggression Test listed above. For example, I-III-1 is the scatter diagram for the Aggression Anxiety scale and the student responses to question number 7 in the inner-city third grade class.

In that class there were two students who gave response (a) to question number 7. Two responded (b); three responded (c); six responded (d); and one responded (e). In addition, one student responded (b) and (c); one student responded (c) and (d); three students responded (d) and (e). For these students the corresponding point on the scatter diagram appears midway between (b) and (c), (c) and (d) and (d) and (e), respectively.

As mentioned earlier, student answers to questions number 3 through 6 showed that some students did not understand the details of the violent episode read to them. Those children who did not answer two-thirds of the above questions correctly were next eliminated. A

second set of scatter diagrams were constructed using only those students who understood two-thirds or more of the violent episode.

These new scatter diagrams are labeled with a prime ('). Thus, the scatter diagrams labeled S'-III-1, S'-III-2, S'-III-3, S'-III-4, and S'-III-5 refer to samples that include only those children in the suburban third grade class who understood the story.

In the case of the seventh grade classes, however, the number of students who did not understand the episode was very small. Therefore, no new scatter diagrams were made for this group of classes. Instead, those few students who did not understand the episode are indicated by means of a small circle surrounding the appropriate dot. In the case of the inner-city school, there is only one circled point. In the case of the rural seventh grade class there are four such points. For the suburban seventh grade class there are two such points.

If, for example, there existed a positive correlation for this group of students between Aggression Anxiety and enjoyment of aggression in this episode, we would expect that the students who responded (a) would have a low score on category 1 of the Sears Aggression Test. On the other hand, students who responded (d) or (e) to question number 7 would have a high score in that category. If the correlation were negative, the converse would be true. Students responding (c) might be expected to have

intermediate scores. The one instance in which a correlation coefficient,  $r$ , with a value in excess of 0.5 was obtained, namely for Sears category 1 and the third grade rural school, does show this pattern quite clearly.

Correlation coefficients used were the product-moment correlation coefficients defined by the equation<sup>4</sup>

$$r = \frac{[S_{XY} - (S_X)(S_Y)/n]}{[(S_X^2 - (S_X)^2/n)(S_Y^2 - (S_Y)^2/n)]^{1/2}}$$

where X and Y are the values of the two variables and the symbol S denotes the appropriate sum. A sample calculation of the product-moment correlation coefficient  $r$  is presented following the table of calculated correlation coefficients. Correlation coefficients were calculated for each class and separately for each of the five categories of the Sears Aggression Test. A correlation coefficient for each category for a composite of all students was also calculated. In these calculations only those students were included who had demonstrated adequate understanding of the episode. In these calculations, responses (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) were assigned the numerical values of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

It is clear from the scatter diagrams and also from the correlation coefficients given on the following

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<sup>4</sup>Allen E. Edwards, Statistical Methods, sec. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 102.

page, that there is no correlation between student scores on any of the categories of the Sears Aggression Test and their responses to question number 7, with the anomalous exception already mentioned. Hence, within the limitations due to the small size of the sample, the results do not support the hypothesis.

Product-Moment Correlation CoefficientsSears Aggression Test Category

Class	Grade	1	2	3	4	5
Suburban	3	-.06	-.11	-.21	-.13	-.07
Rural	3	+.68	+.03	-.29	-.16	+.23
Inner-City	3	+.14	-.29	+.20	+.25	+.31
Suburban	7	-.39	-.14	-.08	-.02	+.40
Rural	7	-.20	+.15	-.30	-.14	+.34
Inner-City	7	+.29	-.41	+.20	-.12	+.05
All Classes		+.07	-.12	-.08	-.06	+.19

Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient

## Sample Calculation

Class: Rural, Grade 3. Sears Test Category: 1 and 4.

X	$Y_1$	$X^2$	$Y_1^2$	$XY_1$	$Y_4$	$Y_4^2$	$XY_4$
1	31	1	961	31	24	576	24
1	26	1	676	26	23	529	23
1	21	1	441	21	21	441	21
2	37	4	1369	74	22	484	44
2	29	4	841	58	13	169	26
3	29	9	841	87	23	529	69
3	29	9	841	87	12	144	36
5	48	25	2304	240	26	676	130
5	36	25	1296	180	20	400	100
5	35	25	1225	175	18	324	90
5	33	25	1089	165	15	225	75
<u>33</u>	<u>354</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>11884</u>	<u>1144</u>	<u>217</u>	<u>4497</u>	<u>638</u>

$$S_{XY_1} - (S_X)(S_{Y_1})/n = 1144 - \frac{33 \times 354}{11} = 1144 - 1062 = 82$$

$$S_X^2 - (S_X)^2/n = 129 - 99 = 30; (30)^{\frac{1}{2}} = 5.48$$

$$S_{Y_1}^2 - (S_{Y_1})^2/n = 11884 - (354)^2/11 = 11884 - 11392 = 492$$

$$(492)^{\frac{1}{2}} = 22.2$$

$$r_1 = 82/[5.48 \times 22.2] = 0.675$$

$$\text{Similarly, } r_4 = -13/[5.48 \times 14.7] = -0.162.$$

Figures 7 to 32.--Scatter Diagrams: Personality attributes as measured by the Sears Aggression Test and responses to question number 7 of student questionnaire.

Each figure, except Figures 27 -- 31, shows two or more scatter diagrams, which are labeled according to the following code. The capital letter designates the location of the school: S--suburban, R--rural, I--inner-city. The Roman numeral gives the class grade: III--third grade, VII--seventh grade. The Arabic numeral refers to one of the five categories of the Sears Aggression Test: 1--Aggression Anxiety, 2--Projected Aggression, 3--Self Aggression, 4--Pro-social Aggression, 5--Anti-social Aggression. A prime (') on the capital letter for the third grade classes indicates that only students who had demonstrated adequate comprehension of the story are included. For the seventh grade classes, students who demonstrated inadequate understanding of the story are shown by a small circle. Figures 27 to 31, labeled T, are comprehensive scatter diagrams, including students of all grades and all schools.





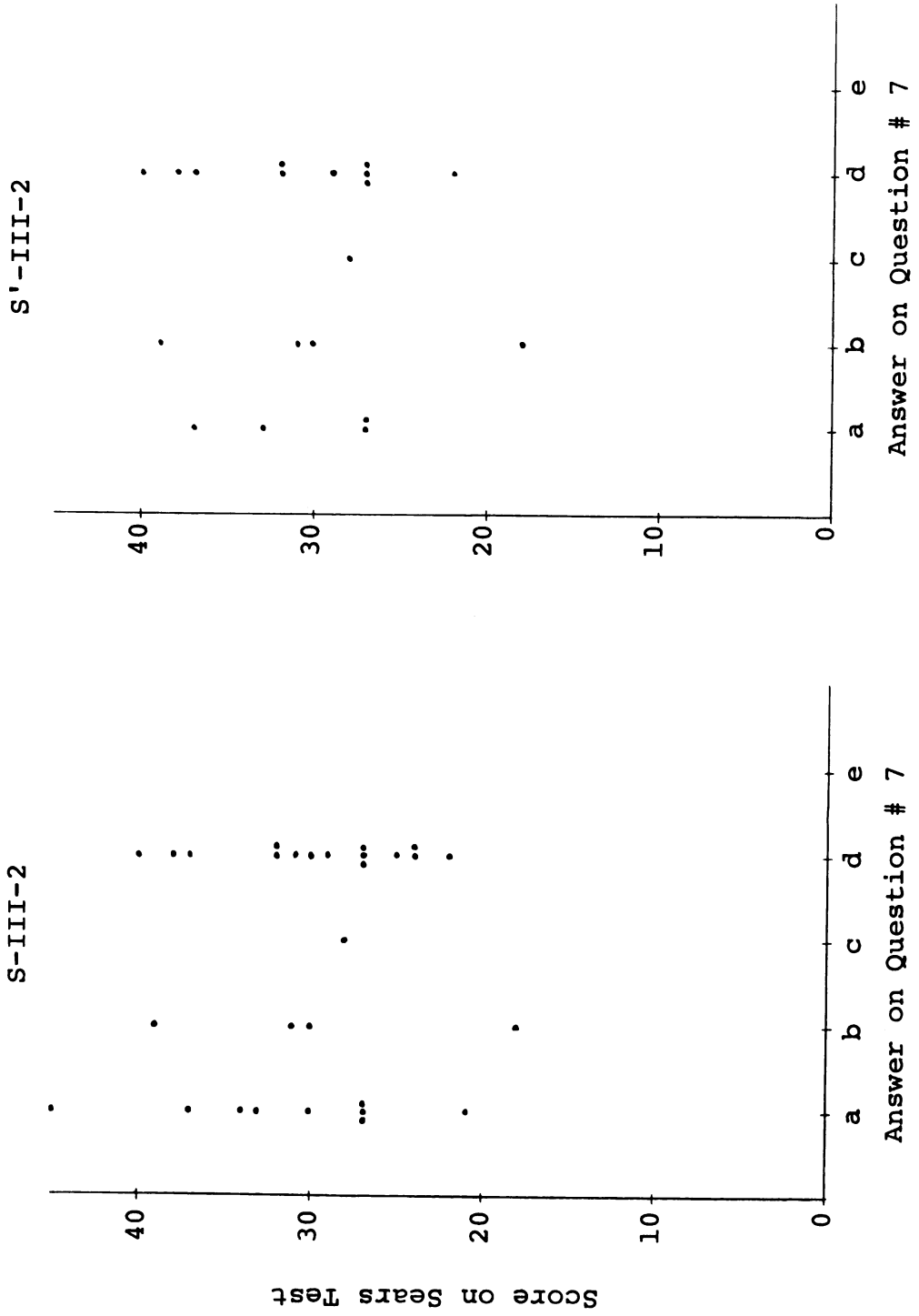
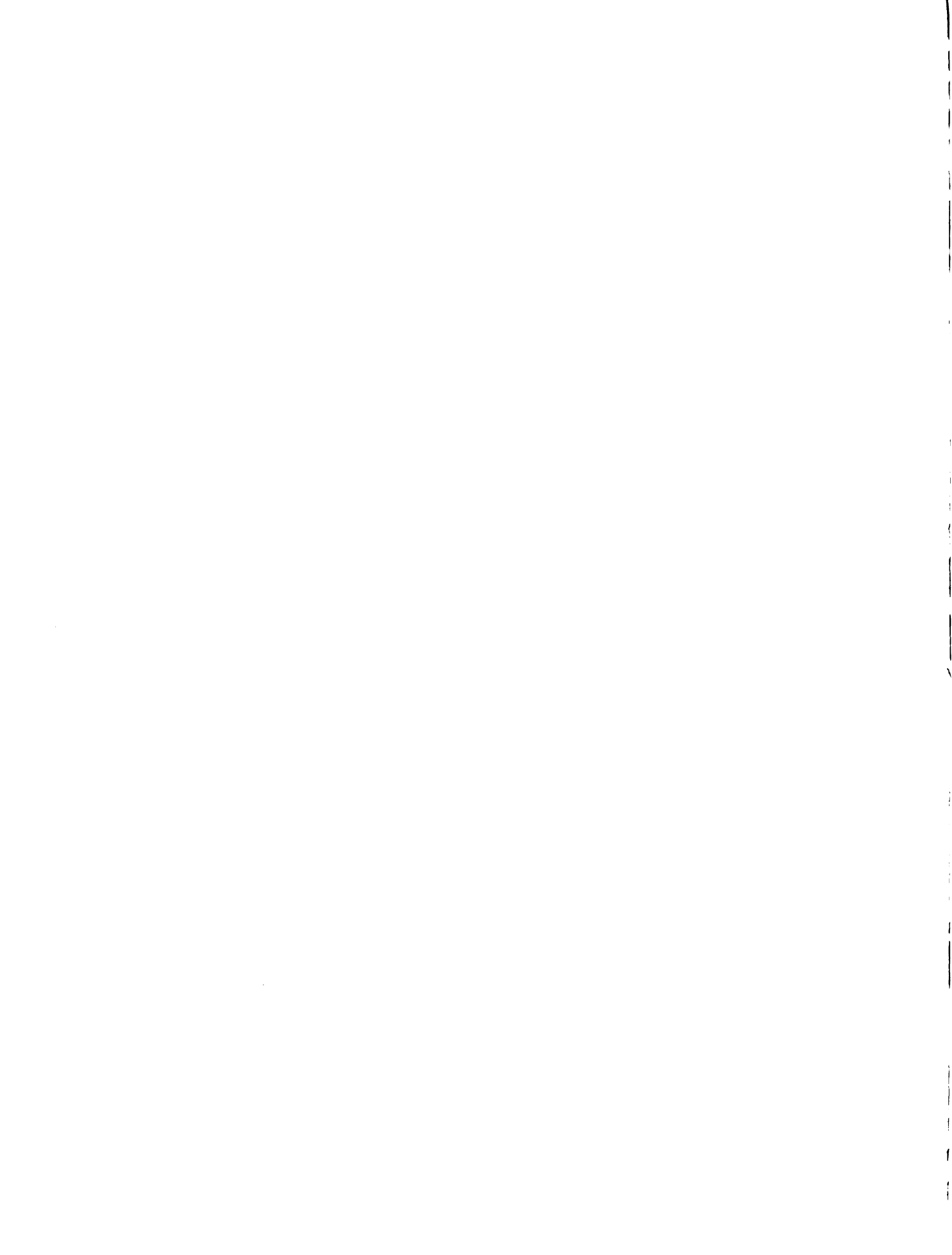


Figure 8



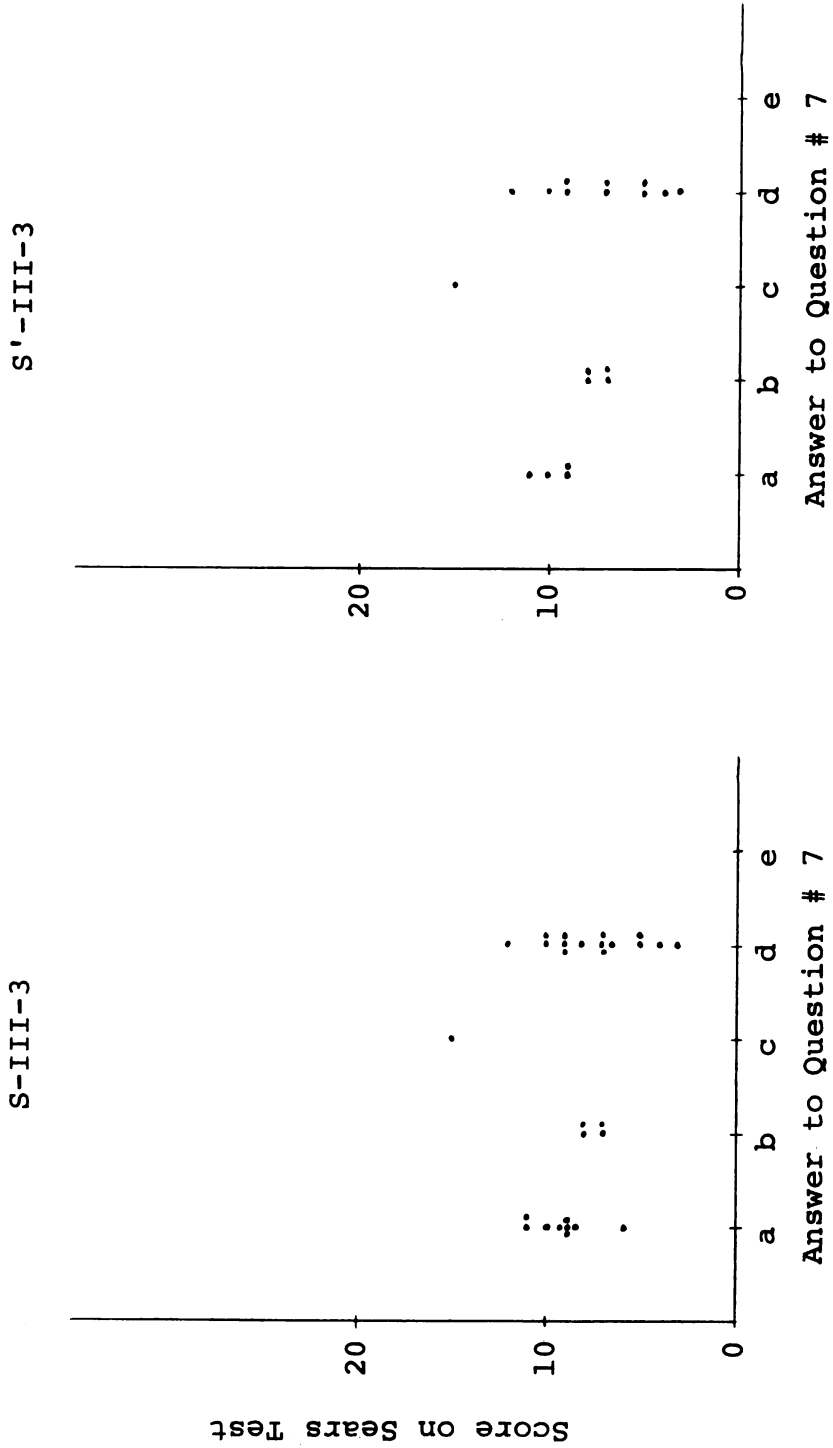


Figure 9

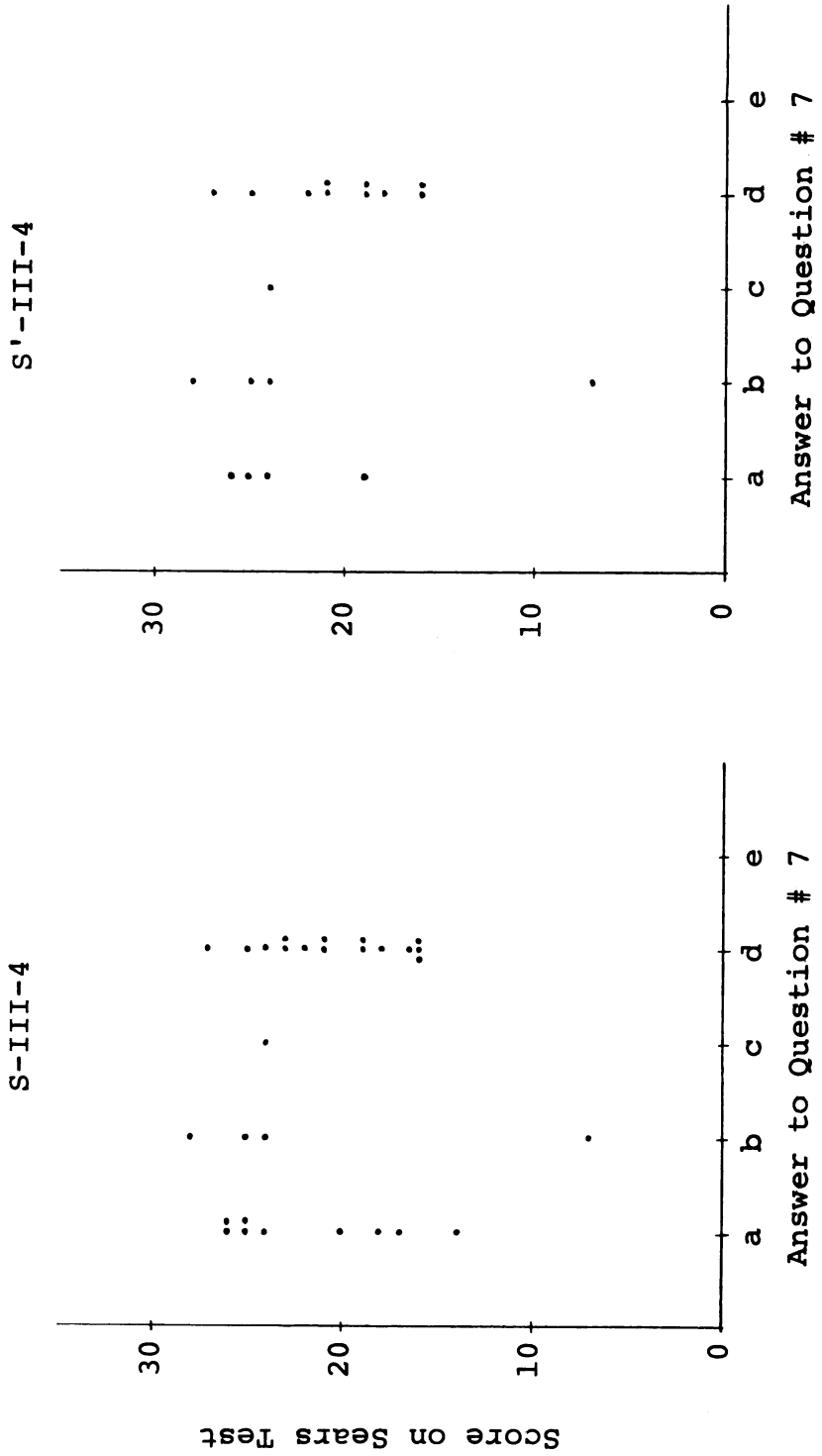


Figure 10



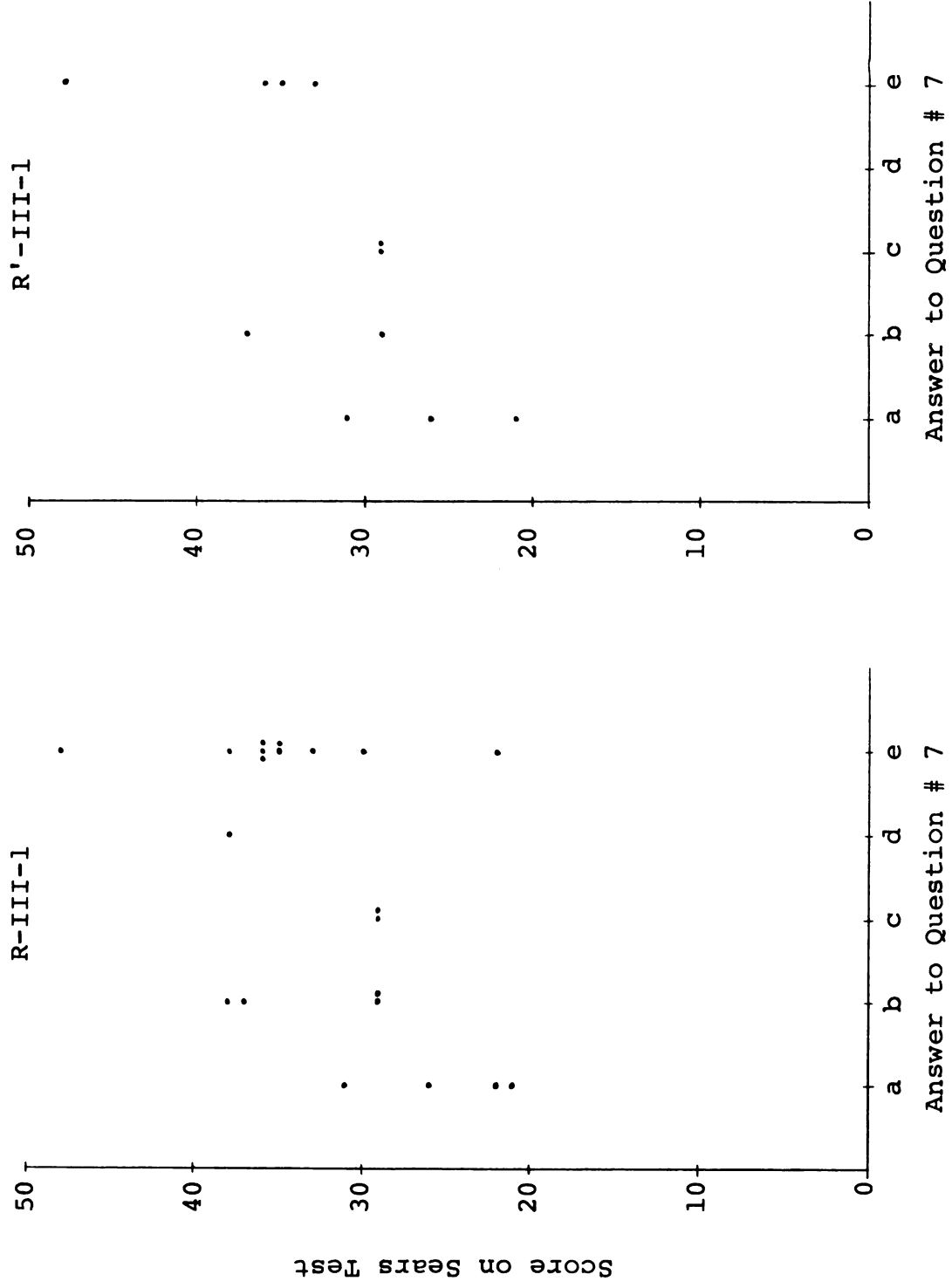


Figure 12

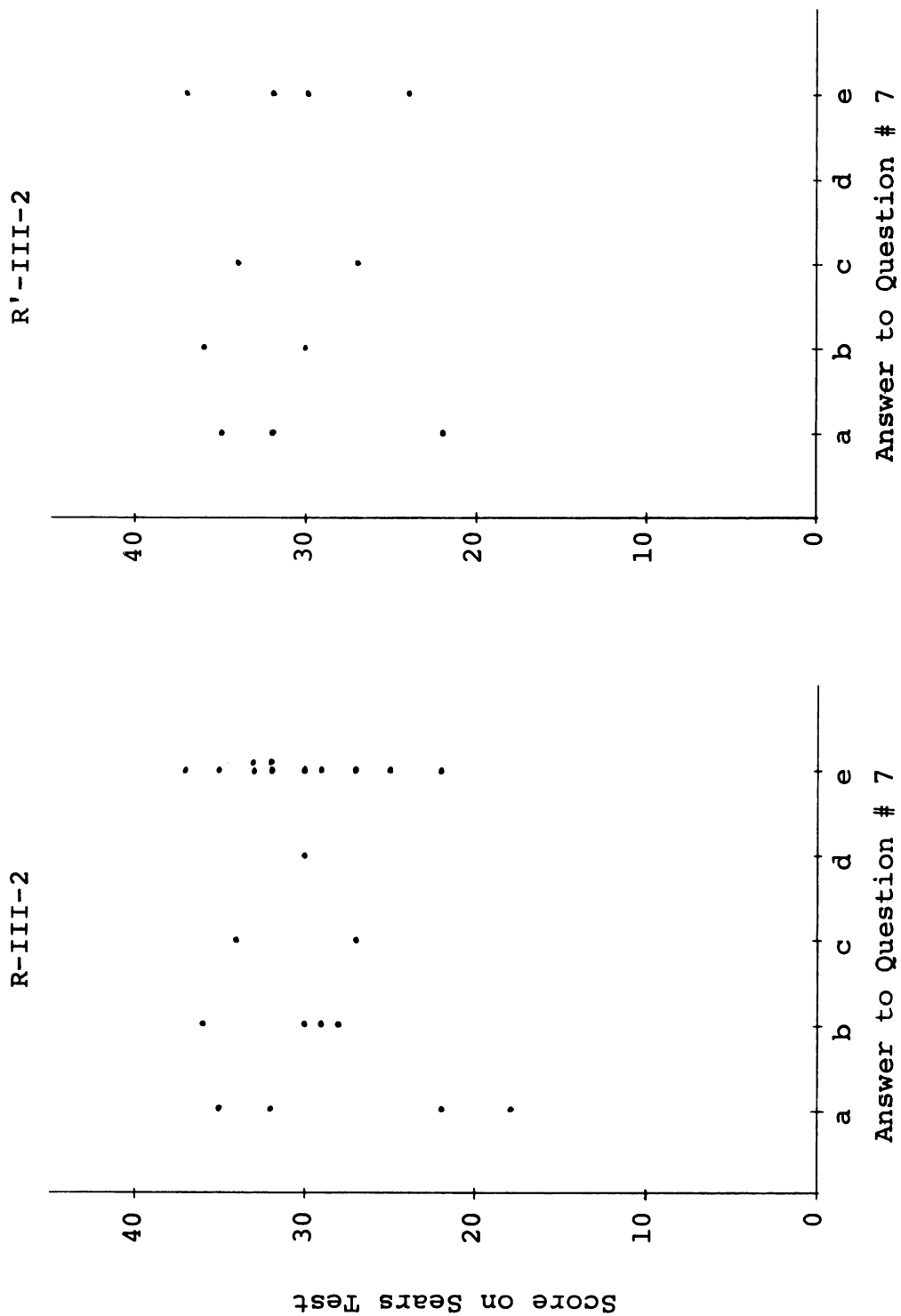


Figure 13

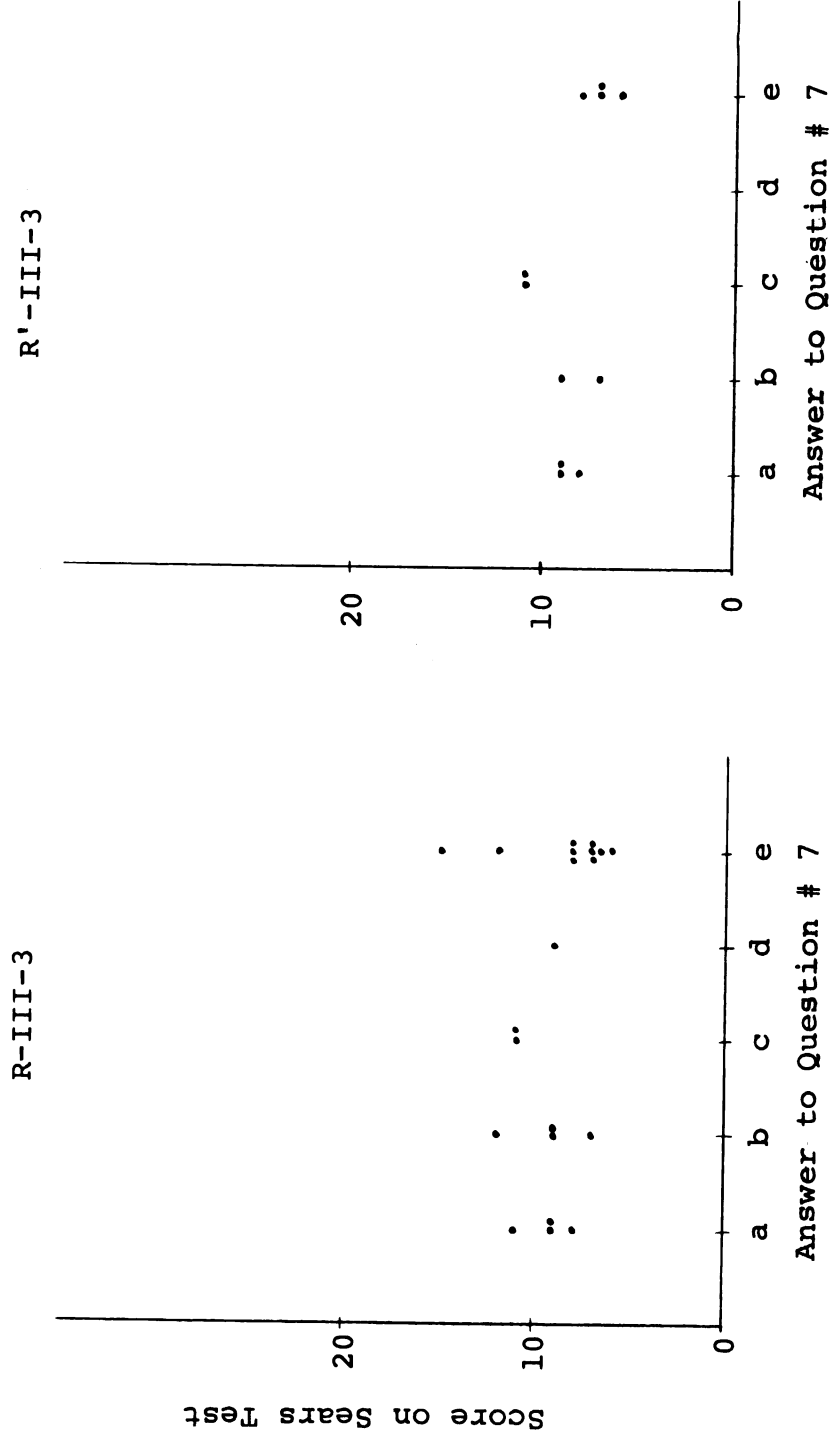


Figure 14



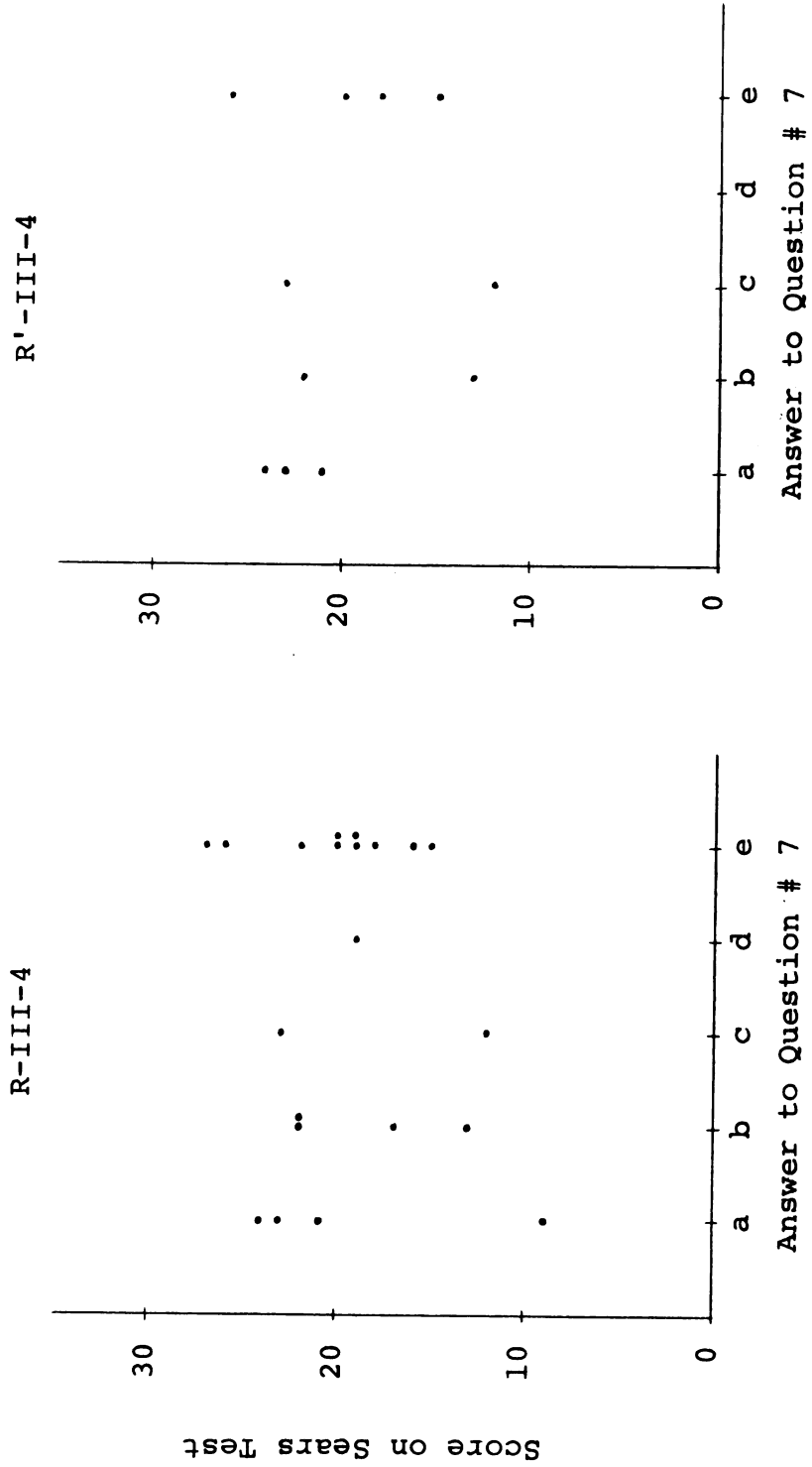


Figure 15

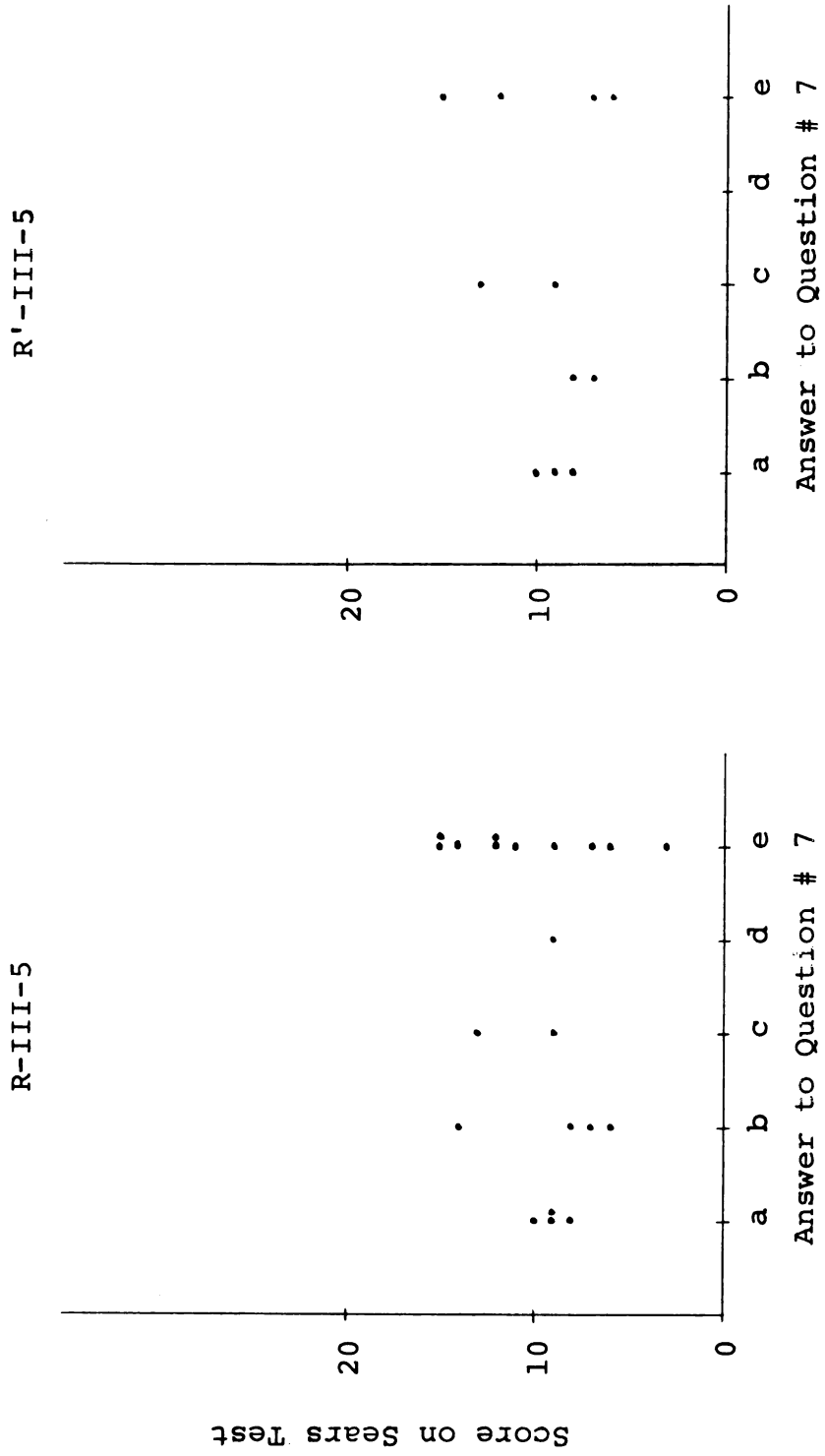


Figure 16

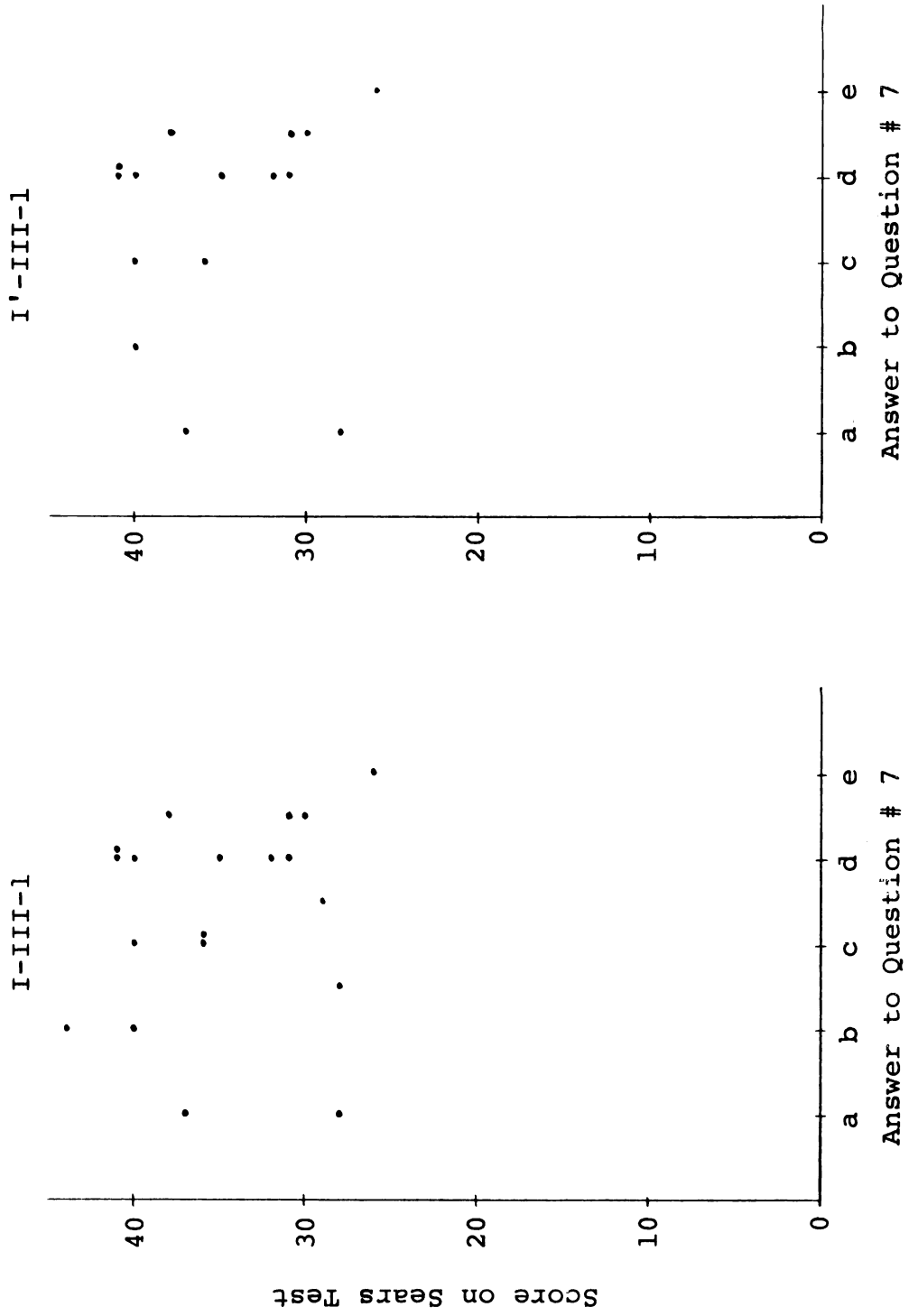


Figure 17

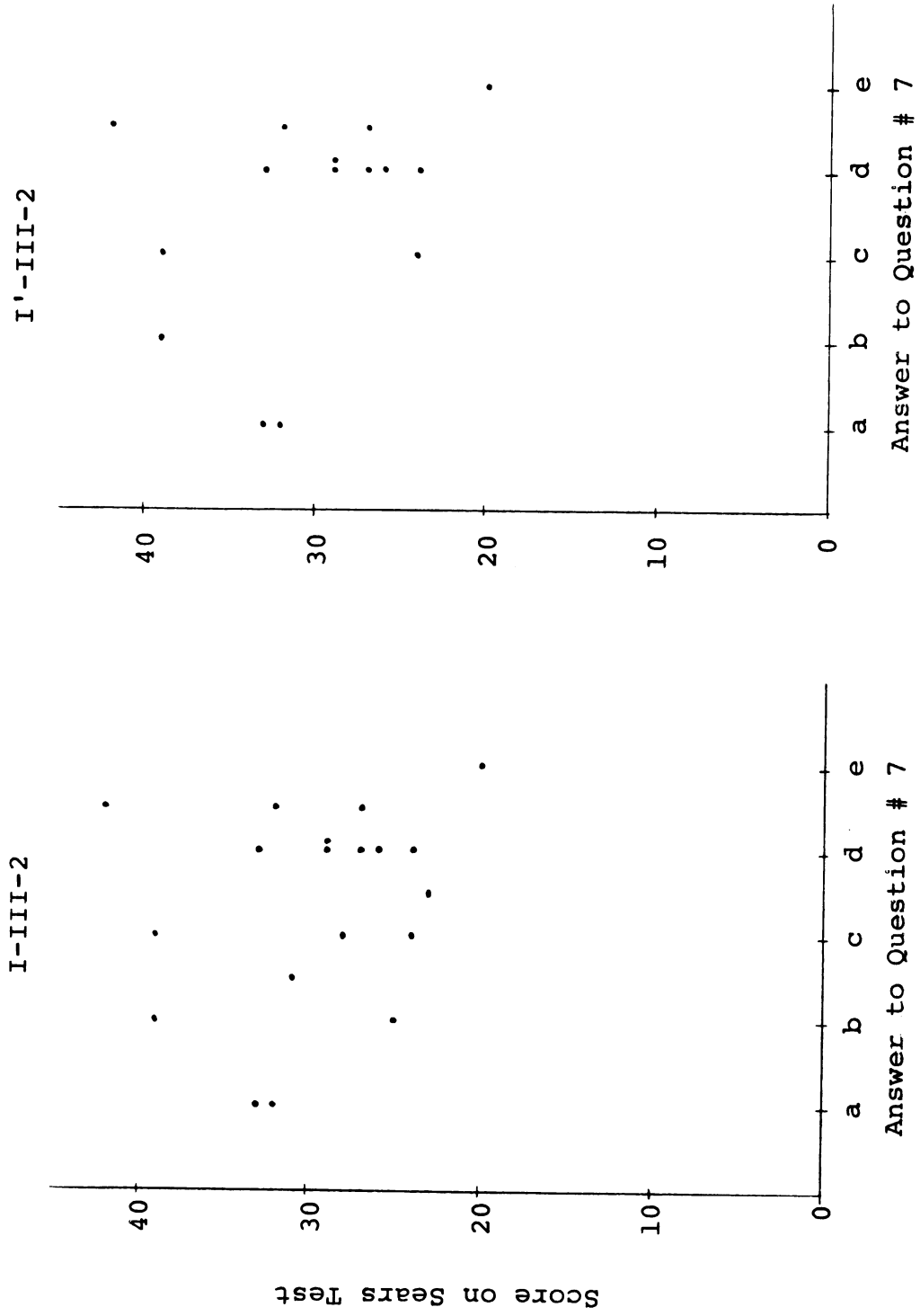


Figure 18

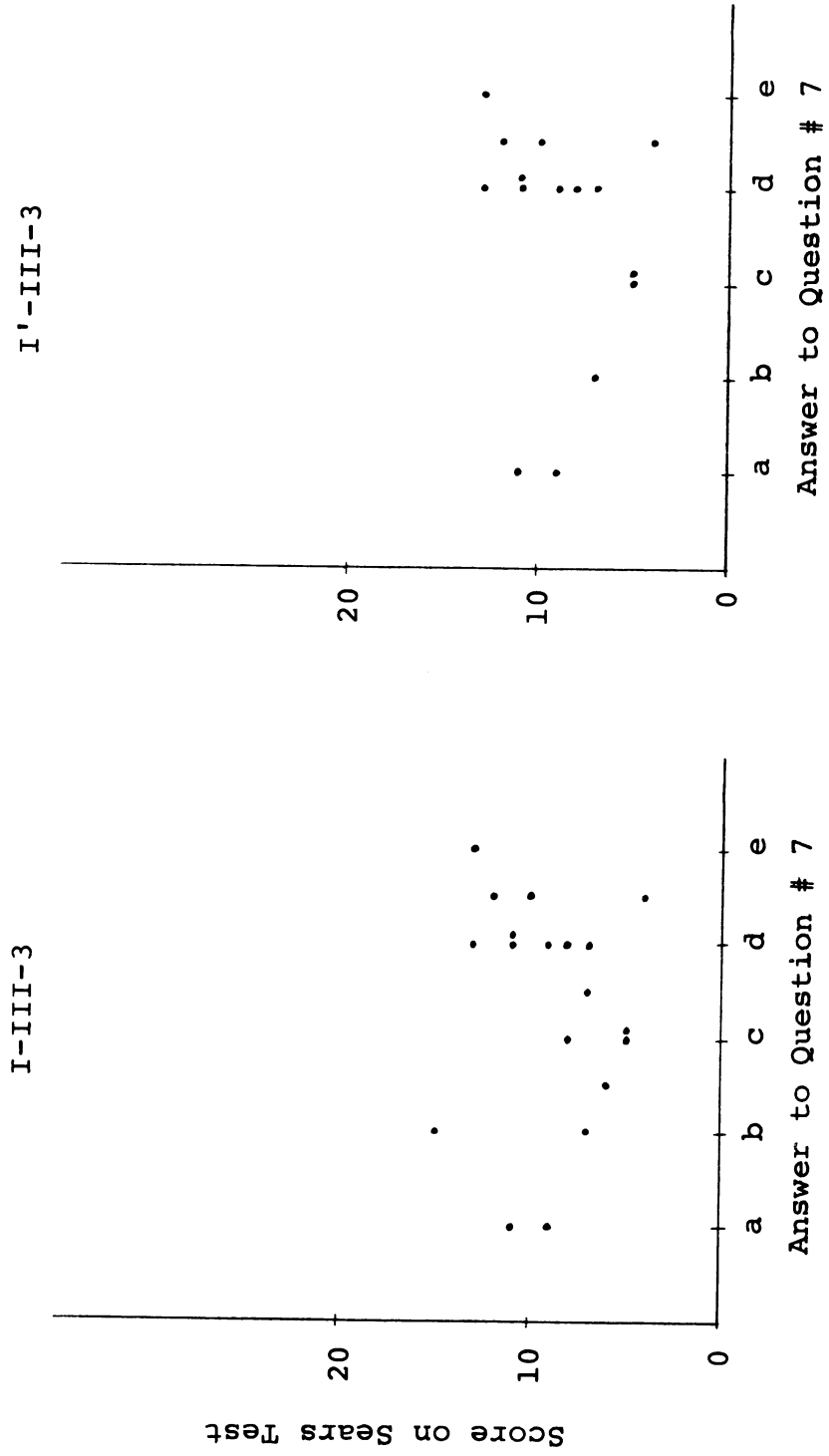
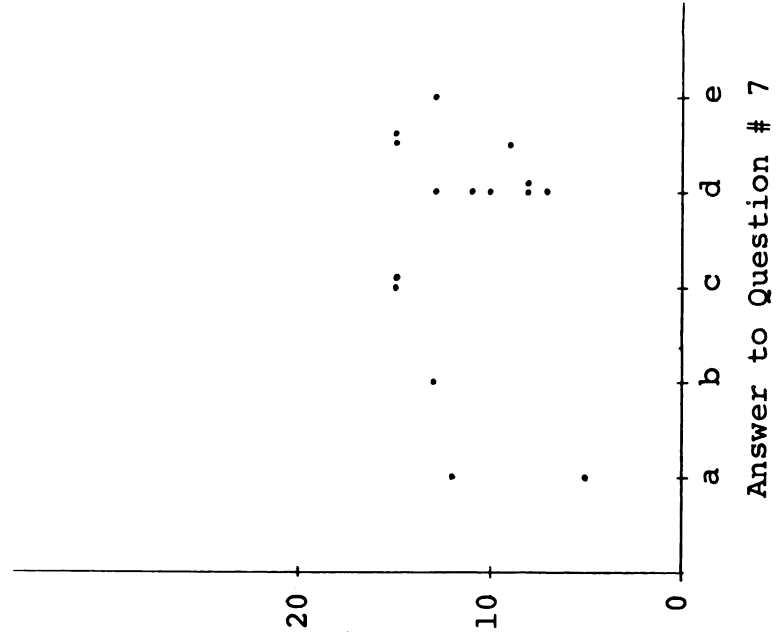


Figure 19



I'-III-5



I-III-5

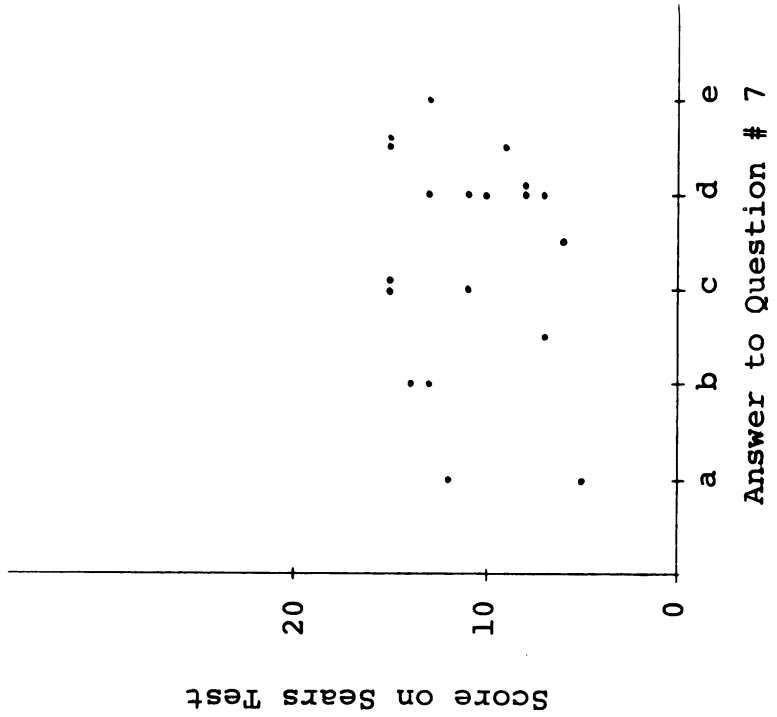


Figure 21





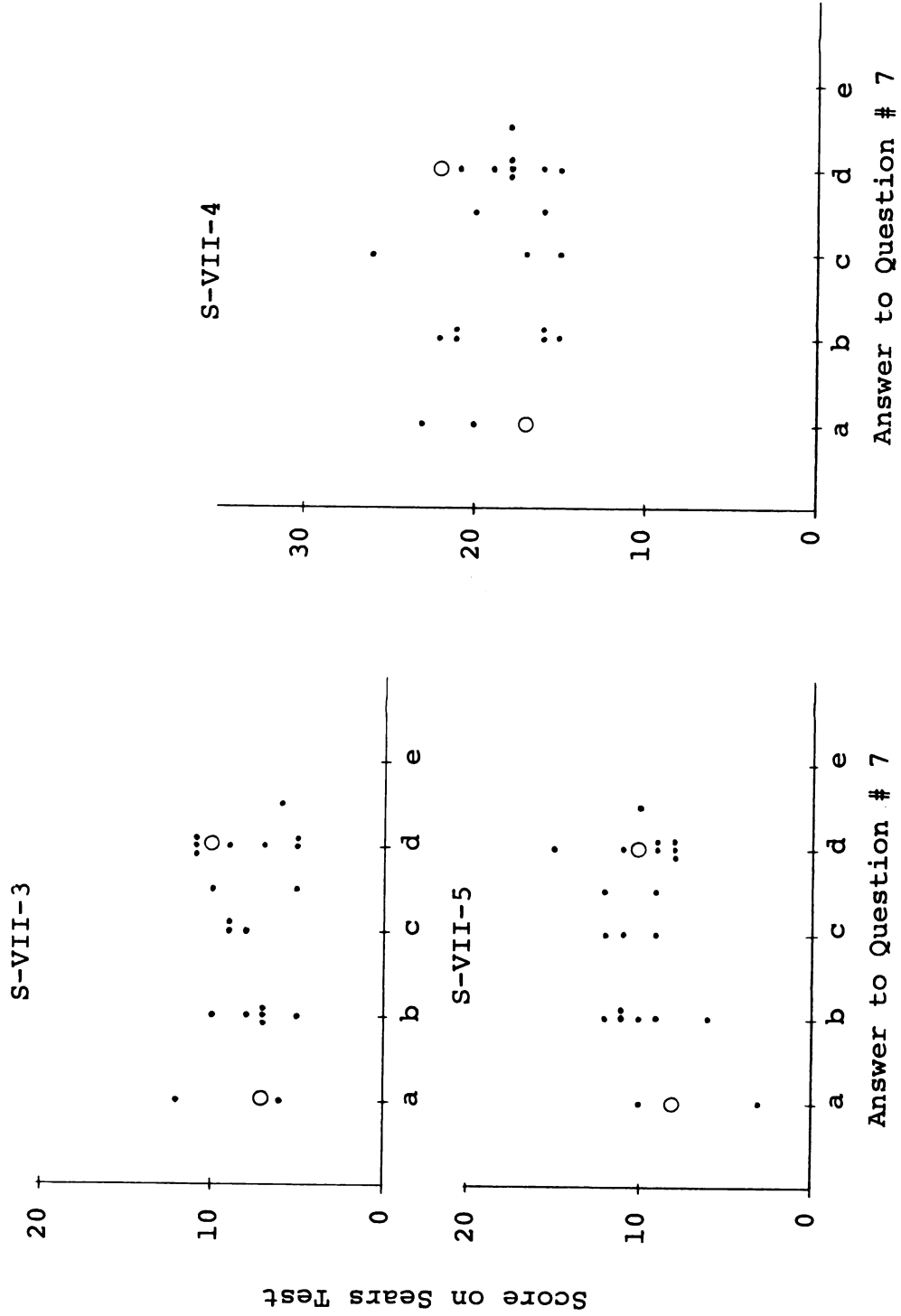


Figure 23







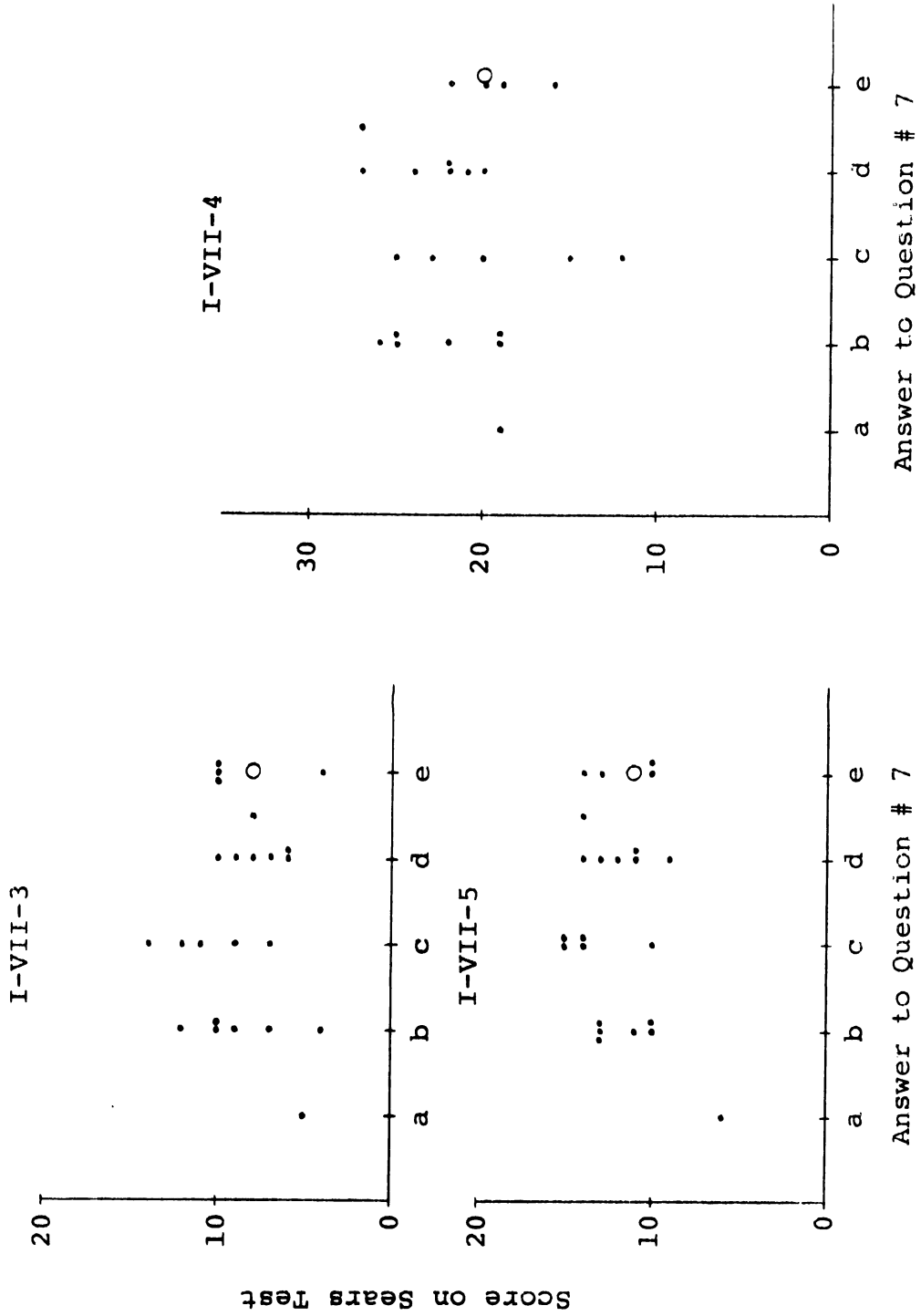


Figure 27

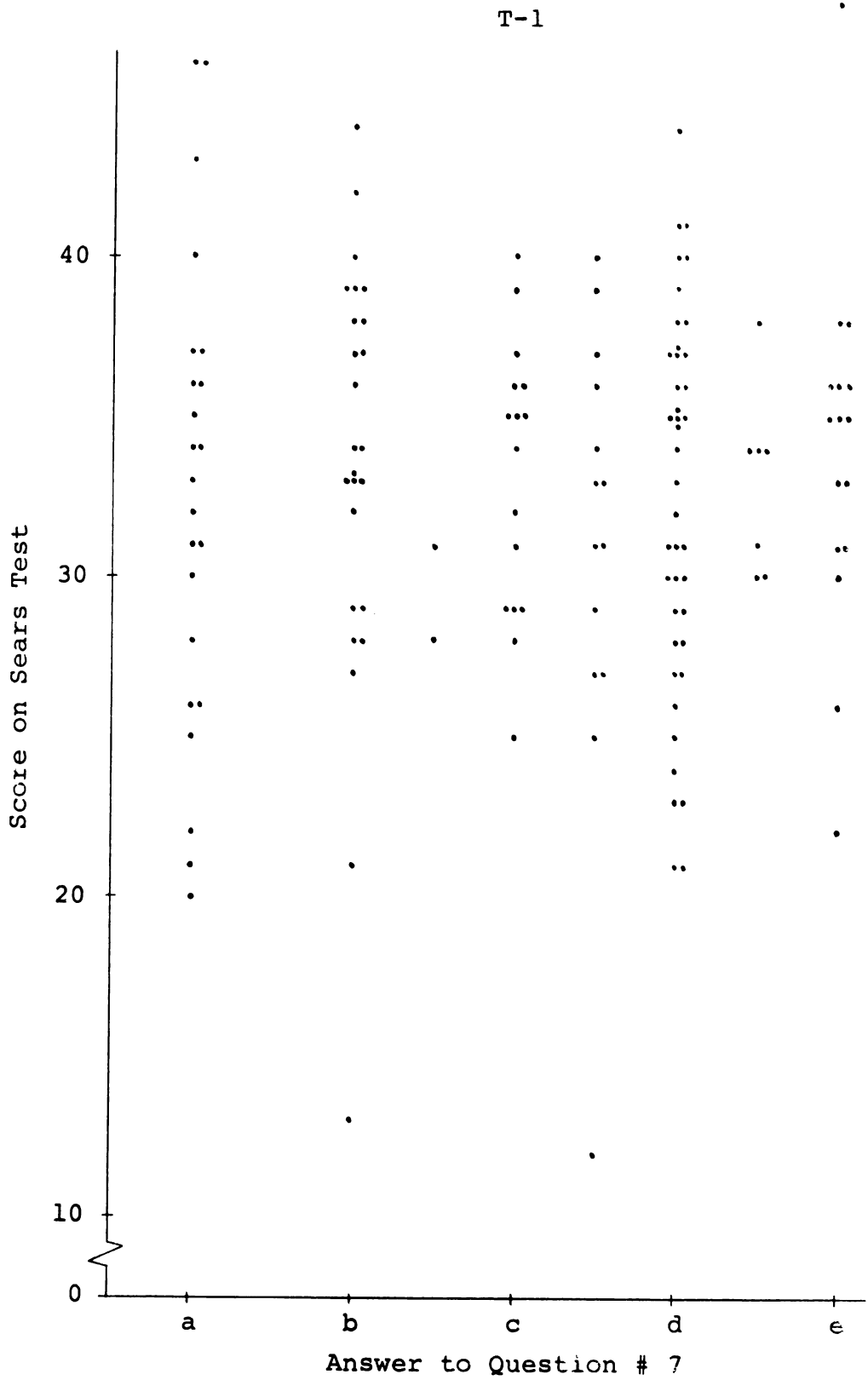


Figure 28

T-2

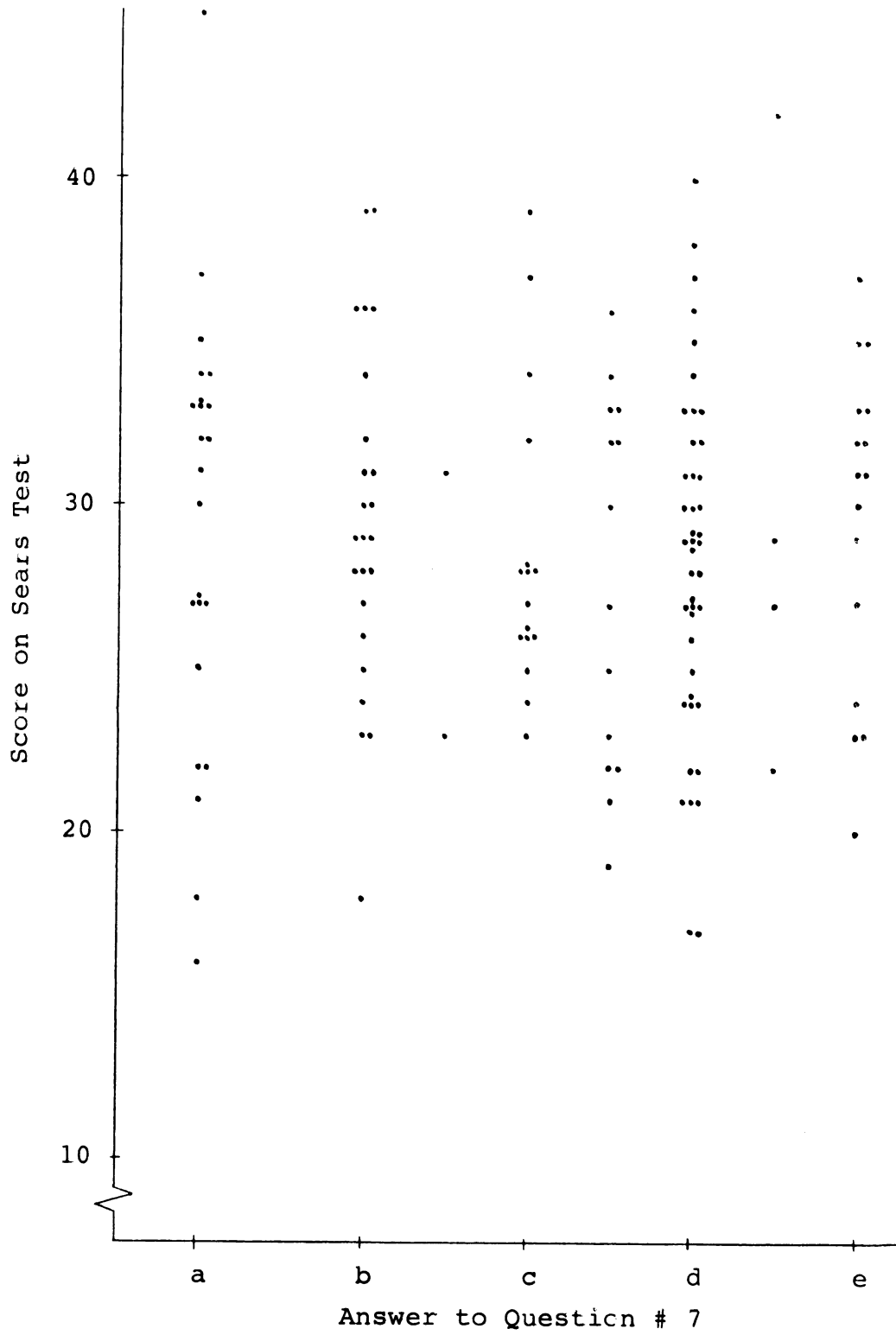


Figure 29

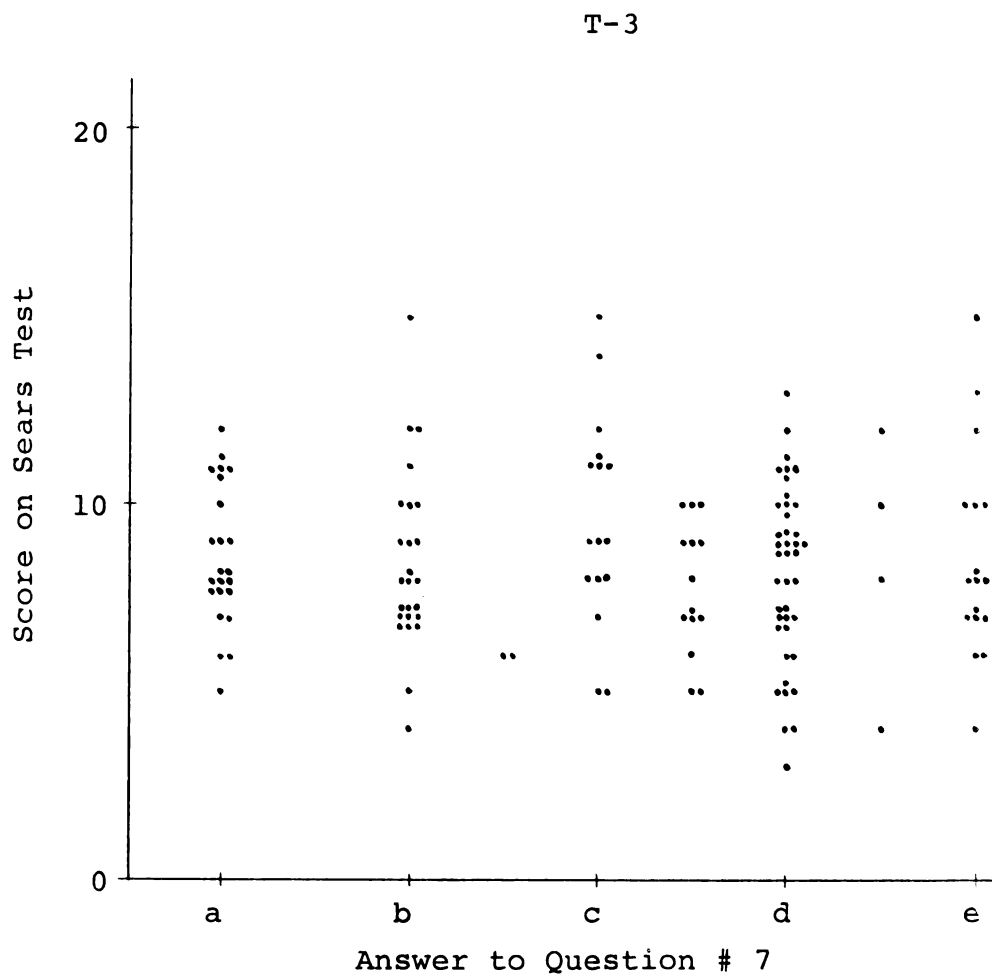


Figure 30



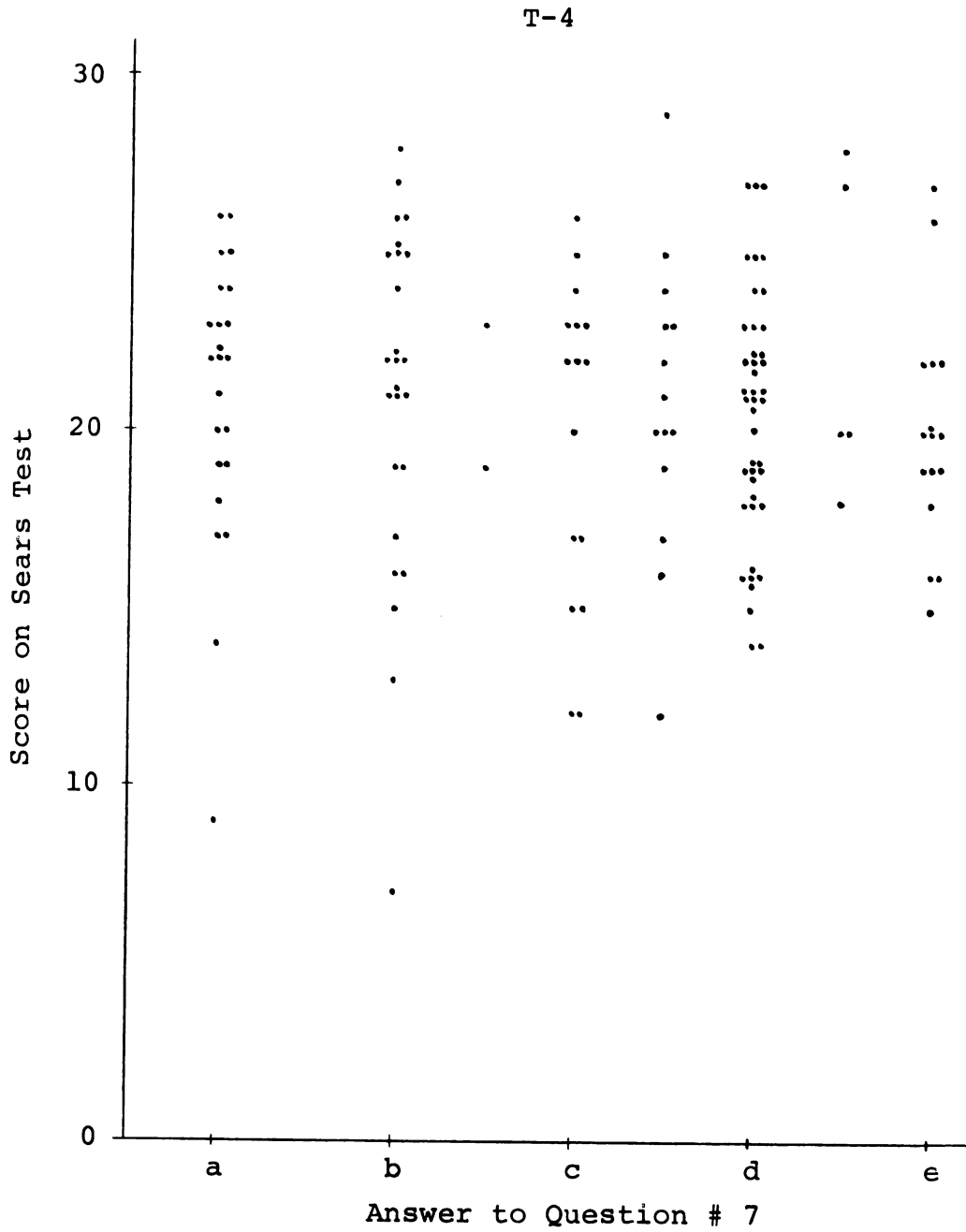


Figure 31

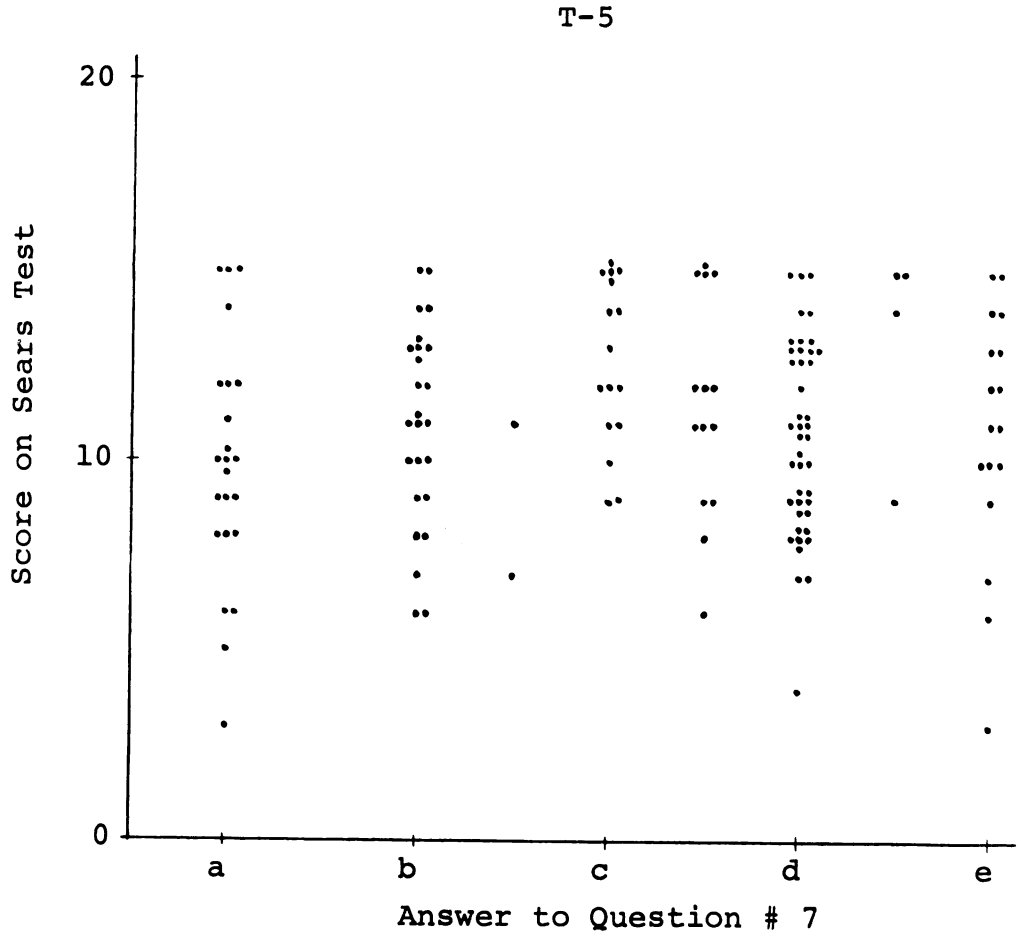


Figure 32

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study involved two separate but related research projects. The first was a content analysis of realistic fiction books on the Notable Book List, from 1960 to 1970, for children ranging between three and fourteen years of age. The second was a pilot study of children's reactions to violent episodes in selected children's books.

#### Content Analysis

The content analysis was divided into four parts:

1. All violent episodes, defined as episodes in which an overt attempt to hurt or injure a second party were identified and counted. Average percentages were calculated for each year from 1960 to 1970. Thus at the conclusion of this part of the study the amount of space per year devoted to episodes containing violence was available.
2. A second scale was developed in which all details pertaining to the violent acts were included. The

- details about the violent acts that were tabulated were: physical blows, weapons, blood, wounds, pain, and death. Each time a detail was mentioned in a violent episode it was recorded. The scores thus secured when combined with percentages of violent episodes became the intensity scores. Averages for each year was calculated from the intensity scores of all the realistic fiction for children of every year from 1960 to 1970. The average intensity scores were considered a more accurate estimate of violence than the scores obtained from the total pages alone.
3. A record was kept of each hero, villain and minor character who performed a violent act. In this way scores were kept for characters who most often performed acts of aggression. The same kind of tabulation was done on the relationship of the individuals involved in any act of violence. The participants were listed either as strangers or intimates (meaning they were acquainted). Again for each book a score was available and an average score for each year.
  4. Details for violence were listed under two possible categories, sensuous and non-sensuous. Non-sensuous details were divided into two more categories, those which used some kind of stylized treatment and those which did not.
  5. The values that the authors or the characters gave to violent acts were also recorded with a procedure

developed by Ralph K. White in Value Analysis. Values were tabulated under one of three categories, attitudes in favor of prosocial aggression, those in favor of anti-social aggression and attitudes against aggression of any kind.

#### Results of Content Analysis

Results from the content analysis were as follows:

1. Children's books, as listed on the Notable Book List between 1960 and 1970, did not increase in actual space devoted to violence or in intensity of violent episodes although there was considerable fluctuation from year to year.
2. When the average intensity scores were divided into categories, historical fiction, and modern realistic fiction, there was a distinct difference between the two. On the average, historical fiction was twice as violent as modern realistic fiction. In spite of a few notable exceptions, picture books lacked violent content altogether. Some exceptions were The Barn by John Schonherr and Goggles by Ezra Jack Keats.
3. When intensity scores were divided for books published in Great Britain and the Commonwealth countries, there were not differences between books written and published abroad and those written and published in this country.

4. Individual writers whose works had been selected for the Notable Book List more than once were also singled out for analysis. Certain writers repeatedly wrote books with approximately the same level of violent content.
5. There were no discernible trends in the actor-action scale. In all the books read for the study, approximately one half of the book-characters carrying out violent acts were minor characters. The remaining characters were fairly equally divided between heroes and villains. Throughout the period the majority of the violent incidents occurred between strangers. A slight trend was discernible in historical fiction toward more acts of violence between strangers.
6. When the intensity score was divided into events described in a sensuous and a non-sensuous fashion, the overwhelming majority of violent acts were described in a sensuous fashion. Moreover, non-sensuous descriptions were not handled in a stylized fashion.

When the intensity scale was divided into details referring to the blows and those referring to the injuries and death of the characters, all authors included both kinds of information.

7. The great majority of values expressed in the violent episodes were attitudes against aggression. Of those opinions and value judgments expressed in favor of aggression, most were in favor of prosocial aggression,

violence, which is socially approved. Only a small proportion of the value judgments were in favor of anti-social aggression. The great majority of the authors express opinions about aggression which is disapproved by society.

#### Discussion--The Content Analysis

8. Several general conclusions grew out of the fluctuations. The variations were due to individual writers and kinds of books included from year to year. Writers appear to be less influenced by external events and more influenced by personal inclinations for style. The selection committee of the Notable Book List apparently did not avoid violence in choosing books.
9. Additional general conclusions were made about the content analysis. While modern writers may treat real problems with frankness, they do not dwell on violence. Violent episodes, while fluctuating widely, ranged on the average between 12 and 15 per cent. In modern realistic fiction, authors do not use the hero or villain to perform violent acts in large part. Many or all of the characters in these stories are developed three dimensionally. In historical fiction the heroes and villains also do not figure so large in acts of violence. The reason here, however, is different. The heroes and villains are often onlookers in the historical drama unfolding in these books. They

often act as a bridge to the past rather than as focal points in the story.

### Pilot Study

There were seven aspects considered in the Pilot Study:

1. The writer read three stories to 217 children from schools in three different locations in Central Michigan. Two schools were in an urban inner-city setting, two were in a suburban setting and two in a rural setting.
2. The children answered a questionnaire, some questions of which were intended as a measure of comprehension. Those children who did not answer two-thirds of the latter questions correctly were separated from the rest of the children because the writer did not believe their answers to the remainder of the questions would be meaningful. Once these children were removed, 169 children remained.
3. The children were given a multiple choice question in which they rated the story for its realistic qualities.
4. The children answered a question, also multiple choice, in which they reported their reactions to the violent episode. Answers ranged from (a) which indicated they did not enjoy hearing about the violence to (d) in which they indicated they liked the violence and wanted to hear some more.



5. Each group of third and seventh graders took the Sears Aggression Test, a standardized personality test designed to reveal aggressive inclinations on five different scales.
6. The correlation between geographical location and the scores of third and seventh graders on the Sears Aggression Test to the same questions was also calculated, this time by percentages.
7. In addition, the relationship between the children's evaluation of the realism of the story and their geographical location was also calculated.

#### Results of the Pilot Study

1. The youngest children in the first grade understood less of the details of the story that was read to them (Bang, Bang, You're Dead!), than the older ones. As the children grew older, they were able to note details with more accuracy. However, those children who attended an urban school which had been the scene of real social disorder comprehended more of the details at an earlier age.
2. The majority of the children liked violence. However, more of the children from the urban school with real social disorder liked violence.
3. There was no correlation between personality and, as revealed by the Sears Aggression Test, the reactions of the children to written violence.

4. The third grade children in the rural school more frequently thought Sounder was close to real life than those in the city school or those in the suburban school. This story was set in the rural South on a Black tenant farm. The sheriff of the community arrested and physically attacked the Black farmer and also shot the dog owned by the farmer.
5. The great majority of the seventh graders thought that The Year of the Bloody Sevens was realistic. The latter book was set in Kentucky during the Revolutionary War and involved a fight between Indians and two White woodsmen. The writer noted that the story was similar in format to many cowboy and Indian stories.

Conclusions and Implications of the  
Relationship of the Content Analysis  
to Children's Responses

As a result of this study, the use of the content analysis technique revealed some advantages and limitations to the writer. One can analyze the manifest content of a book with a quantitative statement. In this study quantitative statements relating to the amount of violence, intensity with which it was depicted, and value judgments of the author about aggression were revealed by means of the content analysis.

However, there are some kinds of information that are not available from a content analysis. It does not reveal artistic quality of a literary selection. Most

importantly, it does not help one to learn the reader's reactions to the content.

The study discussed in Chapter V suggests that the content analysis will have more meaning if viewed in the light of the study findings, tentative though they may be.

The reason for this is that the raw content is not most important because the reaction of the reader may have relatively little to do with the real content of any episode. The reader applies a meaning to a scene of violence, but it may not be the same meaning as the writer, perhaps because the reader did not decipher the words correctly, perhaps because he lacks the experience or imagination. His perception is then of prime importance.

The pilot study suggests that reactions to violence are probably not related to personality, but rather to past experiences. The children who had been exposed to real violence liked it and understood it more than other children, although all liked it. In a way, the children who knew real aggression had been fed a diet of violence and had developed a taste for it. Even their understanding of violent episodes was higher than the understanding of the children not so exposed.

We as a nation however are notable for violence in public life, in literature, in films. In a sense then all of the children had been in contact with a certain amount of violence on television programs. In fact, all of the children had developed a tolerance for, even a pleasure in, violent episodes.

It may be that realistic fiction for children will influence the trend toward violence because of two trends in children's books. Modern realistic fiction books dealing with subjects like drugs, gang warfare, racial problems and the like rarely appeared on publishing lists for children before the late 1950's. In books published since that time topics such as these are commonplace. Some examples from the ten year study are Family Walkup by Stucley, The Rock and the Willow by Lee, The Loner by Wier and Jazz Country by Nat Hentoff.

While historical fiction books published in the years before 1960 often dealt with dramatic, even violent moments in history, the stories have most often taken place long ago. In effect, they were romantic stories of thinly disguised of derring-do set in well-documented history. Many recent historical fiction books on the Notable Book List between 1960 and 1970 relate modern history with all its emphasis on war, death and violence. Examples are The Winged Watchman by Van Stockem, Ring the Judas Bell by Forman and Burton's In Spite of all Terror.

In short, the trend in fiction for children is toward a new realism from which most children have been protected in the past. To be sure, modern realistic fiction books do not dwell on violence, but authors also do not avoid it. Some writers of historical fiction, on the other hand, by their choice of subjects, actually do dwell on aggression. Nazism in Horses of Anger and

Dunkirk in Inspite of all Terror, Nazi occupation of Holland in The Winged Watchman, the Italian theater in the Second World War in The Little Fishes by Haugaard.

Because of the new realism, many children may find themselves in these books. Many urban youth may readily relate to the ex-convict in Durango Street, the hero of The Contender who is close to the drug culture, the young people of Soul Brothers and Sister Lou who are harassed by the police. It is easy to sympathize with Hans, the hero of Horses of Anger who is presented as a sensitive boy, one who wants to write poetry, who loves his grandfather, an outspoken anti-Nazi and former professor of literature; or with Anna in Ring the Judas Bell. The three children, Guido, Anna and her little brother, fleeing war-torn Naples present a sensitive picture in The Little Fishes, which may well move many readers.

To be sure, the very young may be limited to their immediate environment, as in the case of Sounder, which was used in the study of children's responses; but older children will soon be able to find themselves in these modern heroes, even when the story takes place in Italy or Germany. The eight year olds in the study could not understand Sounder as realistic except when they lived in a setting very similar to the one in the study. On the other hand, children in the seventh grade found a story, namely The Year of the Bloody Sevens, which was even further from their own experiences, realistic.

Because the children can empathize with these heroes, the books can have a special impact. A boy who relates to Rufus in Durango Street may live through gang fights very intensely although vicariously. The reader of Horses of Anger may easily share something of the horror of Nazism, yet not have actually lived under Nazi rule. In other words, the relevance and the realism of these books gives them more power, more impact on young people. The violence in books may sometimes be less intense than in mass media, but the violence is more important if it is relevant to the reader, if the violence is realistically depicted and if the action and characterization permits emotional identification on the part of the reader.

In the study of children's responses, seventh graders thought that The Year of the Bloody Sevens was realistic. The scene was treated in a realistic fashion, and the children may have been able to empathize with a hero from Revolutionary times for this reason. It was also noted that the children may have thought the episode realistic because it was similar in format to "Cowboy-and-Indian" stories, a kind of story with which they were very familiar, due to television and the movies that they viewed. None of them had lived in a period when cowboys and Indians were at odds. Frequent exposure to and repetition of similar types of action and plot have given the violent situation credibility.

Children reading stories which treat violence realistically may come to expect stories with that kind of treatment and that kind of impact on them. In the process, the children may well develop additional tolerance for violent treatment of subjects.

The review of the literature revealed that violence on television and other media raises the chances for aggression in viewers. The writer is not aware of research that considered young reader's reactions to violence. The study conducted by the writer suggests that young readers become intensely interested in violence, enjoy it, and develop a taste for it. Therefore, perhaps the best treatment of aggressive behavior in books for children is one which is honest but which does not dwell on gory details.

Most modern realistic fiction books for children do not dwell on aggression particularly, if at all. A few books like Horses of Anger, however, may be trend-setters for historical fiction. (Of the historical fiction books on the Notable Book List eleven deal with recent history, much of it recent war history.) While the authors concerned should be commended for their believable treatment of problems, the emphasis on violence in historical fiction may represent a new turn of events in children's books.

The Relation of Personality and  
Reactions to Violence

The study discussed in Chapter V suggests that reactions to violence are probably not related to personality. This situation may be due to several possible reasons.

There may be no correlation with the Sears Aggression Test because the test may not be valid as a measure of children's responses to written violence. The test was validated as a measure of overt behavior, not as a measure for enjoyment of violence. A study similar to the one conducted by the writer might be carried out and children permitted to role play violent episodes from literature that have been read to them. Under these circumstances a closer correlation might well be found between personality and reactions to violence.

On the other hand, there may be no correlation between enjoyment of violence and personality at all. Perhaps every child who reads a book about a violent episode feels a thrill of excitement. Chambers claims that reluctant readers like books with excitement (sometimes violent) in them.<sup>1</sup> According to Ames,<sup>2</sup> the fantasies of young children are overwhelmingly violent. If one follows this line of reasoning, it is possible to conclude that Lorenz's or Storr's theory is correct.

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<sup>1</sup>Chambers, op. cit., pp. 41-63.

<sup>2</sup>L. B. Ames, "Children's Stories," pp. -37-396.



Man may be innately violent. Children may feel a thrill of excitement when they view violence at a safe distance.

One other explanation should be offered for the apparent lack of correlation. Possibly the children may like aggression because they feel a release of tension when hearing a story. The reaction is a kind of catharsis. In short, violence would then have a bibliotherapeutic effect.

#### Implications for Research

Many related research projects should prove fruitful. Some of these are listed below:

1. This study showed that during the last ten years realistic fiction for children has not increased appreciably in violent content. Other periods, each period covering a ten year span, at a minimum, could be analyzed for violent content. A minimum of ten years is clearly needed because individual years are not representative of any trend.
2. This study dealt only with realistic fiction for children. Other content analyses could be conducted on fantasy, which is often violent. Again a minimum of ten years is needed.
3. A study dealing with science fiction and violence should prove particularly useful because much of recent science fiction has been concerned with technology and its impact on social problems,

including wars and restricting actions and thoughts of people.

4. A study dealing with violence in books most popular with children should prove a valuable contribution. The content of the books thus chosen could then be compared with the content of this study, thus answering an important question. Do children, in fact, choose books for their violent excitement? Such a study might, in addition, answer other questions like the kinds of heroes and heroines children relate to and the kinds of stories they find most interesting.
5. This study showed that individual writers tend to produce the same amount and intensity of violence from book to book. Other elements should be studied in individual authors--humor, value judgments and treatment of technical aspects of the novel, among others.
6. Modern realistic fiction published in Britain and then published in the United States was found of approximately the same level of violence as books originally published in the United States. An interesting study would be a content analysis of books published in Britain or other countries but not republished in this country. Such a cross-cultural study would make a valuable comparison with materials available in this country. Such a study would permit a comparison of treatment in two

countries. The same kind of comparison could be done for other subjects, social problems, values, literary components, attitudes toward women, work attitudes, religious opinions, attitudes toward minority groups or foreign groups.

7. The study in Chapter V showed that all of the American children in the group studied enjoyed violence. A revealing study would be a cross-cultural study of another group of children who are not exposed to considerable violence. An excellent group to choose would be children in a country which censors content of entertainment of children for violence, for instance, Denmark or Switzerland.
8. This study revealed that many children in the groups studied enjoyed violence, at least they reported that they did find the violent episodes read to them exciting.

An interesting follow-up would be a study in which the children are given an opportunity to imitate the violent behavior of the characters in the stories. While television and other visual forms of mass media have been shown to provoke aggressive behavior on the part of the observer, no studies have been conducted to find out if hearing or reading a book about violent behavior will produce the same kind of behavior. Again, such a study could be related to the personality of

individuals, for passive enjoyment of violence may be quite different from overt aggressive behavior.

9. A study might be conducted to determine the relationship between understanding of or interest in a story and the period of time during which a story takes place (contemporary realistic fiction and historical fiction).

### Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has contributed a comprehensive and detailed content analysis for violence in books judged outstanding in the area of children's literature over a decade. This content analysis goes beyond superficial measures such as a count of weapons and the number of pages containing violence. More refined and subtle aspects, such as literary style, expression of values related to violence, the participants in the violent action and their relationship to each other were investigated. These were included in such a way as to provide quantitative measures. Moreover, beyond this comprehensive content analysis, the dissertation reports the results of a pilot study investigating some possible relationships between student reactions to violence in literature and personality and geographical locations.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SEARS AGGRESSION TEST

SEARS AGGRESSION TEST

Strongly Agree  
 Agree  
 Not Sure  
 Disagree  
 Strongly Disagree

- It makes me uncomfortable to see two of my friends fighting.
- If someone gets hurt in an auto accident, I usually try to get a good view of what happened.
- My close friends trust me enough so I never have to wonder what they think of me.
- I really enjoy reading an adventure story with a lot of good fights in it.
- When I am hungry, I would like to eat something sweet (like cake) better than something filling (like a meat or peanut butter sandwich).
- A boxing or wrestling match is more exciting when it's a real grudge fight, and the fighters are really made at each other.
- Every club should have a set of definite rules for the members, and someone should be chosen to enforce the rules.

- | Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |  |
|----------------|-------|----------|----------|-------------------|--|
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | It upsets me to think that some thoughtless word or crack of mine might hurt someone's feelings.             |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | There is a good chance that radiation from atomic bombs will kill off the human race.                        |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | A good cleanly fought football game is about the best sport there is.  |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | There are really important differences between boys and girls in the kinds of books they like to read.       |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | When I get angry, I usually feel bad afterward.  |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | A lot of adults seem to have it in for kids, and always are causing them trouble.                            |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I cannot imagine what it would be like really to consider committing suicide.                                |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Hitting somebody smaller than you is absolutely never excusable.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I think it is important for boys and girls of my age to begin thinking about how to get ahead in life.       |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | It makes me nervous to hear a gang of boys getting argumentative even when I'm not involved.                 |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Big dogs are likely to be dangerous.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Schools ought to pay more attention to track and field sports and swimming, and less to football and boxing. |

- | Strongly Agree           | Agree                    | Not Sure                 | Disagree                 | Strongly Disagree        |  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Laws against fighting ought to be more strictly enforced.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I usually feel happier on the week-ends than I do during the week.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Sometimes I feel that I have about as many enemies as I have friends.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | When I get too angry, I'm liable to get in trouble.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | A romantic movie always leaves me feeling dreamy afterward.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Sometimes I feel that there are so many bad people in the world that even my own town is about as dangerous to live in as a real jungle. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I like almost any kind of work or play at which I can compete with someone else and maybe win.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | It is all right for a teacher to criticize someone in front of the class if that person has broken a rule.                               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | If I had a change to play a part in a Hollywood movie, I would enjoy it very much.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | There are too many vicious crimes described in the newspapers.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | When someone does not pay attention to me, or just seems to look right through me, it is usually because he is secretly mad at me.       |



- | Strongly Agree           | Agree                    | Not Sure                 | Disagree                 | Strongly Disagree        |  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | A good argument is all right if everybody keeps his temper under control.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | If an older boy is mean to a younger one, the younger one has a perfect right to get even with him in any way he can, even in some secret or sneaky way. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Stamp-collecting is one of my favorite hobbies.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I hate to hear people at a baseball game yelling "Kill the umpire!"  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I have to be careful what I say to people because they get mad so easily.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | It is perfectly natural for boys to want to fight sometimes.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I would like to be a politician as a career.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Sometimes I think I deserve more punishment than I get for the things I do.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | If a person has a quick temper, you just have to expect him to blow up sometimes, and you shouldn't pay too much attention.                              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I get along best with my friends when I am with just one or two at a time instead of a whole crowd.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | I usually don't show it when I get angry, but it leaves me shaking inside afterward.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Farming would be a good job because it gives you a chance to watch things grow.  |

- | Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |  |
|----------------|-------|----------|----------|-------------------|--|
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I don't think there is anybody who really is trying to do me harm.                                     |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I get nervous when a big crowd of people are coming toward me.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Teasing kind of jokes are always a little dangerous because the kidding may get out of hand.           |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | When a person has broken an important rule, he should definitely be punished for it.                   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Everybody in school should have a chance to act in a play sometime.                                    |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Teachers should be <u>very</u> careful never to let a class discussion get too heated or too personal. |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | If you treat people decently, they nearly always treat you that way too.                               |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Just when things are going best for me, I seem to do something that brings down punishment on me.      |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Every boy ought to be taught how to box.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I usually feel pretty happy when I wake up in the morning.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I like to watch a real man-sized slugging match in a movie or on TV.                                   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Most of my troubles have been started by other people.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | There is too much emphasis these days on competitive sports.   |

- | Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |   |
|----------------|-------|----------|----------|-------------------|---|
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Sometimes an actual fight is the only way to settle an argument.  |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | When you are feeling lonesome and unhappy, eating something is the best thing to do.  |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Even with your best friend, a good fight often seems to clear the air and make you feel better.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Sometimes I have dreams in which somebody hurts me.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | There have been times when I was so angry I felt like practically killing myself.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | At school, teachers should never permit any pushing or shoving among the children because someone might get hurt.                         |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I would like to be very good at mechanical things, such as fixing automobiles or using power tools in a shop.                             |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Arguing nearly always leads to trouble in one way or another.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | People seem to find fault with me more than I deserve.  |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I have had more accidents in which I was injured than most people my age.   |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | I don't see anything especially wrong about a fight between two gangs of teenagers; it's their business and adults should keep out of it. |
| []             | []    | []       | []       | []                | Every boy and girl should know how to dance before high school age.   |

- | Strongly Agree           | Agree                    | Not Sure                 | Disagree                 | Strongly Disagree        |   |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | When some adult criticizes or scolds me, I get all tied up inside and cannot answer back.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Sometimes when I have been out alone at night, I have had the feeling that somebody was following me, even though I could never prove it. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | There is too much fighting and arguing shown on TV.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | My friends get mad at me more often than I get mad at them.   |

APPENDIX B

SPECIMEN CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ONE OF THE  
MOST VIOLENT BOOKS:

Horses of Anger by James Forman

(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1967)

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 1-8

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling			1		1	
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing			1			1
Wounding					3	
Killing			4	1	3	
Other		1				

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)					
Physical blows		+3	+4	+5	+7	+8
Weapons	+1	+2	+3	+7	+9	+5
Blood						
Wounds		+3				
Pain		+5	+6			
Death						

1. As he spoke, the barracks bell rang, that first warning from fighter command which regularly on dark nights sent Hans fumbling into his uniform to wait on his cot, staring into the blackness. Somewhere in the north a stream of bombs was flowing.
2. Somewhere soon the pathfinders would drop their flares; then the big bombs would rip off the roofs to make way for the suffocating incendiaries. Across the frosted radar panels in the battle opera house the phantom flood would creep, south or east. The haggard men of fighter command must be already watching, thought Hans. Soon the warning would be sent. Should it arrive at Han's barracks, it would mean the planes were moving against the cities of the south. They might fall short, hovering over Ingolstadt, or Regensburg or Munich, in which case Hans would not be needed. On the other hand, they might pass over to his home town--fifteen minutes' flight for a bomber, two hours by Autobahn, an interminable time by rail, the way a soldier traveled. If the bombers came that far, forty-eight schoolboys, Hans among them, would clatter up twelve wooden towers where heavy machine guns waited like strange telescopes to track the moving stars.
3. He had once seen Heime drive his fist against the wall so hard it had remained black and blue for weeks.
4. And he had heard the village rumor that Heime, in a fit of passion, had driven an ice pick clean through his father's hand.
5. "Let me have your hand . . . Heime let me have it. This is not meant to be cruel, Heime." And he forced Heime's hand over the candle flame. Heime screeched. "You did that for fun!" Ernst fell back in his chair, shouting with laughter. Hans did absolutely nothing. He was too horrified.
6. Hans knew he must be in severe pain. He knew also that he would rather die than give the slightest sign.
7. The tableau held until Heime dug his Youth dagger into the table. The dagger often spoke for him.
8. Hans watched him now, gouging at the tabletop, and wondered about them all.
9. Heime had managed to form a particularly small H with his dagger when the siren in the Polish work camp began to howl.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 19-22.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding			2	1	1	
Killing						
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)		
Physical blows	-1	+2	+3
Weapons	+1	+3	
Blood			
Wounds			
Pain			
Death	-1		



1. . . . considered a lucky event that a British-flung grenade at Ypres had dispatched the town butcher's only son, Lore's brother, giving Klaus an opportunity to take over the business through marriage.
2. One didn't say that sort of thing to Herr Hellpack. Siefried had received a savage hiding, which ended the argument.
3. His foot fell heavily on the old Jew's foot. Moving swiftly, Konrad confronted him. He spoke very softly. Hans heard only the trooper's reply: "I don't go around molesting old creatures, human or otherwise!"

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 26-38.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing						
Other			1	1		

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)				
	-1	-2	+3	-4	-5
Physical blows					
Weapons			+3		
Blood					
Wounds					
Pain					
Death					

1. He didn't feel comfortable among the peasants since they'd beaten up a troop of SS men for trying to chop down a Maypole.
2. The Poles had launched a cowardly attack on the German station at Gleiwitz the night before . . .
3. . . . and the Schleswigstein, fortuitously anchored in the Danzig harbor had answered back with her 11-inch guns.
4. Panzer units on their exercises in East Prussia had turned the back of the Polish assault.
5. "The British government, in a note to the Reich government, has made the demand that the German troops which have advanced into Polish territory be withdrawn to their original positions. At nine o'clock in the morning," the radio explained, "the British ambassador in Berlin informed the Reich government in a provocative note that if a satisfactory answer was not received by eleven o'clock, England would consider herself in a state of war with Germany."



1. English Lancasters, in force, were heading toward Munich.
2. Lieutenant Rabbe gave the command to load. Ernst cracked home the first magazine and Siegfried jolted the gun around as though he wanted to tip it from its mount. Hans glanced at him. He was grinning wildly, joyously. Frail as his body was, it seemed about to burst from the furious passion within it.
3. Still far to the north, over Munich's marshaling yards, the first marker shell burst, its contents sparkling down like the candles of an immense Christmas tree hung in the sky.
4. They were as large as shovels and as hard. Hands to keep away from, Hans thought, even when they were administering a comradely pat.
6. As though God had suddenly struck a match in heaven, the sky above them brightened. The stars vanished in the light of a marker shell.
7. The lieutenant had the gun elevated until its twin muzzles pointed straight up. When the signal came, Hans would simply push his foot down on the firing pedal and the bullets would soar up, as high as they could. That was some 12,000 feet, according to the manual. The raiders flew at twice that height, so no matter how many little lead kernels were sent spouting heavenward they would never reach their objective. The young gunners might kill themselves a thousand times over with their own gravity-driven shells before a single bomber would even hear the chattering protest of their guns.
9. The tower trembled. Down below, the ground must be moving, and Hans held tight to his gun. His uniform had grown too small for his heart and lungs. His saliva tasted rancid. He tried to spit, but his mouth was dry.
10. He raised the boy by a twisted left arm, and Heime gave a squeal of pain. As though the cry had brought him, a figure pushed up through the trap door. His hands a little out from his sides as if ready for fight, the lieutenant turned on the intruder.

11. In the north, the sky over Munich had gone mad, and now the "Raiders overhead" signal came to them over the earphones. "Fire!" The lieutenant's command was shrill. Hans pressed down on the pedal and the gun jarred against him. Up rose the tracers, an endless lashing necklace of fiery diamonds. The other guns opened fire, their projectiles forming a theoretical cage about the factory below. Again and again the searchlights converged, divided, crossed, until Hans could see pinpointed a dozen or more metallic moths moving languorously overhead.
12. A torrent of bombs now rained upon the worker's compound and the factory. The separate sounds merged into a single roar, so uniform and constant that it became a kind of silence. It pressed against the sides of Hans's head with giant hands. He could feel the air shaking in strokes, the tower reeling and staggering like a drunken man, his seat vibrating with the spastic lurchings of the gun. Spent shells spilled almost continuously from the breach.
13. Suddenly a procession soared over the trees and into the rays of the searchlights, unbelievably low, flying straight for the factory. Hans sat bold upright. The lieutenant sprang about the tower on the balls of his feet, shouting, "Give 'em hell! Give 'em hell!" and striking the rail with a closed fist. Hans felt the world exploding around him.
14. The planes were gone as abruptly as they had appeared, except that one of them turned into a white streaking star that curved downward and vanished. Below the place where Hans had seen it, an incandescent flame shot up into the sky.
15. When the laughter went on, he slapped Heime ringingly across the mouth.
16. Still Heime laughed, and Siegfried hit him again.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 48-61.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			1	1		
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing						
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence (Verbal)</u>				
Physical blows	-8	-7	+6	+3	+3
Weapons	+6	+3	+2		
Blood	+4				
Wounds	+3	+1			
Pain					
Death	+3	-5	-6		

1. The campaign in Poland had branded him with a flesh wound across his left wrist . . .
2. . . . so Hans kept the gun. He broke it open once to make sure. Both barrels were loaded.
3. With wings purring, a partridge hurtled off in erratic flight. "Take it," said his uncle, and more on command than through his own volition, Hans fired the first barrel and missed. The second barrel seemed to fire itself. The bird pinwheeled in flight and settled gracefully, like a dropped handkerchief. Hans ran to retrieve the prey. It lay on the ground, wings spread, without any sign of a wound. Hans bent to stroke its feathers. The bird floundered forward.

Hans closed his eyes before the gun went off, and when he opened them, the bird wasn't beautiful any more. The feathers were mud-splattered, and the head was no longer attached to the body. Hans felt ashamed and a little sick. He knew Konrad felt the same, though he didn't show it.
4. . . . still warm and dripping, when he put it into the game bag.
5. "They've gone with the Jews," he explained, grinning through a set of ill-fitting dentures. "It doesn't have a thing to do with seasons, believe me. This place depended on Jewish trade. It's lucky it wasn't closed down. Now the Jews are on permanent holiday, so to speak, and the gypsies have been sent right along with them. You can't say Hitler isn't considerate!"
6. "It belonged to an officer in the Pomorska cavalry. He gave me quite a whack with that thing, but now he doesn't need it any more."
7. Did they know about this morning Denmark had been taken without a shot, that Norway had been invaded and would fall within hours?
8. . . . and the victory in the west had been more of a shopping tour than a war.



Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 62-66.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing						
Other			1		1	

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)	
Physical blows	-1	+2
Weapons	+2	
Blood		
Wounds		
Pain		
Death		

1. Since this was the worst raid they had so far endured . . .
2. "Be glad you're not one of those poor devils."  
Through the trees Hans could see the factory town. In the distance, the flames seemed motionless. "All the windows are lit up like a Fasching party. Fires are really beautiful."

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 73-74.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing						
Other			1	1		

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)	
Physical blows	-2	-1
Weapons	+1	
Blood		
Wounds	+2	
Pain		
Death	-1	

1. German dive bombers in advance of German motorized columns had ended the life of a young woman who had been driving a herd of riding-academy horses to safety.
2. "Barbarossa," the surprise attack on the Soviet Union, had taken place, and Konrad had been part of it. The summer brought stunning victories: 600,000 Russian prisoners at Kiev alone. There were victories in the autumn, too, at Vyazma and Bryansk, but the winter was cold. There were no victories in the snow, and there had been no skiing. Now Konrad, with his stiff leg, would never ski again.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 95-104.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			1	1		
Stabbing						
Wounding			3	3		
Killing			4	4		
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence (Verbal)</u>							
Physical blows	+1	+4	-5	-6	+8	+10	+11	-9
Weapons	+2	+10	+11	+1	+4	+7		
Blood								
Wounds	+3	-12						
Pain								
Death	+1	-4	-8	-9				

1. They call it Golgotha, Place of the Skull. Judging from what archaeologists have pieced together from bones and beads and metal, the Roman legions crucified some German chiefs up there in the woods somewhere . . . "How do they expect to get .88's into those things?" he growled.
2. At best, they would hold the Swiss machine guns, which lacked the range to reach a modern bomber.
3. The Russians gave my body just enough lead to lend it weight.
4. A month ago, a thousand planes had bombed Cologne in a single field.  
"The first raids were just entertaining, like distant fireworks. When they got worse, I slept on a cot in the cellar. My parents' bed was too big to move downstairs, they said, so I would lie there at night alone." Her voice was hypnotic. Tone and cadence were more essential than the words, and Hans was with her in the cellar waiting for the bomb he knew must come. "They'd been bombing the docks as usual that night. The raid was really over, but a plane must have been lightening its load to fly home. Anyway, without the slightest warning the ceiling fell on top of me. I was buried for three days. If it hadn't been for my teddy bear, I'd have been asphyxiated. It was pressed against my face. They wouldn't let me see my parents. I wouldn't have recognized them, anyway.
- 5-6. . . . the armies were victorious. In Russia, the Caucasus and Stalingrad were about to fall. In Africa, Rommel had taken Tobruk and had pushed the English back to El Alamein. Final victory could not be far off.
7. "I remember last year our tanks had 'On to Moscow' painted all over them," said Konrad. "But we'll never see Moscow, you know. There are too many Russians."
8. It got so that the peasants we rolled over in the afternoon looked like the ghosts of those we'd slaughtered in the morning . . .
9. "It was snowing right into our faces, and they came out of the snow all in white like phantoms. We would have run, I think, only there was nothing behind us but a frozen cemetery a thousand miles long and just as wide. So we stayed and fought, and most of us died there."

10. The Siberian cavalry with their tough little jogging horses had come incredibly at night, stitching the surprised tank crews with tommy-gun fire.
11. Konrad had been rallying his men in the flame of a dying tank when he saw a horse rise over him, a frozen scream full of flying hoofs. He'd spun away too late, and the hoofs had caught him along with the bullets.
12. Still, Konrad had been lucky. His comrades had envied him the trip home. For a time the war was over for him, except at night, when he dreamed of a great rushing stream of equine fury.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 109-110.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing			1	1		
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)
Physical blows	-1
Weapons	
Blood	
Wounds	
Pain	
Death	-1



1. It had been less than three months since Paulus's great army had vanished, and the radio had played Wagnerian funeral marches for three days on end, three days of deep mourning for Germany's loss.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 112-114.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			2	2		
Stabbing						
Wounding			1	1		
Killing						
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)
Physical blows	+ <sup>1</sup>
Weapons	+ <sup>1</sup>
Blood	
Wounds	+ <sup>2</sup>
Pain	
Death	+ <sup>2</sup>

1. The boys craned their necks to see what had happened. "Bombs must have hit the road," said Siegfried, but as it turned out, a plane had crashed there, burying itself in the asphalt. Its tail protruded, but the rest had vanished into the earth.

"That's our plane! That's the one we got last night!" shouted one of the boys from another tower.

"Probably hit by a night fighter," said Siegfried realistically.

2. A yellow, sulfurous fog enveloped them. A church tower emerged briefly like a faded print and was swallowed up.

The trucks plowed forward toward the heart of the target. A few buildings stood intact, their walls coated over with the pulverized dust of those that had been demolished. Others had been split open, their insides vomited out into the streets, where an army of soldiers and works police was sifting the debris for signs of life. Corpses lay about with their limbs contorted in futile self-defense. Hans felt his own body stiffen with the rigidity of the dead. He tried to hold his breath against the smell.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 114-120.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			2	2		
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing			1	1		
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)				
Physical blows	+1	+4	-5	-6	-7
Weapons	+1				
Blood	+3				
Wounds	+4				
Pain					
Death	+3				

1. Its feet were bound, and it was bleating through its black mouth, turning its head from side to side in jerks of terror.

Klaus took down a knife from a rack, its blade ground thin from years of use, and as dispassionately as a greengrocer slicing a melon, pressed the blade to the sheep's throat. Hans turned away.

3. The blood flowed from the sheep's body and its limbs trembled and relaxed. Klaus held it still while he searched for words, and the sheep, contemptuous now of all living, bared its teeth in a terrible grin.
4. As he talked, Klaus hung the lamb from a hook, its head down. Saliva dripped slowly from its mouth. He began the process of evisceration. Warm and glossy, the organs slid out over his wrists. "This is what I'm getting at, Hans . . . I want you to be a professor, like your grandfather.
5. The English were already beginning to bomb Munich at night.
6. Then in mid-August the first American shuttle raid passed over Munich on its way to Africa from Regensburg. Every day after that they expected attack, but in October the raids diminished.
7. . . . first haphazard radar bombing. Real saturation raids began with the clear spring skies of 1944.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 120-127.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing			2	2		
Other			2	2		

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence (Verbal)</u>					
Physical blows	+1					
Weapons	+8					
Blood						
Wounds	+7	+6	+4	+2	+1	
Pain						
Death	+1	-2	-3	+5	-9	-10

1. One of these shelters had been hit. All that remained was a thirty-foot crater. Strewn about its rim like the petals of some monstrous flower lay the bodies of workers. A sweet vomitous odor pervaded the lemon-colored air.
2. . . . dashed here and there among the dead . . . . The afternoon was an eternity of flies and smells and nausea which . . . .
3. With so many dead, it seems almost indecent to be alive." . . . and from it the works police drove a crowd of workers . . . .
4. Works police and a crowd of workers were already there, and lines had been thrown about the larger fragments of wreckage. With the help of Hans and his comrades, the plane, or what was left of it, was to be drawn off into the field.
5. In the field other wreckage had fallen, including an aviator who had jumped with a defective chute. Siegfried had gone to look at the body, and back at the truck, he depicted the scene vividly. "His guts were strewn all over. All over."
6. Only his eyes seemed to shout. Abruptly Heime showed him, by being sick.
7. . . . there he clung, head down, his body jerking almost mechanically.
8. He began to polish the grip of his dagger with a greasy rag, a procedure so common that the knife had entirely lost its inscription.
9. "Are you aware that he has since been executed for high treason?"
10. "They were also executed in 1943 for leading the so-called students' revolt. Surely you came across their pamphlet, The White Rose.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 128-130; 131-142.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting	2		2	4		
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing			2	2		
Other		1	3	4		

INTENSITY SCALE

Violent Acts	Treatment of Violence (Verbal)											
	+1	+2	+3	-4	-5	-6	+7	-9	+10	+11	+12	-13
Physical blows												
	+15	+16	+17	+18	+19	+20	+21	+24				
Weapons	+12	+11	-10	+14	+15	+7	+5	+4	+3	+17		
	+18	+19	+20	+21	+24	+2	+12					
Blood												
Wounds	+13	+22										
Pain												
Death	+3	+4	-8	+13	+22	-23						



1. . . . the flak battery responded to one alert. From the towers they could see flashes in the north; Nuremberg this time.
2. Those who shirked Rabbe's fitness drills, or were caught visiting the girls at the searchlight batteries, were publicly thrashed with a strap.
3. There were the Americans, the "Amis" as Ernst called them, who raided by day. Clouds of Liberators bombed the nearby towns and factories, but seldom came within firing range. There were no close calls at the battery, only the constant alerts and the cleaning up of the towns. Even that didn't matter much any more. The "Stiffs" had become so much cordwood, and they were buried by tractor.
4. . . . beginning to stir in its sleep. We wear smiles, but carry pistols, and now and then one of us dies behind a hedge.
5. The Maquis let fly carrier pigeons and we have squab for supper now and then, but on the whole our shotgun patrols are bad marksmen and the birds get through to gossip about us in England.
6. But they were not, and as the days went by, Siegfried rationalized that Hitler had decided to let the beach-head enlarge. When the bag was full, an army of Tiger Royals would pull the string. "Biff, bank! Total victory!"
7. An English broadcast reported that Hitler had been killed, that a bomb planted by fanatics had gone off in his East Prussian Wolfschanze. All the pots of geraniums along the window sills had been shattered in the blast of a 150 millimeter shell. Finally, the unmistakable voice of Goebbels, "Little Cloven Hoof" as some called him, announced over the radio that their Fuhrer had been spared to continue his onerous duties.
8. "Hitler has been spared by divine providence," he said. The rotten core of army generals responsible for past failures had been purged.
9. The English and the Americans are still pressing forward, but they are paying a terrible price. And the Russians . . . Let me tell you, I have fought in Russia, and I know their savagery.

10. In midsummer the air war, which had retired beyond the horizon, suddenly returned. The aircraft-engine plants and the Munich marshaling yards were attacked. Five times in one week the Munich area was bombed.
11. The Americans came by day in their B-17's, the British by night in their cigar-shaped Lancasters.
12. The jet airfields were carpet-bombed and the flak towers trembled.
13. But the jets were up. They should have swept the skies clean, but the bombers only returned in greater numbers. Hans began to carry his pay book in his hip pocket, on Captain Rabbe's advice. He had told them that a body, no matter how dismembered seldom lost its pants.
14. . . . by the occasional silver wing of an American bomber, like sunlight on water. Too high . . . they were always too high . . .
15. . . . but on the signal he pressed down on the jarring pedal, and tiny streaks marked the upward passage of the bullets.
16. All day the Amis were overhead, bombing Munich into a smoky fog, plowing up the airfield. Down below the tower, Captain Rabbe yelled at them: "We'll show 'em. Give 'em hell, boys!"
17. But five thousand shells were not enough to bring down one bomber. Heime could cart shells all day until his back broke, until the barrel wilted with the heat, and Hans couldn't fire that many.
18. Searchlights began their explorations, followed by star shells which turned the deepening cloud cover into a pane of frosted glass. Against it, the raiders would be silhouettes for the German night fighters.
19. Moths fluttered around the flashing barrels of his gun. Hans tried to concentrate on the thunder of their wings . . .
20. . . . instead of on the rushing, jarring night and the subtle, deadly plunk of shrapnel falling back around him. Before the fight ended, they had blown the clouds away. There remained only the star-stabbed sky.

21. They were firing straight up into an empty sky because the raid was traveling through a barrage zone the corner of which was occupied by their towers. The shells went up and fell back, raining through the forest, banging through a helmet in an adjacent tower.
22. He joined it, and saw a boy he scarcely knew lying on the ground, his eyes wide and unseeing, their gaze turned inward. His mouth, too, was open, yawning, but the corners of the lips were torn as if burst by the abrupt expulsion of life.  
Hans heard Siegfried insisting: "Get a doctor! Somebody get a doctor!" as if it were possible to talk a corpse back to life. Captain Rabbe ordered them to carry the body inside.
23. The dead boy had been a stranger in life and in death. In a few days he would be forgotten.
24. Yet the bombers came through the worst weather, bombing by radar. No longer could the warning system be relied upon. Sometimes the raiders arrived with the first wailing of the sirens.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 143-144.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting						
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing						
Other			4	2		2

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence (Verbal)</u>			
Physical blows	-4	-3	-1	-2
Weapons	+1	+2	-1	
Blood				
Wounds				
Pain				
Death				

1. "It's started! New weapons . . . the great offensive!" He threw his arms around Hans, almost toppling the sturdier boy to the ground in his ecstasy. From scattered bits, his news began to take shape. In the Ardennes Forest a great offensive to preserve the Fatherland had begun.
2. Eight thousand planes of an entirely new and fearful design had swept the Allies from the skies.
3. The Fuhrer had launched new battalions of tanks . . . he had sprung his trap . . . at last there would be victory in the west.
4. Major Wirth, is fortunate enough to spearhead this glorious victory. May we wish every triumph to our old comrade and the Panzer Lehr division. May the snow run red with American blood! May the Channel overflow with the blood of the English! Some of you may ask, what about the Russians?



1. . . . when the bombers arrived and ended the painful conversation.
2. Hans was aware of them before he heard the guns, as though a slow breath wafted over the town.
3. There were the guns, thank God.
4. The far-off bombs sounded like someone knocking on the outside of a tub. But the tub was the whole universe.
5. Hans heard the drum of the bomb sticks hitting one after another.
6. Convulsively he flung his arms around Gretchen. She was crying. "You'll be all right. You're safe with me," he shouted, but he knew she could not hear a word. With a sort of anguish they embraced, not kissing, simply pressing close, while a milky dust filled the air in the shelter and shrapnel tinkled and hissed in the street above.
7. The tumult diminished periodically, but there was no "all clear." The raiders came again and again. During the lulls, the people talked. A few ate sandwiches. The nun pumped the old organ pedal furiously and screeched out a hymn. Amid all the bedlam and discomfort, what Hans minded most was the heat--the heat and the smoke that came with it. Klaus had taken off his jacket.
8. . . . the people climbed up into the roaring inferno that had been their town. Tiny thermite bombs, weighing two pounds apiece, had been sown by the raiders as thickly as seed. The fire engines and the rescue squads were helpless amid the fiery harvest.
9. . . . every direction under a blizzard of sparks. Hans and Gretchen ran through the burning streets wildly, turned this way and that by demolition and by fire. "There's something in the air," sang Hans giddily. This couldn't be his town. No town could change so vastly in a few hours.

10. They took the mill path, avoiding the smoldering fires.





1. Except for one boy who had been wounded in a raid at home, all the members . . .
2. Until the middle of winter the great Fatherland offensive which should have swept the Allies into the sea absorbed all bomber attacks. Then, less suddenly than it had begun, the offensive was over, dead.
3. As a grim signpost of things to come, Dresden was bombed for three successive days until it was no longer an inhabited city. The Fuhrer threatened a "death mist" in reprisal. As soon as the jets were ready in force, the death mist would end the war in one terrible hour.
4. There were only enough bullets left to keep two towers busy, not eight, he explained.
5. Konrad had been released from the army as a convalescent, but not a whole one. He'd left a hand behind. Even so, Hans could not think of Konrad as unlucky.
6. As the raiders moved into their sector, Captain Rabbe gave the order to fire. Like luminous oranges, the tracers went up to meet the ruin which poured from the skies. Hans had once imagined glory in it. Now a thousand million bare-armed housewives seemed to be beating their rugs against his eardrums. He felt the impact of every stroke, and was afraid.
7. Their ammunition was entirely spent on the first wave of raiders.
8. The two boys waited with the helpless terror of the condemned as the raiders passed over again, bombing the jet airfield.
9. Flak opened up around them like pure white cascading flowers, and they had to cling to the jostling gun to keep from falling.
10. The raiders burst out of the stabbing midnight. Their bombs fell. Hans felt as if the first one, which hit along the line of towers, had gone off between his teeth.
11. He saw a jagged cloud, the star of an explosion, then a pandemonium of explosions and flames.

12. "We're falling!" screamed Ernst. Like a great tree cut through at its base, the eighty-two-foot tower fell, slowly at first. For a moment Hans was aware of Ernst's face embalmed by the fiery glare. Then his own bones and sinews were wrenched and unsocketed by the concussions. The ground hurtled up, faster and faster.
13. A tree partly broke his fall. It spun him like a rag doll to the ground, where he landed with dirt forced between his teeth. Hans tried to crawl away from the tower, which glowed white hot as it disintegrated.
14. He thought he heard Ernst's voice, thought he saw him beating at his trousers and jacket, from which flames burst like red blossoms. Then there was nothing but darkness and a pulse that kept beating slowly. When he awoke, everything around him was quiet and gray, and he could feel each deliberate breath. There was smoke in the air, and the honest smell of heartwood laid open from the felled trees.
15. Even more slowly he realized that he was badly hurt. He felt no pain, but he knew about the swift anesthesia of shock which followed a severe wound. When he had the strength.
16. "You . . . water . . . help me . . ." came an injured voice. It sounded small and plaintive, pleading for dignity amid the solitude of pain. The boy crawled slowly toward Hans, his features rigid and his upper lip distorted.
17. "Water . . . water . . ." said the boy again. With his mouth still open, he made a gurgling noise. Then great ropes and clots of blood poured from his mouth. He collapsed to the ground and Hans watched him as in a dream. He had no water and he said so, but the stranger didn't answer.
18. He rocked to and fro, saying his name repeatedly: "My name is Fritz Dressler, my name is Fritz Dressler, my name . . ." as though trying to prove to himself that he was still alive. The words became halting, indistinct. Then he was still.
19. It was Siegfried, smeared with soot. Words tumbled out of him. Not a tower was left standing. He'd sent Heime for help, and he'd searched through the ruins.
20. Everyone else was dead except for Ernst.

21. Ernst had been burned and was barely breathing. "Where are you hit?" he asked.
22. Hans didn't know. His head felt full of chipped rock. His left arm had no feeling at all.
23. The pain was coming. Hans felt it in waves, but now and then he slept, and tossed in an ancestral nightmare.
24. "See where my hand is? That's where to strike." Where his hand was, Hans saw the head of a lamb, and he struck with all his might, uttering a loud grunt like a woodcutter, and feeling the pain of the felled lamb in his body, feeling the bubbles around its lips around his own.

He was the lamb, and his father stood by, telling him never to give a name to the animal one has to butcher, never even flick a fly from its back. Then the lamb grinned at him, a lipless breathless grin. All the lambs grinned. He was on the top of a vast pile of lambs stacked up in neat rows like firewood. He began to worry about those underneath, those at the bottom, but when he looked they were flattened.

26. The raiders came instead. Fighters this time, but there was nothing left of the flak battery for them to attack, so they flew away.
27. Ernst was still alive, the voice said, but Hans was too full of pain and exhaustion to care. He did not even open his eyes.
28. His red-veined eyes gazed about vacuously while his mouth gnawed hideously on nothing. Even Hans could tell that Captain Rabbe was mad. Siegfried offered him a can of soup salvaged from the barracks but Captain Rabbe did not seem to hear. He fumbled through the ruins until he had reached a spot where the burned tower supports formed a loose cage about him. Here a single, inexpressive shriek tore from his throat. As if in obedience to this signal, the captain immediately sat down, drew up his knees, rested his head upon them, and did not move as long as there was light to see him.
29. Hans could not sleep at all the second night. He had one thought, one sensation: pain. It filled his world.

30. His body cried and groaned in pain, yet he seemed able to view his own suffering from a dispassionate distance as though he had not one body but two. The hurt body was delirious, calling for water, calling for Gretchen, while the other observed it idly and longed for sleep.
31. He thought he heard Siegfried crying, but he couldn't tell for sure. He tried to tell Siegfried everything was all right. He couldn't because they'd shoved a needle into his arm before lifting him onto a stretcher. "Siegfried . . ." Then the pain of motion closed over him.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 186-196.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting		1		1		
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing		1		1		
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence (Verbal)</u>	
Physical blows	+ <sup>3</sup>	- <sup>4</sup>
Weapons	+ <sup>2</sup>	
Blood		
Wounds	+ <sup>1</sup>	
Pain		
Death	+ <sup>3</sup>	

1. Emaciated, with a bandage for a left hand . . .
2. The army's crumbling at the edges like stale cake. We've nothing left but Cossack deserters and horse artillery. Instead of Panzers we're sending out bicycle boys to face tanks. This is sunset and I say amen."
3. "Yes, but you don't know why. You probably didn't like Rabbe. He wasn't very likeable, I know. But once he made a confession to me, and afterwards I think he hated me for knowing his secret. He was in the SS . . . Action Squad C, in Russia, near Kiev. He told me that he sat on the edge of the Babi Yar ravine there and for two days did nothing but machine gun women and children. It took thirty thousand bodies to fill that ravine. You may have thought of Rabbe as some sort of iron puppet, but he wasn't devoid of feelings. He broke down, and they drummed him out of the SS. Now all that Germany has left on the field is the Waffen SS. They can't win the war . . . they can only create ruins. There won't be any men left in Germany except on crutches."
4. Do you know that more and more soldiers are taking independent action?  
    "Desertion?"  
    "Hardly that. They're thinking of the welfare of Germany. There comes a time to stand fast, even at the risk of being dead heroes. Perhaps that time is already past. But there is a group in the Munich area called the Anti-Fascist Committee. Most regular army, a few civilians."

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 204-210.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			1		1	
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing			1		1	
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence (Verbal)</u>					
Physical blows	+6	+8	+9	+10	+12	
Weapons	+5	+12	+10	+11	+9	+8
Blood						
Wounds						
Pain						
Death	+8	+11	+6	-7		



5. "Halt!" cried a bewhiskered old man wearing an arm band instead of a uniform. "Traffic prohibited." He waved an antique gun.
6. The truck driver shouted back. "Grandfather, get the broomstick out of the way or I'll run you down." The truck lunged forward, pushing aside all of the barrier which the Volkssturm men had failed to remove. In what remained of Hindenburg Square the truck halted again so that the funeral procession might proceed on foot to the cemetery. A few villagers were waiting. The body of a soldier was hung there as well, a gruesome but somehow fitting sentiment. A placard was attached to the rope around his neck: "Lieutenant Schmiedemann, 226 Res. Inf. Regt., was a defeatist." With such encouragement the Volkssturm were kept at their posts.
7. Hans saw Gretchen. He would have liked to walk with her, but he was obliged to follow Ernst. Eight boys carried the coffin, and the others drew up behind in solemn procession. Hans managed to achieve a pace of slow piety, head inclined, counting the fresh imprints that the weighted feet had left in the warm tar of the road.
8. Hans felt strangely disembodied, neither dead nor alive. Nothing could truly surprise him, not even the figures up ahead banging a gong. It seemed to have frightened the others. The coffin swayed, then ran for the side of the road on sixteen legs, its skirt of a flag flapping. Then the legs became individual boys, and the coffin fell with a hideous splinter of wood. Only the high incisive note of a fighter plane coming with the unnatural speed of its kind brought Hans to his senses. The sirens had been destroyed. The gong was the only warning left.
9. He fell flat as the plane went over, saw the saber flash of its twin propellers, saw Siegfried planted in the middle of the street hurling stones.
10. A moment later he heard the raider's guns go off as it reached the main road and the military convoy.
11. The coffin lay in the street. No one stirred. When Hans started to get up, a voice warned him there was another plane coming. Hans rolled over on his back. There it was, a bomber this time, a Liberator.

12. As he watched, it dropped a bomb, one solitary bomb which fell slowly toward them in endless, dreamlike flight. Someone screamed. Hans curled himself up, arms over his head, awaiting death. There was only a popping sound high in the air and then a volley of laughter.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 221-230.

ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			5	5		
Stabbing						
Wounding						
Killing			3	3		
Other						

INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)									
Physical blows	-1	-2	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9	+12	+13	+20
	+21	+22								
Weapons	+4	+7	+8	+10	+11	+12	+13	+15	+16	
	+17	+19	+21	+22	+23	+20				
Blood										
Wounds										
Pain	+3									
Death	-1	+4	+5	+6	+10					

1. It was a time when German fought against German through a fog of rumor and false report. Munich had fallen to the Wehrmacht and the radio called on Bavarians to rise against the SS. Some did, and many died.
2. The SS, the Hitler Youth, a few isolated detachments fought back, while the great army of Field Marshal Kesselring dissolved on the alpine roads.
3. An endless procession of soldiers and refugees moved through the exquisite springtime, a living artery of suffering, despair, and defeat.
4. Behind them were left the relics of Nazi rout: burst haversacks and cartridge boxes, baby carriages loaded with kindling wood, scattered letters and lockets, burned-out tanks, and horses dead in their traces.
5. Only here and there armies, reduced to company size and company command, remained to fight. These were brief, spasmodic struggles, followed on no battle maps, recorded in no histories, written only on grave markers and in women's hearts.
6. This also made him laugh dangerously, as did Siegfried's proclamation that a dead and bloating horse was just as good protection as several bags of sand. It must have been one of the airfield horses, Hans thought. A few had been kept to help pull the planes off under the trees as they landed. If they didn't pull fast enough, they were strafed. That was how the horse had died.
7. . . . a cannon had begun to fire. Its voice was singularly untterrifying. It hung lazily in the air, which seemed worn out from carrying loud sounds for so long.
8. A gun sounded closer now, and a plane came over.
9. There was only the pilot. Siegfried tried to question him, but the man impatiently began to pour gasoline over the plane. Siegfried then tried to interrogate him at gunpoint, while Hans and Heime stood by. The pilot failed to recognize the passion of the small person who was annoying him. He pushed Siegfried down, touched a match to the plane, and carelessly walked away. Siegfried struggled to his feet and fired just as Hans gave a shout of warning. The pilot sank to his knees, then to hands and knees. Finally he rolled over on his side, his movements slow and ponderous.

10. Siegfried ran back to the .88 millimeter gun while the other boys watched his every move. Hans went to examine the pilot, but he could see that there was no use feeling for a pulse, so he followed Siegfried. Steadily the noises in the valley were growing.
11. The cannon were accompanied by the familiar rumble and clank of tanks moving through forests and gardens like a gazing herd of monsters. Morning became afternoon, and still no enemy showed himself.
12. There were occasional planes, of course: an American reconnaissance plane, at which Siegfried discharged an errant shell from the .88, and later a plane that looked like a single-engine trainer trailing smoke. The trainer swung in toward their field.
13. The .88 fired a shell, and the plane, skating from its course, nosed over into the forest. Hans had barely time to recognize the German cross on the plane's wing before the forest absorbed it.
14. Smoke rose in the dark column, to be skimmed away gradually by the wind. Siegfried was jubilant. He either did not know or did not care that the plane was German.
15. Tanks had now reached the village road. Hans could hear them just beyond the trees.
16. Toward the far end of the airfield moved the striped figures of prisoners. Siegfried racked down the long barrel of the .88 until it squinted out across the field almost level with the grass.
19. From the trees across the field emerged an American tank. It was ponderous and slow, the barrel moving in its turret like the clumsy feeler of a terrible insect. Either it did not see the entrenched .88 or it relied upon the paralyzing effect of its own presence. In any event, it did not fire. With seagull cries of joy, the prisoners ran toward it, waving.
20. Then the concealed .88 went off. Its shell racketed across the field and into the woods, exploding there. The clang of the tank's hatch closing was followed by a much louder clang, . . .

21. . . . like the sound of a church bell cracking. It was the second shell from the .88. At first Hans thought it had glanced off the tank, but the long cannon swung abruptly downward in its turret, and there was a rumble of explosions, deep and muffled. Smoke wisped from the hatch and from the driver's slit. The tank looked as deadly as ever, but it was finished. The harlequin crowd of prisoners rushed to and fro, then crouched behind the huge iron skeleton.
22. From their salvaged weapons, irresolute bursts of fire began to spray the woods opposite, plucking down leaves and tearing up plumes of dust.
23. A lash of tracers hummed overhead. They opened tree trunks, left them smoking, and came down on the other side of the field where the .88 was concealed.

Forman, James. Horses of Anger. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967.

Total Pages in Book: 244

Context Unit: pp. 234-237.

#### ACTOR-ACTION SCALE

Action	Actor Involved			Relationship		
	Hero	Villain	Minor Char.	Strangers	Intimates	Object
Wrestling						
Boxing						
Shooting			1	1		
Stabbing						
Wounding			2		2	
Killing						
Other						

#### INTENSITY SCALE

<u>Violent Acts</u>	<u>Treatment of Violence</u> (Verbal)						
Physical blows	+3	-8	+9	+10	-11		
Weapons	+1	+10	+11	+3	+4	+5	+9
Blood	+10						
Wounds	+2						
Pain							
Death	+1	+2	+4	+10	-5	-11	

1. "I saw Siegfried. Hans, he was dead. There was a knife in his back. So many boys were dead, and so many prisoners . . .
2. A few dead lay in the streets, already swollen, their faces tinted yellow, green, black. Paper moved in the streets. There were pictures of Hitler, and a pile of Mein Kampf hastily set afire and only partly burned.
3. A shot, followed by a series of shots and the crash of a tank butting through a half-demolished building, indicated the presence of snipers. So there would be a little more killing after all.
4. There was a dented helmet, the flattened tire from a Volkswagon, and a trail of horse manure ending in a dead horse. Hans's father knelt beside the body with a bucket and a butcher's knife.
5. Hans asked if he had come with the demolished American tank. He said he had. In fact, he'd rallied the prisoners against the .88 and the rifles that had supported it from the forest. The carcass of a dead horse has saved him from a shellburst. There'd been no shelter after that.
9. He'd limped the last hundred yards armed only with rocks, relying on the hope that the boys had all run away. Only one was still there, Siegfried crouched behind the muzzle of a cocked carbine.  
"Don't shoot! It's all over!" Konrad had shouted, but the boy had taken aim, and as a last insult had stuck out his tongue.
10. Instead, Siegfried's open mouth had seemed to widen, and the pink protruding tongue had disappeared in a rush of blood. Siegfried had swayed forward, and the gun had discharged into the ground.  
"It was Heime. It must have been Heime," said Konrad. "He stabbed Siegfried in the back and ran. He disappeared into the forest before I could get a good look at him, but it was his knife all right. Well, Siegfried was born for trouble. It's just as well."
11. Siegfried was gone, demobilized for eternity. And Heime . . . Had his knife made his final statement? Hans would not forget the speech he had made. Only time would tell about Heime.



APPENDIX C

THE CONTENT ANALYSIS: A GUIDE  
TO THE TABLES

## THE CONTENT ANALYSIS: A GUIDE TO THE TABLES

The complete content analysis is contained in the following tables. For each year the first page gives the book listing, with numbers which serve to identify the books in the table on the next page. Each table has a total of 14 columns, labeled A through N.

Column A: This column gives the identifying number of the book.

Column B: This column indicates the kind of book in question. H stands for historical fiction; M stands for modern realistic fiction.

Column C: This column shows the country of origin if other than U.S. A denotes Australia, B denotes Britain, C denotes Canada, F denotes a foreign country other than one of the British Commonwealth.

Column D: The total number of pages of the book that are devoted to violent episodes are given.

Column E: This column lists the total number of book pages.

Column F: This column gives the percentage of space devoted to violence. The entry in F is equal to the entry in D divided by that in E multiplied by 100.

Column G: Here are listed the raw scores for the positive intensity value. See Chapter III.

Column H: This column lists the raw scores for the negative intensity value; see Chapter III.

Columns I through N refer to the actor-action scale. The entries give the following information.

Column I: In this column are listed the number of times the hero or heroine commit aggressive acts.

Column J: Here are listed the number of times the villain (or villains) commits the aggressive acts.

Column K: Here are listed the number of times the aggressive acts are committed by minor characters.

Column L: This column lists the number of times violence occurs between strangers.

Column M: This column lists the number of times intimates are involved in the violent acts.

Column N: This column lists the number of times violent acts are directed against inanimate objects.

Following the tabulation for the individual books totals and averages are presented. For both totals and averages there are four separate entries. The first is the total for all books of that year. The next line, Tot.(H) gives the totals for historical fiction books, and the following line the totals for modern realistic books. Finally, the totals for all books originally published in Commonwealth countries is given.

The last four lines give the corresponding averages, in per cent. Under column D appear the "page averages" for that year. The entry here is equal to the total under column D divided by the total under column E, multiplied by 100. The averages appearing under column F are the "book averages." These are simply the total of the percentages under column F for the individual books, divided by the number of books in the sample. The percentages in the last four lines under columns G and H are with respect to the number of total book pages, not number

of books. Thus, for 1960, the entry of 15.2 in column G in the line Avg.(II) is equal to 224 divided by 1474 and multiplied by 100. The percentages under columns I, J, K give the percentage of the time the hero, villain, or minor characters commit violent acts. Similarly, under columns L, M. N are the percentages for the times the violent acts involve strangers, intimates or are directed at inanimate objects.

## Book List--1960

1. O'Dell, Island of the Blue Dolphin
2. Spykeman, Terrible, Horrible Edie
3. Grice, Out of the Mines, the Story of a Pit Boy
4. Fritz, Brady
5. Johnson and Johnson, Torrie
6. Burnford, The Incredible Journey
7. L'Engle, Meet the Austins
8. Nordstrom, The Secret Language
9. Kim, The Happy Days
10. Weaver, A Poppy in the Corn
11. Stucley, Family Walkup, A Story of the Berners  
Family
12. Sutcliff, Knight's Fee
13. Johnson and Johnson, The Bearcat
14. Yashima, The Golden Footprint
15. Stolz, The Dog on Barkham Street
16. Chauncey, Devil's Hill
17. Schaefer, Old Ramon
18. Mayne, The Blue Boat

1960

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	H		32	184	17.4	84	4	11	5	7	19	4	0
2	M		7	224	3.1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
3	H	B	14	171	8.2	24	7	1	2	9	7	5	0
4	H		44	221	19.7	17	1	1	2	3	4	1	1
5	H		52	216	24.1	33	7	2	2	14	11	7	0
6	M	C	22	145	15.2	54	2	9	0	8	17	0	0
7	M		0	191	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	M		0	161	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	H	F	5	214	2.3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
10	M	B	9	317	2.8	6	4	0	0	3	1	2	0
11	M	B	20	181	11.0	11	0	4	1	4	0	9	0
12	H	B	38	237	16.0	25	0	4	3	5	4	8	0
13	H		49	231	20.7	40	0	0	7	4	3	8	0
14	M		21	55	38.2	10	2	0	0	5	5	0	0
15	M		12	184	6.5	10	1	1	3	3	0	7	0
16	M	A	1	153	0.7	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
17	M		24	102	23.5	24	1	1	0	3	4	0	0
18	M	B	7	173	4.0	11	0	0	1	3	3	1	0
Tot.			357	3366		354	29	34	26	75	81	53	1
Tot. (H)			234	1474		224	19	19	21	43	48	34	1
Tot. (M)			123	1892		130	10	15	5	32	33	19	0
Tot. (Co)			111	1377		133	13	18	7	34	34	25	0
Avg.			10.6		11.8	10.5	0.9	25	19	56	60	39	1
Avg. (H)			15.9		15.5	15.2	1.3	23	25	52	58	41	1
Avg. (M)			6.5		9.6	6.9	0.6	29	10	61	63	37	0
Avg. (Co)			8.1		8.3	9.7	0.9	30	12	58	58	42	0

Book List--1961

1. McGraw, The Golden Goblet
2. Lauritzen, The Legend of Billy Bluesage
3. Polland, Beorn the Proud
4. Enright, Return to Gone Away
5. De Jong, The Last Little Cat
6. Wibberley, Sea Captain from Salem
7. Kaufmann, Adventure in the Desert
8. Williamson, The Glorious Conspiracy

1961

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	H		24	248	9.7	33	1	0	8	4	1	11	0
2	M		45	218	20.6	84	5	1	12	15	26	2	0
3	H		42	176	23.9	32	11	2	10	4	14	1	1
4	M		0	191	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	M		2	66	3.0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
6	H		69	186	37.2	70	15	4	2	6	12	0	0
7	H	F	35	218	16.1	44	9	0	5	13	17	1	0
8	H		25	211	11.8	44	5	2	0	13	10	5	0
Tot.			242	1514		308	46	9	37	56	81	20	1
Tot. (H)			195	1039		223	41	8	25	40	54	18	1
Tot. (M)			47	475		85	5	1	12	16	27	2	0
Tot. (Co)			none										
Avg.			16.0		15.3	20.4	3.0	9	36	55	79	20	1
Avg. (H)			18.8		19.7	21.5	4.0	11	34	55	74	25	1
Avg. (M)			9.9		7.9	17.9	1.1	4	41	55	93	7	0



Book List--1962

1. McLean, Ribbon of Fire
2. Wrightson, The Feather Star
3. Wibberley, Treegate's Raiders
4. Keats, The Snowy Day
5. Sutcliff, Dawn Wind
6. Seuberlich, Annuzza, A Girl of Rumania
7. Baumann, I Marched with Hannibal
8. Phipson, The Family Conspiracy
9. Van Stockum, The Winged Watchman
10. Pearce, A Dog So Small
11. Carlson, Carnival in Paris
12. Ball, Bristle Face
13. Southall, Hill's End
14. Little, Mine for Keeps
15. Godden, Little Plum
16. Bonzon, The Orphans of Simitra
17. De Jong, Nobody Plays with Cabbage
18. De Jong, The Singing Hill
19. Constant, Willie and the Wildcat Well
20. Paradis, Mr. de Luca's Horse
21. Mayne, A Grass Rope
22. Hightower, Dark Horse of Woodfield

1962

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M	B	38	191	19.9	53	2	1	3	12	13	3	0
2	M	A	8	160	5.0	13	0	0	0	6	4	2	0
3	H		70	218	32.1	145	41	10	4	36	41	9	0
4	M		0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	H	B	58	241	24.0	88	7	8	4	20	17	15	0
6	M	F	10	198	5.1	7	4	0	2	0	0	1	1
7	H	F	45	223	20.2	137	34	0	2	18	15	4	1
8	M	A	9	224	4.0	4	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
9	H	F	30	204	14.7	17	0	0	8	6	11	3	0
10	M	B	0	149	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	M		4	152	2.6	3	1	2	0	0	0	2	0
12	M		32	206	15.5	28	5	0	0	4	4	0	0
13	M	A	10	174	5.8	18	0	1	0	2	3	0	0
14	M		0	186	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	M		5	98	5.1	9	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
16	M	F	7	160	4.4	2	2	1	0	1	0	2	0
17	M		2	52	3.8	7	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
18	M		11	180	6.1	10	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
19	H		20	249	8.0	21	1	1	0	5	1	5	0
20	M		3	167	1.8	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
21	M	B	4	167	2.4	4	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
22	H		4	233	1.7	7	1	0	0	2	1	1	0
Tot.			370	3858		576	99	26	23	119	117	49	2
Tot. (H)			227	1368		415	82	19	18	87	86	37	1
Tot. (M)			143	2490		161	17	7	5	32	31	12	1
Tot. (Co)			127	1306		180	9	11	7	43	39	22	0
Avg.			9.6		8.3	14.9	2.6	15	14	71	70	29	1
Avg. (H)			16.6		16.8	30.4	6.0	15	14	71	69	30	1
Avg. (M)			5.7		5.1	6.5	0.7	16	11	73	71	27	2
Avg. (Co)			9.7		8.7	13.8	0.7	18	11	71	64	36	0

Book List--1963

1. Wier, The Loner
2. Ammerman, Guns in the Heather
3. Bloch, Aunt America
4. Stolz, Who Wants Music on Monday?
5. Willard, Storm from the West
6. Day, Landslide!
7. Peyton, Sea Fever
8. Haugaard, Hakon of Rogen's Saga
9. Shotwell, Roosevelt Grady
10. Steele, The Year of the Bloody Sevens
11. Behn, The Faraway Lurs
12. Fritz, I, Adam
13. Ness, Josefina February
14. Dillon, The Coriander
15. Bartos-Hoppner, The Cossacks
16. Lee, The Rock and the Willow
17. Johnson and Johnson, A Golden Touch

1963

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M		29	153	19.0	46	0	3	0	5	7	1	0
2	M		28	191	14.7	44	0	2	6	2	6	4	0
3	M		0	149	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	M		0	267	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	M		6	189	3.2	8	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
6	M	F	0	158	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	H	B	8	240	3.3	30	0	2	1	3	4	2	0
8	H		47	132	35.6	83	12	6	9	6	4	17	0
9	M		18	151	11.9	12	0	0	2	1	0	2	1
10	H		75	187	40.1	71	0	5	2	13	19	0	1
11	H		42	190	22.1	36	7	2	4	9	8	7	0
12	H		16	255	6.3	6	0	2	2	3	0	7	0
13	M		0	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	M	B	5	211	2.4	3	0	1	0	2	2	1	0
15	H	F	77	295	26.1	162	26	28	21	33	78	3	1
16	H		9	223	4.0	5	3	3	2	3	0	8	0
17	H		17	230	7.4	12	0	2	0	2	3	1	0
Tot.			377	3250		518	49	56	49	83	131	54	3
Tot. (H)			291	1752		405	48	50	41	72	116	45	2
Tot. (M)			86	1498		113	1	6	8	11	15	9	1
Tot. (Co)			13	451		33	0	3	1	5	6	3	0
Avg.			11.6		11.5	15.9	1.5	30	26	44	69	29	2
Avg. (H)			16.6		18.1	23.1	2.7	31	25	44	71	28	1
Avg. (M)			5.7		5.7	7.5	0.1	24	32	44	60	36	0
Avg. (Co)			2.9		2.9	7.3	0	33	11	56	67	33	0

Book List--1964

1. Keats, Whistle for Willie
2. Sommerfelt, The White Bungalow
3. Petry, Tituba of Salem Village
4. Hunt, Across Five Aprils
5. Hodges, The Namesake
6. Wilson, Big Blue Island
7. Carlson, The Orphelines in the Enchanted Castle
8. De Jong, Far Out on the Long Canal
9. Yates, Carolina's Courage
10. Caudill, A Pocketful of Cricket
11. George, Gull Number 737
12. Kroeber, Ishi, Last of his Tribe

1964

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M		0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	M	F	29	124	23.4	27	4	0	0	8	5	3	0
3	H		61	254	24.0	37	1	1	3	11	7	8	0
4	H		77	223	34.6	31	2	0	0	27	17	10	0
5	H	B	40	269	14.9	95	16	1	16	12	28	1	0
6	M		2	120	1.7	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
7	M		18	95	19.0	24	0	1	6	0	1	6	0
8	H		14	231	6.1	9	0	1	0	3	4	0	0
9	H		2	96	2.1	5	1	0	0	2	2	0	0
10	M		0	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	M		24	198	12.1	31	1	0	0	11	9	2	0
12	H		21	206	10.2	61	3	9	7	5	21	0	0
Tot.			288	1884		321	28	14	32	79	95	30	0
Tot. (H)			215	1279		238	23	12	26	60	79	19	0
Tot. (M)			73	605		83	5	2	6	19	16	11	0
Tot. (Co)			40	269		95	16	1	16	12	28	1	0
Avg.			15.3		12.3	17.0	1.5	11	26	63	76	24	0
Avg. (H)			16.8		15.3	18.7	1.8	12	27	61	81	19	0
Avg. (M)			12.1		9.4	13.7	0.8	8	22	70	59	41	0
Avg. (Co)			14.9		14.9	35.3	6.0	3	55	42	97	3	0

Book List--1965

1. Jarrell, The Animal Family
2. Bonham, Durango Street
3. Bradbury, Two on an Island
4. Stevenson, The Bushbabies
5. Morey, Gentle Ben
6. Hentoff, Jazz Country
7. Stolz, The Noonday Friends
8. Wojciechowska, Shadow of a Bull
9. Constant, Those Miller Girls
10. Forman, Ring the Judas Bell
11. Haugaard, A Slave's Tale
12. Holm, North to Freedom
13. Neville, It's Like This, Cat
14. Neville, Berries Goodman
15. Phipson, Birkin
16. MacPherson, The Rough Road
17. Ottley, Boy Alone
18. Sutcliff, The Mark of the Horse Lord
19. Peyton, The Maplin Bird
20. Carlson, The Empty Schoolhouse
21. Tresselt, Hide and Seek Fog
22. Ets, Just Me

1965

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M		2	180	1.1	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
2	M		54	187	28.9	132	13	10	12	14	10	26	0
3	M		3	139	2.2	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
4	M		50	278	18.0	116	8	10	0	15	20	5	0
5	M		18	191	9.4	39	3	4	4	5	6	7	0
6	M		12	146	8.2	15	4	0	0	6	5	1	0
7	M		2	183	1.1	5	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
8	M		46	155	29.7	65	10	0	0	8	8	0	0
9	H		10	303	3.3	4	1	2	0	1	1	2	0
10	H		47	218	21.6	69	8	4	8	12	11	9	4
11	H		44	217	20.3	65	10	4	0	8	9	3	0
12	M	F	20	190	10.5	18	1	0	0	3	2	1	0
13	M		29	180	16.1	16	1	3	0	7	2	8	0
14	M		14	178	7.9	3	1	2	0	4	0	6	0
15	M	A	9	224	4.0	9	1	0	0	4	3	1	0
16	H	B	34	223	15.4	56	2	4	6	4	0	13	1
17	M	A	29	188	15.4	49	0	0	0	4	9	0	0
18	H	B	77	305	25.3	187	10	15	1	25	34	6	1
19	H	B	27	237	11.4	12	0	0	1	5	4	2	0
20	M		23	119	19.3	16	0	1	2	2	2	3	0
21	M		0	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	M		0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tot.			550	4101		880	77	59	34	136	128	95	6
Tot. (H)			239	1503		393	31	29	16	55	59	35	6
Tot. (M)			311	2598		487	46	30	18	81	69	60	0
Tot. (Co)			176	1177		313	13	19	8	47	50	22	2
Avg.			13.4		12.2	21.4	1.9	26	15	59	56	41	3
Avg. (H)			15.9		16.2	26.2	2.1	29	16	55	59	35	6
Avg. (M)			12.0		10.7	18.8	1.8	23	14	63	53	47	0
Avg. (Co)			14.9		14.3	26.6	1.1	26	11	63	68	30	2



Book List--1966

1. McNiell, The Battle of St. George Without
2. O'Dell, The King's Fifth
3. Southall, Ash Road
4. Rodman, Lions in the Way
5. Burch, Queenie Peavy
6. Robinson, David in Silence
7. Wier, The Barrel
8. Miles, Fox and the Fire
9. Linde, The White Stone
10. Kingman, The Year of the Raccoon
11. Hunt, Up a Road Slowly
12. Fall, Canalboat to Freedom
13. Jackson, The Taste of Spruce Gum
14. Godden, The Kitchen Madonna
15. Ish-Kishor, A Boy of Old Prague
16. Caudill, Did You Carry the Flag Today, Charley?
17. Raskin, Nothing Ever Happens on My Block

1966

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M	B	21	188	11.2	9	1	2	0	4	0	6	0
2	H		53	264	20.1	77	3	3	4	21	23	4	1
3	M	A	7	154	4.5	12	0	0	0	3	2	1	0
4	M		32	238	13.5	36	2	0	7	9	12	0	4
5	H		21	159	13.2	19	0	6	0	1	1	2	4
6	M	B	20	126	15.9	27	0	1	0	9	4	5	1
7	M		21	136	15.7	14	1	1	0	6	6	1	0
8	M		2	40	5.0	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
9	M	F	10	285	3.5	5	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
10	M		23	245	9.4	35	1	2	0	8	5	4	1
11	M		1	192	0.5	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
12	H		38	211	18.0	86	3	2	4	9	8	7	0
13	H		20	212	9.4	46	1	1	0	7	6	2	0
14	M		4	89	4.5	21	2	0	0	3	0	3	0
15	H	B	13	98	13.3	26	8	2	2	8	3	7	2
16	M		0	94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	M		4	26	15.4	4	1	0	0	2	2	0	0
Tot.			290	2750		424	24	23	17	91	73	45	13
Tot. (H)			145	940		254	15	14	10	46	41	22	7
Tot. (M)			145	1810		170	9	9	7	43	30	23	6
Tot. (Co)			61	468		74	9	5	2	24	9	19	3
Avg.			10.6		10.2	16.0	0.9	18	13	69	55	35	10
Avg. (H)			15.4		14.8	26.9	1.6	20	14	66	59	31	10
Avg. (M)			8.0		8.3	9.4	0.5	15	12	73	51	39	10
Avg. (Co)			13.0		11.2	15.8	1.9	16	6	78	29	61	10

Book List--1967

1. Clymer, My Brother Stevie
2. Fox, How Many Miles to Babylon?
3. Hamilton, Zeely
4. Arthur, Requiem for a Princess
5. Stolz, A Wonderful, Terrible Time
6. Konigsburg, From the Mixed-Up Files of Mrs. Basil E. Frankweiler
7. Lipsyte, The Contender
8. Hodges, The Marsh King
9. Peyton, Flambards
10. Shotwell, Adam Bookowl
11. Snyder, The Egypt Game
12. Townsend, Goodbye to the Jungle
13. Forman, Horses of Anger
14. Schaefer, Mavericks
15. Ellis, Roam the Wild Country
16. Garfield, Smith
17. Almedingen, Young Mark: The Story of a Venture
18. O'Dell, The Black Pearl
19. Scott, Sam
20. Weil, The Jazz Man
21. Ness, Sam, Bangs and Moonshine
22. Raskin, Spectacles
23. Hill, Evan's Corner

1967

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M		3	76	4.0	3	2	0	0	4	2	2	0
2	M		3	117	2.6	4	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
3	M		8	122	6.6	8	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
4	M		2	182	1.1	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
5	M		3	182	1.7	6	4	0	0	4	4	0	0
6	M		1	162	0.6	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	0
7	M		43	182	23.6	104	49	7	0	10	8	4	1
8	H	B	64	253	25.3	118	7	0	19	15	29	5	1
9	H	B	23	206	11.2	62	3	0	5	3	1	6	1
10	M		11	256	4.3	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
11	M		31	214	14.5	12	7	0	1	3	3	0	1
12	M	B	36	184	19.6	5	0	0	3	2	1	3	1
13	M		156	244	64.0	235	60	3	5	66	61	12	4
14	H		59	184	32.0	110	7	2	0	13	11	3	1
15	M		38	209	18.2	55	4	1	0	10	11	0	0
16	H	B	45	218	20.6	32	4	2	4	8	10	4	0
17	H	B	37	173	21.4	26	6	2	0	12	9	5	0
18	M		12	140	8.6	15	4	2	3	2	7	0	0
19	M		0	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	M		0	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	M		2	27	7.4	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
22	M		0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	M		0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tot.			577	3465		665	114	19	42	158	162	47	10
Tot. (H)			384	1278		447	40	8	33	112	117	30	6
Tot. (M)			193	2187		218	74	11	9	46	45	17	4
Tot. (Co)			205	1034		256	27	4	29	46	56	20	3
Avg.			16.6		12.5	19.2	3.3	9	19	72	74	21	5
Avg. (H)			30.1		29.1	35.0	3.1	5	22	73	76	20	4
Avg. (M)			8.8		6.6	10.0	3.4	17	14	69	68	26	6
Avg. (Co)			19.8		19.6	24.8	2.6	5	37	58	71	25	4

Book List--1968

1. Townsend, Pirate's Island
2. Fox, The Stone Faced Boy
3. Potter, Antonio
4. De Jong, Journey from Peppermint Street
5. Sachs, Veronica Ganz
6. Zei, Wildcat under Glass
7. Wersba, The Dream Watcher
8. Wrightson, A Racecourse for Andy
9. Hunter, The Soul Brothers and Sister Lou
10. Clark, The Min-Min
11. Hamilton, The House of Dies Drear
12. Schonherr, The Barn
13. Konigsburg, Jennifer, Hecate, Macbeth, William  
McKinley and Me, Elizabeth
14. Haugaard, The Little Fishes
15. Weyman, The Edge of Two Worlds
16. Neufield, Edgar Allan

1968

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	M		19	159	11.9	33	2	4	7	3	2	12	0
2	M		1	106	0.9	3	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
3	M		0	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	H		16	242	6.6	16	0	1	0	3	2	2	0
5	M		38	156	24.4	28	2	2	0	8	1	9	0
6	H	F	5	177	2.8	14	2	1	1	3	3	2	0
7	M		1	171	0.6	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
8	M	A	1	156	0.6	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
9	M		65	248	26.2	25	3	1	0	10	7	4	0
10	M	A	27	216	11.6	9	3	4	0	3	0	2	5
11	M		30	246	12.2	8	1	1	2	1	3	0	1
12	M		36	41	87.8	22	0	1	0	3	4	0	0
13	M		6	117	5.1	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	0
14	H		41	214	19.2	85	5	0	0	17	12	5	0
15	H		14	138	10.1	23	3	3	0	3	6	0	0
16	M		2	95	2.1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
Tot.			302	2523		270	23	19	10	61	44	40	6
Tot. (H)			76	771		138	10	5	1	26	23	9	0
Tot. (M)			226	1752		132	13	14	9	35	21	31	6
Tot. (Co)			28	372		9	4	4	0	4	1	2	5
Avg.			12.0		13.9	10.8	0.9	21	11	68	49	44	7
Avg. (H)			9.9		9.7	17.9	1.3	16	3	81	72	28	0
Avg. (M)			12.9		15.3	7.5	0.7	24	16	60	36	54	10
Avg. (Co)			7.5		6.1	2.4	1.1	50	0	50	13	25	62

Book List--1969

1. Armstrong, Sounder
2. Ish-Kishor, Our Eddie
3. Cleaver, Where the Lilies Bloom
4. Townsend, Trouble in the Jungle
5. Fox, Portrait of Ivan
6. Greene, A Girl Named Al
7. Taylor, The Cay
8. McNiell, Goodbye, Dove Square
9. Balderson When Jays Fly to Barbmo
10. Byars, Trouble River
11. Miles, Nobody's Cat
12. Keats, Goggles
13. Burton, In Spite of All Terror
14. Steptoe, Stevie
15. Turkle, Thy Friend, Obodiah
16. Shulevitz, Rain, Rain, Rivers
17. Richard, Pistol

1969

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	H		22	116	19.0	26	1	1	6	3	10	0	0
2	H	B	21	183	11.5	6	0	0	4	1	5	0	0
3	M		23	174	13.2	14	3	1	0	7	5	3	0
4	M	B	37	158	23.4	22	6	5	3	6	9	4	1
5	M		0	131	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	M		0	127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	H		31	144	21.5	28	3	3	5	2	8	2	0
8	M	B	12	196	6.1	5	0	0	1	3	3	0	1
9	H	A	39	238	16.4	13	3	1	8	2	7	4	0
10	H		50	158	31.6	28	2	0	5	4	8	0	1
11	M		4	42	9.5	15	0	1	0	2	3	0	0
12	M		2	32	6.3	4	0	1	1	0	2	0	0
13	H	B	43	201	21.4	88	1	5	22	2	27	2	0
14	M		0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	M		0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	H		0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	H		11	245	4.5	16	6	1	0	9	7	3	0
Tot.			295	2229		265	25	19	55	41	94	18	3
Tot. (H)			217	1317		205	16	11	50	23	72	11	1
Tot. (M)			78	912		60	9	8	5	18	22	7	2
Tot. (Co)			152	976		134	10	11	38	14	51	10	2
Avg.			13.2		10.9	11.9	1.1	16	48	36	81	16	3
Avg. (H)			16.5		15.7	15.6	1.2	13	60	27	86	13	1
Avg. (M)			8.5		6.5	6.6	1.0	26	16	58	71	23	6
Avg. (Co)			15.6		15.8	13.9	1.0	18	60	22	81	16	3



APPENDIX D

EPISODES READ TO CHILDREN IN FIRST, THIRD  
AND SEVENTH GRADE CLASSES

- First Grade: Bang, Bang, You're Dead.  
By Louise Fitzhugh and Sandra Scoppettone.  
Illustrated by Louise Fitzhugh. Harper  
and Row, New York, 1969.
- Third Grade: Sounder. By William Armstrong.  
Harper and Row, New York, 1969, pp. 21-34.
- Seventh Grade: The Year of the Bloody Sevens.  
By William O. Steele. Illustrated by Charles  
Beck. New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1963, pp.  
91-103.

Bang, Bang, You're Dead

By Louise Fitzhugh  
Harper and Row, New York, 1969

"Bang, bang, you're dead," said James. "I'm a big, brave, strong soldier and soldiers always win."

He marched out and met his friends Timothy, Stanley, and Bert. "All right, men," said James. "Let's play Bang, Bang, you're dead."

At the bottom of the hill James said, "Today Stanley and me are the good guys, and Timothy and Bert are the bad guys."

"That's not fair," said Timothy. "I was a bad guy yesterday."

"Okay," said James. "You be a good guy today. First army to take the hill wins," yelled James. They all ran for cover.

Bert and Stanley looked out and couldn't see anyone. They started up the hill.

Timothy and James looked out and couldn't see anyone. They started up the hill.

Then, at the top of the hill - they all shot at once.

"Bang, bang, you're dead." yelled Stanley.

"Ooph, arragh, omphph," said Timothy, dying, as he shot Stanley.

"Bang, bang, you're - oomahrphm," said James, "you got me."

"I got you dead," said Bert. "Bang!"

"I got you dead back," yelled James.

They all lay dead.

They all got up and marched down the hill - and celebrated the end of the war.

One day . . . as James and Timothy and Stanley and Bert were playing war, a strange thing happened.

"Who are you?" shouted James. "This is our hill."

"I'm Big Mike and it's our hill now," said the tallest one.

"We had it first," said Bert.

"Tough," said the big one. "You'll have to take it away from us."

"We will," said James.

"Okay," said Big Mike, "three o'clock tomorrow."

James and his army went to headquarters, the tree house.

"This is a real war," said James. "I'll get that Big Mike. Where does he get off saying it's his hill?"

"Yeah, we'll fix those skunks. Let's chop off their heads!"

"Let's get big rocks and smash them!"

"Let's make a pact. We'll fight to the end!"

It was three o'clock on the day of The Great War. The two armies met at the bottom of the hill.

"Give up, puke-face. You don't have a chance," said Big Mike.

"Up your nose, you freak-out," yelled James.

"Okay, men, take cover."

The war began.

There were screams, yells, blood, and pain.

It was awful.

There was a terrible moaning and groaning. James looked around. No one was fighting. They all lay hurting.

"This isn't fun," said Timothy. "Why did we do it?"

No one could answer.

"Nobody won," said James.

"We all lost," said the smallest one to his tooth. "Well, who gets the hill?"

James and Big Mike looked at each other.

"Why don't we just use it . . ." said James.

". . . together?" said Big Mike.

"Then there'd be more people to play with."

"Let's all come back tomorrow."

"And play war?"

"Real war?"

"No, you know," said James, "Bang, Bang, you're  
dead."

Souder

By William Armstrong  
Harper and Row, New York, 1969

Just past the edge of the porch three white men stood in the dim light. Their heavy boots rattled the porch floor, and the boy backed quickly into the cabin as they pushed their way in.

"There are two things I can smell a mile," the first man said in a loud voice. "One's a ham cookin' and the other's a thievin' nigger."

"Get up," the second man ordered. The warm, but frozen circle of man, woman, and three small children around the stove jumped to their feet. A stool on which a child had been sitting fell backward and made a loud noise. One of the men kicked it across the room. The boy did not move from his place just inside the door.

"Here's the evidence," said the first man. He jerked at the grease-spotted cloth on the tin-topped table. The oak slab and the half-eaten ham fell to the floor with a great thud and slid against the wall.

"You know who I am," said the first man as he unbuttoned his heavy brown coat and pulled it back to

show a shiny metal star pinned to his vest. "These are my deputies." The stranger nearest the door kicked it shut and swore about the cold.

"Stick out your hands, boy," ordered the second man. The boy started to raise his hands, but the man was already reaching over the stove, snapping handcuffs on the outstretched wrists of his father.

The click of the handcuffs was like the click of a gate latch at the big house where the boy had once gone with his father to work. He had swung on the gate and played with the latch until someone had called out from the house. "If you want to swing on a gate, boy, swing on the one behind the house. Get away from the front."

The third stranger, who had not spoken, turned toward the door. "I'll bring up the wagon." But he did not open the door.

Suddenly the voice of the great dog shattered the heavy, seemingly endless silence that came between the gruff words of the sheriff and those of his men. Sounder was racing toward the cabin from the fields. He had grown restless from waiting to go hunting with his master and had wandered away to hunt alone. That's why he hadn't warned them. He always barked and sometimes, even in daytime, he would start from under the porch, the hair on his back straightening before anyone had sighted a moving speck at the far end of the road. "Somebody's comin' or a creature's movin'" the boy's mother would say.

Now he was growling and scratching at the door. The noise seemed to undo the fearful shock that had held the smaller children ashen and motionless. The youngest child began to cry and hid behind his mother. He tugged at her apron, but the woman did not move.

The men were speaking roughly to Sounder's master. "That tear in your overalls where the striped ticking is-- that's where you tore them on the door hook of the smoke-house. We found threads of torn cloth in the hook. You gonna wear nothing but stripes pretty soon. Big, wide black and white stripes. Easy to hit with a shotgun."

The deputy who had started out to bring up the wagon kicked the closed door and swore at the dog on the other side.

"Go out and hold that mongrel if you don't want him shot." He held the door ajar the width of the boy's body and thrust him out. The boy fell on the back of the dog, whose snarling jaws had pushed into the light between the boy's legs. A heavy boot half pushed, half kicked the entangled feet of the sprawled boy and the nose of the dog and slammed the door. "Get that dog out of the way and hold him if you don't want him dead."

The boy, regaining his balance, dragged Sounder off the porch and to the corner of the cabin. Then the deputy, hearing the barking move back from the door, opened it and came out. He walked out of the circle of



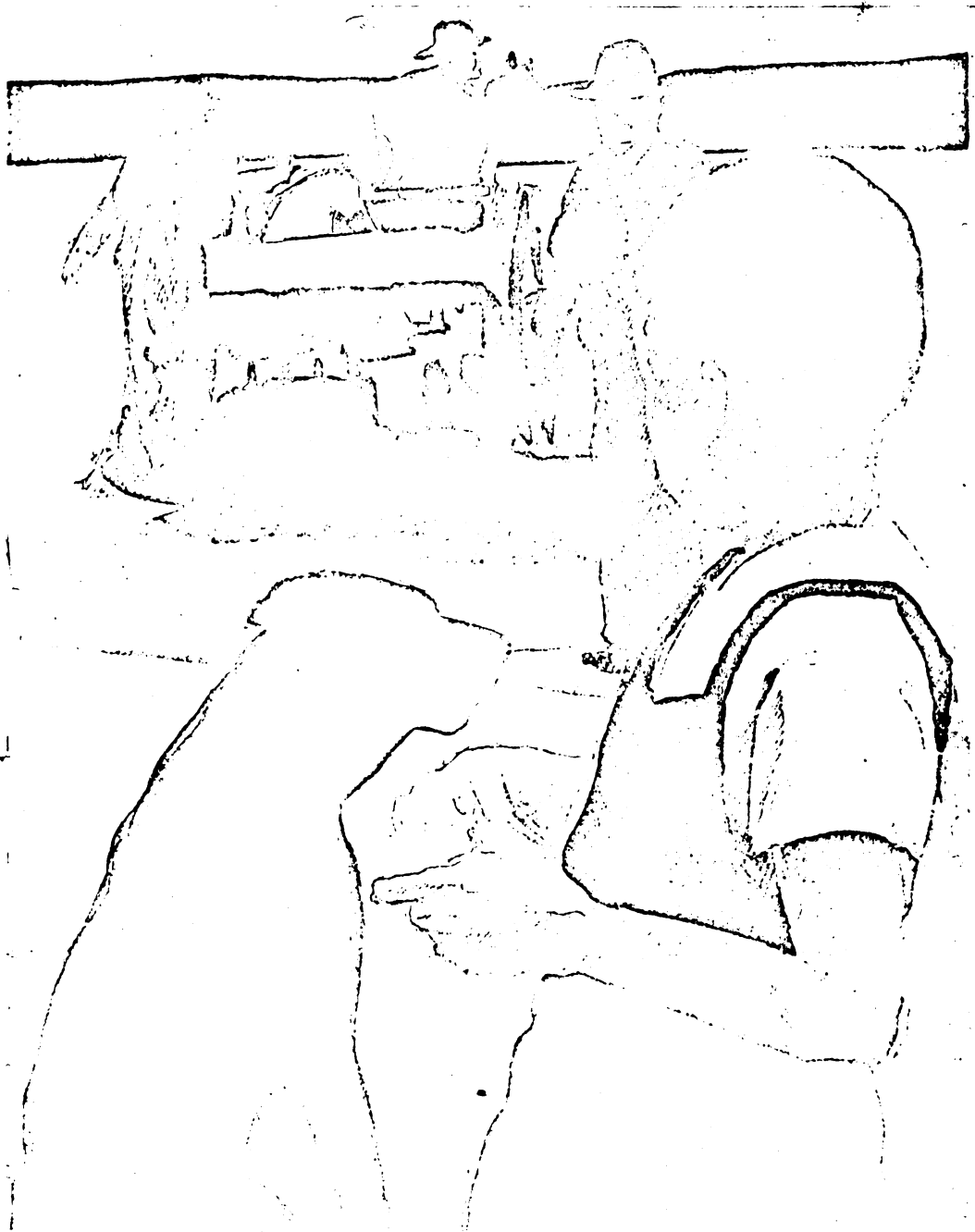
light but returned soon leading a horse hitched to a spring wagon. A saddled horse followed behind the wagon.

The appearance of the horses and the added confusion of people coming from the cabin roused Sounder to new fury. The boy felt his knees give. His arms ached, and his grip on the dog's collar was beginning to feel clammy and wet. But he held on.

"Chain him up," said the sheriff.

The boy thought they were telling him to chain up Sounder, but then he saw that one of the men had snapped a long chain on the handcuffs on his father's wrists. As the men pushed his father into the back of the wagon his overalls caught on the end of the tail-gate bolt, and he tore a long hole in his overalls. The bolt took one side of the ticking patch with it. The man holding the chain jerked it, and the boy's father fell backward into the wagon. The man swung the loose end of the chain, and it struck the boy's father across the face. One of the deputies pulled the chain tight and tied it to the wagon seat. The two deputies climbed on the wagon seat; the sheriff mounted the saddled horse. The cabin door was open; the boy's mother was standing in the doorway. He did not see his brother and sisters.

Sounder was making an awful noise, a half-strangled mixture of growl and bark. The boy spoke to him, but the great paws only dug harder to grip the frozen earth. Inch by inch the boy was losing his footing.



Numbness was beginning to creep up his arms and legs, and he was being dragged away from the corner of the house.

The wagon started, and the sheriff rode behind it on his horse. Sounder made a great lunge forward, and the boy fell against the corner of the porch. Sounder raced after the wagon. No one yelled after him. The mother stood still in the doorway. The deputy who wasn't holding the reins turned on the seat, aimed his shotgun at the dog jumping at the side of the wagon, and fired. Sounder fell in the road, and the sheriff rode around him. Sounder's master was still on his back in the wagon, but he did not raise his head to look back.

The boy struggled to his feet. His head hurt where he had hit it against the corner of the porch. Now his mother spoke for the first time since he had opened the door to bring in wood. "Come in, child, and bring some wood."

Sounder lay still in the road. The boy wanted to cry; he wanted to run to Sounder. His stomach felt sick; he didn't want to see Sounder. He sank to his knees at the woodpile. His foot hurt where the door had been slammed on it. He thought he would carry in two chunk-sticks. Maybe his mother would drag Sounder out of the road. Maybe she would drag him across the fields and bury him. Maybe if she laid him on the porch and put some soft rags under him tonight, he might rise from the dead, like Lazarus did in a meetin'-house story. Maybe his father

didn't know Sounder was dead. Maybe his father was dead in the back of the sheriff's wagon now. Maybe his father had said it hurt to bounce over the rough road on his back, and the deputy had turned around on the seat and shot him.

The second chunk-stick was too big. It slipped out of the boy's arms. Two of his fingers were bruised under the falling wood.

Suddenly a sharp yelp came from the road. Just like when a bee stung Sounder under the porch or a brier caught his ear in the bramble, the boy thought. In an instant the boy was on his feet. Bruised foot and fingers, throbbing head were forgotten. He raced into the dark. Sounder tried to rise but fell again. There was another yelp, this one constrained and plaintive. The boy, trained in night-sight when the lantern was dimmed so as not to alert the wood's creatures, picked out a blurred shape in the dark.

Sounder was running, falling, floundering, rising. The hind part of his body stayed up and moved from side to side, trying to lift the front part from the earth. He twisted, fell, and heaved his great shoulders. His hind paws dug into the earth. He pushed himself up. He staggered forward, sideways, then fell again. One front leg did not touch the ground. A trail of blood, smeared and blotted, followed him. There was a large spot of mingled blood, hair, and naked flesh on one shoulder. His

head swung from side to side. He fell again and pushed his body along with his hind legs. One side of his head was a mass of blood. The blast had torn off the whole side of his head and shoulder.

The boy was crying and calling Sounder's name. He ran backward in front of Sounder. He held out his hand. Sounder did not make a sign or stop. The boy followed the coon dog under the porch, but he went far back under the cabin. The boy was on his knees, crying and calling, "Sounder, Sounder, Sound . . ." His voice trailed off into a pleading whisper.

The cabin door opened, and the boy's mother stood in the door. The pale light of the lamp inside ran past the woman, over the edge of the porch, and picked out the figure of the boy on his hands and knees. "Come in, child," the woman said. "He is only dying."

Inside the cabin the younger children sat huddled together near the stove. The boy rubbed his hands together near the stovepipe to warm them. His bruised fingers began to throb again. His foot and his head hurt, and he felt a lump rising on the side of his head. If Sounder would whimper or yelp, I would know, the boy thought. But there was no sound, no thump, thump, thump of a paw scratching fleas and hitting the floor underneath.

"Creatures like to die alone," the mother said after a long time. "They like to crawl away where nobody can find them dead, especially dogs. He didn't want to

be shot down like a dog in the road. Some creatures are like people."

The road, the boy thought. What would it be like? Did the shotgun blast a hole in the road?

"I ain't got the wood," the boy said at last. "I'll light the lantern and get it."

"You know where the wood is. You won't need the lantern," the woman said.

The boy paused in the doorway. Then he took the lantern from the nail where it hung beside the possum sack. He took the lantern to the stove, lit a splinter of kindling through the open door-draft, and held it to the lantern wick the way his father always did. His mother said nothing to him. She spoke to the younger children instead. "I ain't fed you yet."

When he got outside, the boy did not go to the woodpile. He followed the trail of blood in its zig-zag path along the road. At the end of it there was a great wide spot, dark on the frozen ground. Little clumps of Sounder's hair lay in the blood. There was no hole where the shotgun had blasted. At the edge of the dark stain, the boy touched his finger to something. It was more than half of Sounder's long thin ear. The boy shivered and moved his finger away. He had seen dead lizards and possums and raccoons, but he'd never seen a human animal, like Sounder, dead.

It wouldn't work, he thought. But people always said to put things under your pillow when you go to bed, and if you make a wish, it will come true. He touched Sounder's ear again. It was cold. He picked it up. One edge of it was bloody, and jagged like the edge of a broken windowpane. He followed the zigzag trail back along the road, but he could scarcely see it now. He was crying again. At the corner of the porch he took the possum sack from the nail where it hung and wiped the ear. It gave him the shivers. He jumped down quickly, and holding the lantern near the ground, tried to see under the porch. He called Sounder. There was no sound. He went back to wiping the ear. His throat hurt. He put the ear in the pocket of his overall jacket. He was going to put it under his pillow and wish that Sounder wasn't dead.

The wind had stopped blowing. This would have been a good hunting night, he thought. Far away, a single lantern was moving into the foothills. The boy was still crying. He had not forgotten the wood. Now he put out the lantern and hung it against the wall. He went to the woodpile, picked up two chunk-sticks, and went into the cabin.

The loneliness that was always in the cabin, except when his mother was singing or telling a story about the Lord, was heavier than ever now. It made the boy's tongue heavy. It pressed against his eyes, and they burned. It

rolled against his ears. His head seemed to be squeezed inward, and it hurt. He noticed grease spots on the floor where the oak slab and the ham had fallen. He knew his mother had picked them up. His father would be cold, he thought, with that great rip in his overalls.

His mother sat by the stove. "You must eat," the woman said. The boy had been outside a long time. His mother had fed the other children, and they were already in bed. She did not take down her walnut basket to begin the slow filling of her apron with fat kernals. She did not sing or even hum. "Child . . . child" she would say with long spaces between. Sometimes she would murmur to herself with her eyes closed. His little brother would murmur and be addled in his sleep tonight, the boy thought. He would set as long as his mother would let him. Maybe his mother would let him set and listen all night.

The boy listened for a yelp, a whine, a thump, thump, thump under the floor. There was no sound. His mother's rocker did not even move enough to squeak. One chunk-stick burning atop another in the stove rolled against the stove door with a slight thump. The boy started toward the cabin door.

"You know it was the stove," the mother said as she reached for the poker to push the wood back from the door.

"It sounded outside," the boy said as he pulled the door closed after him.



Soon he returned carrying the lantern. "I want to look more," he said. "I keep hearin' things." He lit the lantern from the stove as he had done before. His mother said nothing. He had thought she might say "Hang it back, child" as she often did when he wanted to go along the fencerows and hunt with Sounder after dark.

Outside, he murmured to himself, "That was the stove, I reckon." He put the lantern on the ground and tried to see under the cabin. Nothing moved in the dim light. He wished the light would shine in Sounder's eyes and he would see them in the dark, but it didn't. Backing from under the porch on his hands and knees, he touched the lantern and tipped it over. He grabbed it by the wire rim that held the top of the globe and burned his hand. "Don't let it fall over; it'll explode" his father had said to him so many times when they hunted together. He sucked his burned fingers to draw out the fire. Sounder's pan was on the ground, and someone had stepped on it. The mean man who had kicked him with his big boot, the boy thought. He straightened it as best he could with his hurt fingers and put it on the porch.

He blew out the lantern and hunt it by the possum sack. He stood on the porch and listened to the faraway. The lantern he had seen going into the foothills had disappeared. There were gravestones behind the meetin' house. Some were almost hidden in the brambles. If the deputy sheriff had turned around on the seat of the wagon

and shot his father, the visiting preacher and somebody would bring him back and bury him behind the meetin' house, the boy thought. And if Sounder dies, I won't drag him over the hard earth, I'll carry him. I know I can carry him if I try hard enough, and I will bury him across the field, near the fencerow, under the big jack-oak tree.

The boy picked up Sounder's bent tin pan and carried it into the cabin. The woman pushed back in her chair for a brief second in surprise and half opened her mouth. But, seeing the boy's face in the lamplight, she closed her mouth, and the rocker came slowly back to its standing position--her head tilted forward again, her eyes fixed on the boy's uneaten supper, still warming on the back of the stove.

In the corner of the room next to the dish cupboard, the boy filled Sounder's tin with cold ham-boiling from the possum kettle. "What's that for, child?" asked the mother slowly, as though she were sorry she had asked and would like to take it back.

"For if he comes out."

"You're hungry, child. Feed yourself."

The boy put Sounder's tin under the porch, closed the door, pushed the night latch, sat down behind the stove, and began to eat his supper.

## The Year of the Bloody Sevens

By William O. Steele  
Harcourt-Brace, New York, 1963

Kel's heart was pounding, and his fingers strangled his rifle. He had to go help. He knew it. He was needed. Two men couldn't hope to hold out against a war party. But three guns might.

He could hear the fight plain. The rifle shots were faster. He could tell when the woodsies were firing; they used a heavier charge of powder than the Indians, likely a better grade too. Oh, those two could load and fire fast. Their shots sounded through the forest like peckerwoods rattling on a dead pine. They were going to hold the redskins off till he got there. His rifle would make the difference. With his shooting to help, the three of them could kill every single solitary naked savage.

Only he couldn't get started. He didn't know why. He wanted to go. His legs trembled and ached, and that was all they did. They wouldn't bend. They wouldn't carry him toward the fight, in and out of the bushes so could come up unbeknownst on the Indians and shoot them down.

Just then he heard the scream, a long, low, gargling sound of terror and agony and despair. The Indians had got one of the woodsies. Sweat sheeted down his ribs and back. The day seemed to darken as though a cloud had passed over the sun and made it hard for him to see.

But one of the woodsies must be left. Kel could still help. There was still time. He could still shoot and kill a heap of Injuns. He might save the one whose rifle he could hear firing now.

He could do it; he knew he could. He would make himself run forward, firing as he ran, and scattering the few braves who hadn't been already killed or wounded. He and whichever of the white men was alive could hold out and finally win the battle. He could make his feet move and his trigger finger pull.

Only he couldn't. He was scared. He was too scared to move. But he wasn't a coward, couldn't be, never had been. Oh, maybe he wasn't as brave as his pa or Sed Cosby back in Wolf Hills, who could pick up a rattlesnake in his bare hands. But he wasn't a coward. If he could only get his feet going, he'd prove he wasn't.

The shooting had stopped. It was too late. Only the howling voices of the red men rang and echoes in the woods. The white men were dead, he knew, or they would still be fighting. They weren't ones to give up. Not like Kelsey Bond.

He shook his head. He hadn't known he was a coward. He hadn't ever thought about it. It was a thing a body didn't much figure on. He's always done what had to be done, and he had had it in mind that he always would, no matter what.

Yet he hadn't been able to. He hadn't been able to make himself help out two friends, two men who'd been kind enough to him in their way. Suddenly he groaned and put his hands to his face and reeled over into the bushes. He lay that way for a spell, not caring that he'd dropped his rifle in the trail or that Ben Horne's bar of lead was sticking into his side. The woods grew still once more. The Indians were quiet. A bird sang close at hand, a round soft whistle, "Ee-o-lay," and fluttered off when Kel moved.

He ought to get up, he knew. Any moment the Indians might be coming this way. He was a fool to lie here with his feet sticking out in the trail, like a turkey dead for two days. They's kill him without batting an eye if they came up on him right now. Now that he didn't deserve killing. By rights he should be dead like Horne and Carr. He reckoned he deserved it more than they did. They hadn't run off and left their friends to die at the hands of the savages.

"oh, oh, oh" he moaned softly. How could he have done such a thing? He pounded the soft earth with his fist and kicked out at the bushes. Then he lay still.

At last he got to his feet and looked grimly around. He wiped his face with his sleeve. The Indians must be gone, trotting on westward to raid and kill around the Kentucky forts. It would be safe to go find the two men and bury them. He owed them that much at least, not to let them be gnawed by varmints. He only had his knife to dig with, but he could dig a shallow grave and pile rocks on it. Or he could find an overhanging bank and cave it in on the bodies, the way he'd heard tell of a man doing once.

With his rifle in both hands he made his way through the undergrowth. He was shaking from head to foot, like that time he had the bad ague chills, but he kept going. Reaching the spot where he'd left the woodsies waiting for him, there was not a sign of them or the Indians. He had to scout around a heap before he found where the white men had made their stand.

He saw Mr. Horne first, leaning slaunchways against a tree. Blood made a kind of shawl over his head and shoulders, for he'd been scalped. His face was all ricked up in a horrible kind of grin where a big piece of his face had been cut off.

Kel gasped and looked away. His stomach heaved, and the woods wavered before his eyes. If'n he'd been here . . . if'n they'd counted on his rifle.

He slumped to the ground and let his head hang between his knees till the dauncieness passed. The ground



under his feet was dark and wet-looking. It was blood. He moved away quick, scraping his moccasin along the frost-roughened earth to clean off the stain.

Where was Mr. Carr? He'd have to find him and then set to work. He looked around among the trampled grass and broken bushes. He spied his own quilt ripped to bits and Ben Horne's spider skillet he was so fond of broken in three pieces. And beyond that there was something--something that might be what was left of a hand and arm. Kel went slowly forward and forced himself to look.

He remembered how Hoke Carr used to get mad and slash around at the bushes with his ax. Well, it looked as though the Indians had treated the woodsy the way he used to treat the bushes. He was well nigh cut to ribbons.

Kel stared dully. "I'll have to bury him right here," he thought. "If'n I was to try to move him, he'd come all apart." He shuddered.

Then he took out his knife and began to stab aimlessly around in the ground. Yes, the dirt was loose here. He could do it. It wouldn't be too hard. There didn't seem to be any rocks about, however. Maybe he'd have to get along just using branches.

He hunkered back on his heels and gazed around. And all at once his eyes lit on something that scared him worse than anything yet. There were Indians' bundles



piled there, all their loot and even a couple of rifles. For a minute Kel couldn't do anything but stand dumfounded.

Why hadn't he seen those things before? The Indians had gone off, likely to bury a dead brave or something. They were coming back, though. They were bound to be coming back to pick up this truck. Right this minute they might be heading this way, from any direction. He didn't dare move. Any way he went, anything he did might show the redskins where he was, and they'd be on him like a hawk on a new-hatched biddy.

Nothing could save him. He was going to be killed, sliced up like Mr. Horne and Mr. Carr, or, worse yet, burned to death slowly over a long day or so. Even being a coward hadn't saved him. He'd have done better to die quick, along with the woodsies.

Then he heard them, talking in high harsh voices off among the trees. They were coming! He turned his head and listened. They were coming along the trail, it seemed. And that was all he needed to know.

He sprang up as though he'd been cocked like a rifle and ready to go off. He ran through the trees, blind and heedless, just going, just getting away. He didn't bother even to hold his arms or his rifle out in front of him. Vines thwacked him in the face; briars tore at him. Once he even ran smack into a tree, looking right at it, and still he couldn't miss it. He staggered back,

spinning dizzily, panting and gasping, and pitched into a patch of blackberry runners. He pulled himself out and plunged on, running, running, running.

Finally his legs gave out, and he had to stop. He sagged down on the grass, drawing his breath into his burning lungs in big, ragged swoons. He looked up and around. He was out in the open! The trees had fallen away, and he was here in a clearing with nothing to hide behind but weeds and knee-high bushes!

There was a noise behind him, a soft hissing, swishing noise. He turned his head quickly. It was cane. It was cane rustling back and forth in the wind, a whole great stand of it, stretching as far as he could see.

He looked up at the tops of the stalks where the narrow leaves whispered and tossed in the wind. It must be thirty, forty feet tall, he figured. And some of the stumps looked as big as his leg. Never in his life had he seen such a brake.

Something moved at the edge of the woods, and he ducked his head down among the weeds. He reckoned he had made too much noise, left too clear a trail when he ran, and the Indians had followed him. It was foolish of him to try to hide, for anybody with half an eye could see him. He couldn't possibly get away. And he was so tired and sore, he couldn't run another lick. They'd find him soon enough, lying here in the grass.

The cane! They couldn't see him in the brake.  
He could hide in the cane!

He half fell, half crawled through the grass to the canebrake. Without even looking back, he squeezed in between the thick stalks. His rifle hindered him considerably, and the straps of his powder horn and shot bag kept catching on broken pieces. He pulled the straps loose with a jerk and wiggled on, now sidewise, now backwards, as he squirmed and struggled.

By and by he stopped. This was far enough. He couldn't be seen here by any Indian passing along the edge of the brake. He breathed a sign of relief and sat, facing the way he had entered and holding the rifle in front of him. If a redskin did find his trail and was chancy enough to come in here after him, Kel aimed to get in the first shot.

He sat wedged among the smooth columns for a long time. It seemed like hours and hours. He couldn't hear a thing but his own heart dinging away like a dinner bell and, once, a killdeer flying over screaming. His legs began to hurt where the cane pressed against them, and his shoulders were tight and knotted.

Standing, he stretched. Surely it was safe for him to leave now. He didn't want to be here when it got dark. He began to push his way back through the stalks, taking his time because he was tired. On and on he went till at last he realized something was wrong. He hadn't

gone this far into the brake, he knew. There was no patch of sky or glimpse of woods ahead. He must have turned himself around when he got to his feet. Any which way you looked was the same, just cane and more cane.

He swung around and went back. The cane opened before him and closed behind him with a sign. The ground underfoot was squelchy and wet. He was so weary, he hardly had the strength to push the stiff stalks aside. Finally he had to stop. This wasn't the way either. He glanced around. There was nothing to see in the dim light, no signs to go by, no blaze marks like the ones on the Wilderness Trail, no nothing.

He was lost!

And then he remembered all the stories he'd heard folks tell--how a man might as well cut his throat as get lost in a canebrake, for death was certain sure. How many a man had died of hunger or snakebite or just pure old age trying to find his way out of a big stretch of cane.

He stood there in the green twilight, trying to keep his head. There was a way out; there had to be. But who could find it? Who could get past the tall stalks out into the open?

Suddenly the stems seemed to move closer, to press in on him from every side. He struck out with his arms and tried to push them back, but he couldn't. The walls of cane crowded nearer and nearer. He covered his eyes with his hands and collapsed, gasping and choking.