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The portrayal of gender and ethnicity in children's picture books

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THE PORTRAYAL OF GENDER AND ETHNICITY IN CHILDREN'S PICTURE BOOKS

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Abstract

The Portrayal of Gender and Ethnicity

in Children's Picture Books

by Judith L. Keith

This study examined gender and ethnic portrayals of human characters in the illustrations of 60 children's picture books published in the United States from 1983 to 1993. There were no significant differences in portrayals of male and female main and minor characters. Ethnic minority characters comprised 50% of all characters. Overall, these characters were portrayed positively, yet were included more often in folklore, less often in story books, and were also rated as less smart and more foreign than Euro-Americans. In general, findings indicated that award winning literature has made important strides in countering previous gender and ethnic biases.

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Introduction

The push for multicultural literature over the past few decades has come about due to our country's changing demographics and efforts of the civil rights movement that pushed integration into our nation's schools. Until the 1960s the melting pot ideal was the guiding principle for the mixing of the many cultures in America. Equal access to education was considered to offer an equal education for both sexes and for people from many ethnicities. Under the widely sanctioned melting pot ideal, native and immigrant ethnic minority groups were expected to assimilate into the dominate culture.

Indeed, the United States today is a pluralistic society, struggling with increasing tensions between and among ethnic groups who hold diverse opinions about assimilating into American society (Bennett, 1990; Gollnick & Chinn, 1986). American children are increasingly likely to represent non-Caucasian ethnicities. According to the Center for the Study of Social Policy (1992), non-Hispanic white children declined in every state in the nation between 1980 and 1990. In three states, children of color are the majority, primarily due to increases in the number of Latino and Asian children. Moreover, ethnic diversity is most pronounced in families with children under six years of age, as families with children are more common among Latino, African American, Asian and Native Americans than Caucasians.

Predictions into the twenty-first century estimate that ethnic groups currently considered "minorities" will make up 46 percent of the school population by the year 2020 (Cushner, McClelland, & Safford, 1992, cited in Diamond & Moore, 1995) and that ethnic "minorities" as a group will constitute a majority of the country's population by the middle of the century (Bishop, 1992). California is already represented by diversity such that no single racial group constitutes a majority of children (Children Now, 1993). One estimate

indicates that by the year 2000, half the children in the state of California will be Latino or Asian (Edwards, 1990) and people of color will comprise one-third of all students enrolled in public schools nationwide (Hodgkinson, 1985, cited in Diamond & Moore, 1995).

Multicultural and non-sexist literature serve as socializing agents, offering children ethnic and gender role models which influence not only their values and beliefs, but also have a positive impact on their attitudes about themselves and others (Diamond & Moore, 1995). Seeing oneself reflected in literature supports the development of a sense of identity and self-esteem (Cameron, Narahashi, Walter & Wisniewski, 1992) and helps improve the self-concept of ethnic minority children, in addition to helping to increase a sense of pride in their own ethnic heritage (Norton, 1985). Literature has been shown to expand and alter children's conceptions of gender roles (Flerx, Fidler & Rogers, 1976; Peterson & Lach, 1990), including occupational roles (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983) and personal aspirations (Flerx et al., 1976).

Role models in literature provide children with information about what it means to be female or male, or to be a member of a particular ethnic group (Jalongo, 1988). Conceivably, identity formation begins at birth with the development of increasingly astute perceptive abilities, along with the impact of social influences and cognitive development (Bem, 1993; Katz, 1976; Kohlberg, 1966; Siegler, 1991). Of particular interest for the purposes of this study is the development of gender, racial and ethnic identity. Children are socialized through their own exploration, interactions with other people and with cultural artifacts, including literature. Literature can help bridge gaps between children's experiences, social reality and societal expectations. The child's exposure to nonsexist and multicultural literature may be particularly important during the early years, as gender identity develops (Slaby & Frey, 1975; Thompson, 1975; Wood, 1994), ethnic identity foundations are being formed (Aboud, 1987; Ocampo, Bernal & Knight, 1993; Tanno, 1994), sex-stereotyped beliefs develop (Flerx et al., 1976) and racial and ethnic prejudice

emerge (Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974). Since picture books are generally read over and over again during these early years, the four- to seven-year-old child may be especially vulnerable to the influence of literature (Davis, 1984).

Ethnic attitudes are acquired sometime between the ages of three and five years (Aboud, 1988) and sex differences emerge in social play situations during the preschool years (Maccoby, 1990). Research findings about how preferences and attitudes develop remain inconsistent. While some researchers have found that, once formed, prejudices against those that are ethnically different will become more pronounced with age (Brand et al., 1974), other findings indicate that preferences may become more flexible with age, experience and cognitive sophistication (Aboud, 1988; Clark, Hocevar & Dembo, 1980; Spencer, 1982; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

Simple inclusion of culturally diverse and non-stereotypical models in literature does not mean these models will have a positive impact on decreasing children's gender or ethnically prejudiced attitudes: stereotyping may persist in the form of more subtle messages (Davis, 1984). People from diverse ethnic backgrounds may be included as token characters, incomplete in terms of providing any cultural information, a practice which does little on its own towards affecting attitudes (Sims, 1982). At a minimum, in order for the lessons and values in books to sink in to children's consciousness, they need to see themselves as valued by society through authentic, respectful representation in literature (Cameron et al., 1992; McGlinn, 1994).

Statement of the Problem

Sex roles and expectations for different ethnic groups are culturally determined, socially constructed and supported, learned behaviors (Lott & Maluso, 1993; Bernal & Knight, 1993; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). One source of information for children about societal expectations is the portrayal of people in picture books. To date, content analysis of picture book characters has mostly focused on the representation of females and males,

with few studies devoted to the portrayal of ethnicity. Positive efforts by individual authors and publishers to include a diversity of characters are confounded by results of content analyses which indicate consistent, stereotypic biases in children's literature (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Campbell & Wirtenberg, 1980; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Purcell & Stewart, 1990; Taxel, 1992). As family norms change, as faces in the workplace continue to transform, and as our country becomes increasingly culturally diverse, it is critical that children have accurate gender and ethnic role models in their literature. Children's literature offers children an important source of gender and ethnic role models, which can foster the development of children's gender and ethnic identity and increase their consideration for others (Cameron et al., 1992; Diamond & Moore, 1995). The purpose of this study is to conduct a content analysis of the portrayal of gender and ethnicity in the characters and illustrations of contemporary children's picture books.

Previous studies indicate that into the 1990s, Caldecott Medal and honor books continued to place males in instrumental roles more often than females, including them more often in titles, illustrations and main roles (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Purcell & Stewart, 1990). School readers are beginning to offer equal time to male and female characters (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993) and one study found picture books with near equal representation of females and males (Williams, Vernon, Williams & Malecha, 1987). However, despite this increased frequency, they found that female characters were included as central figures only about one-third of the time. In addition, the manner of inclusion is often confounded with persistent stereotyping of characters by sex. Females have continued to be shown as less active, more dependent and more nurturing than males, while males have been depicted as physically active, independent, leaders and problem solvers (Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; McVaigh & Johnson, 1979).

Analyses of children's books by race and ethnicity have also delineated persistent bias. Despite the great diversity of ethnic groups in America, empirical research has focused more often on gender than race, and when studies have examined race, the concentration has been on African Americans. Compared with African American and other minority groups, Caucasians have repeatedly been found to be over represented in children's picture and trade books (Berns, 1989; Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Chall, Radwin, French & Hall, 1975; Hopkins, 1990; McVaigh & Johnson, 1979; Reimer, 1992). One study found only one percent of titles in the mid 1980s addressed the African American community, with even less representation of Asian Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans (Bishop, 1991). McVaigh and Johnson (1979) found ethnic minority children represented in nine percent of the titles in their sample. In spite of our attachment to the melting pot ideal, children from different races are shown playing together infrequently (McVaigh & Johnson, 1979) and differences in book content and role portrayals endure. Ethnic minority characters have been included most often in biographies, folktales, and myths (Reimer, 1992) and in stereotypic career roles (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983).

How people are portrayed in literature for young children is particularly important as foundations for gender, racial and ethnic identity are formed during the preschool and early elementary years (Aboud, 1988; Bandura, 1977; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Ramsey, 1987; Wood, 1994). Nonverbal and expressive forms of communication are at the heart of social learning experiences and also constitute the core elements of literature. The purpose of this study is to examine whether differences in the gender and ethnic portrayal of human characters persist in contemporary children's literature. Illustrations and text in a sample of recommended picture books published in the United States during the years 1983-1993 were examined for information about main characters by gender and ethnicity. Several questions formed the basis for data collection and analysis:

1. Are there differences in the frequency with which females versus males occur as major and minor characters?
2. Are females and males portrayed in gender stereotyped roles and occupations?
3. Is there a difference between how females and males are portrayed with respect to a number of dimensions typically used to distinguish between males and females (e.g., dependent/independent, stoic/nurturing)?
4. Are there differences in the frequency with which various ethnic groups are portrayed as major or minor characters?
5. Are ethnic minority characters more likely to be females or males?
6. Are there differences in the ways different ethnic groups are portrayed when rated on different dimensions often used to stereotype ethnic groups (e.g., weak/strong or uninfluential/powerful)?
7. Is there a tendency for literature about ethnic minority groups to center around retelling myths and legends?

Review of the Literature

General Concepts Underlying Identity Formation in Children

The foundations of identity laid during the first seven years of life have enduring implications for how we define ourselves. The primary caretaker of a young child is believed to play an important role in the child's development of self-definition, or identity, and on how she or he interacts with others. Because of this personal integration of social experience, relationships are seen as playing a critical role in creating and sustaining gender, and racial/ethnic identity (Wood, 1994). Awareness of racial, ethnic and gender differences begins during the first few years of life, as the child uses perceptive capabilities to make distinctions between people (Knapp & Hall, 1992; Ramsey, 1987; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). With experience and increasing cognitive competence, children begin to categorize people based on these distinctions, develop their own identity, and form attitudes about others (Aboud, 1988; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Wood, 1994). The differing yet intertwined roles of socialization and cognition are evident when reviewing social learning and cognitive theories about the development of gender, racial and ethnic identity.

Social learning theory (Mischel, 1966; Bandura, 1977) emphasizes the role of observation and interaction in children's development as they begin to imitate the actions and role behaviors of others around them. Positive and negative reinforcement guide the child's subsequent gender or ethnic behaviors. Traditional social learning theory has been criticized for depicting children as relatively passive in the learning process, however, contemporary social learning theory extends the importance of modeling and imitation, and stresses that children do play an active role as evidenced in the process of choosing what they do and do not imitate (Wood, 1994). Family members and other people in children's lives, including people portrayed in children's literature, serve as role models for children, telling them about societal expectations based on gender and ethnicity or race. Self-

definition occurs, and identity is formed, as children compare themselves with other people they observe and interact with.

Information about roles are acquired through the observation of nonverbal messages, during social interaction and through exposure to media, including literature. Knapp & Hall (1992) note that proxemics, vocalics, gaze and touch patterns provide information about gender and cultural differences, in addition to information about status differentials. Together, nonverbal cues add to the child's visual perceptions about gender, racial and ethnic differences. At times nonverbal cues may conflict with verbal communication. For example, a Caucasian parent may be an advocate of racial equality, yet may not have any racially different friends, or may be friendly to African Americans or Latinos at the park, but may exhibit body language that shows uneasiness. When considering children's experiences with literature, the inclusion of multicultural and non-sexist literature, as well as the degree of interest and willingness to read them, tells children about adult attitudes towards diversity and non-stereotypic gender information. Knapp & Hall consider media representation an important source of information as to who and what is important in society and note that omission of certain people insinuates lesser status.

Cognitive developmental theorists argue that children are internally motivated to learn and use information acquired from experiences to help them gain an understanding of the world. An important aspect of cognitive development is the tendency to classify people and objects based on differing characteristics. The infant, toddler and pre-school-aged child is impassioned to explore the physical nature of objects. Vision and visual perception are one of the first senses used by infants (Siegler, 1991). Empirical studies of perception focus on the child's increasing ability to make distinctions between visible characteristics. Of particular relevance for the examination of gender, racial and ethnic differences, is the ability to discriminate color and physical differences. By three years of age, children begin to correctly classify people by gender (Bem, 1993; Wood, 1994) and by race (Ramsey,

1987). Ultimately the child considers his or her own personal traits, searches for models of his or her own gender or ethnicity and begins to self-identify with similar groups. Katz (1976) argued that children's perceptions and concepts about people should follow the same developmental rules as perceptions and concepts about other stimuli.

Mental abilities to process information acquired through social experiences and perception are paramount to integrating new information. Of particular importance in the child's cognitive development between four to seven years of age is a limited aptitude for thinking in consistently logical ways. During this time, children are unable to regularly apply a general rule, or to use ideas and symbols to develop logical principles about their experiences (Flavell, Miller, & Miller, 1993; Siegler, 1991). Marked by incredibly literal, and yet often illogical observations, Piaget (1954) called this the developmental period of preoperational thought. Preoperational thought is characterized by a child learning about the concepts of conservation, reversibility and centration.

As a physical concept, attaining the concept of conservation means that the child is able to go beyond perceived differences and infer reality (Flavell et al., 1993). When shown two identical glasses filled with the same amount of water, the preoperational child is able to agree that the amount of water is the same. However, despite viewing the transfer of the water from one glass into a taller and thinner glass, the preoperational child will believe the amount of water is greater in the taller glass because it looks like more. The preoperational child relies significantly on perceptual input to gain an understanding of his/her world. To the contrary, the child who has mastered the concept of conservation is able to consider factors other than the height of the glass and infer that the amount of water must be the same because the water was simply transferred from one container to another. When applied to the formation of identity, the concept of conservation can be seen in an ability to understand the permanence or constancy of individual characteristics such as gender (Kohlberg, 1966) or ethnicity (Ocampo et al., 1993).

Another aspect of conservation is that of reversibility. When applied to race and gender, grasping the concept of reversibility means attaining an understanding that gender and race are unchanging physical characteristics of people. As conservation and reversibility are acquired, the child becomes increasingly interested in learning role behaviors and expectations for their own racial or gender class. Children's literature and social experiences provide gender and racial role behaviors and expectations.

According to cognitive development theory, preschool children may also display centration in their thinking. This is the tendency to focus on only one aspect of a situation, often a factor which is particularly salient to her/him. In the above example, the glass height commands attention with little recognition given to the difference in glass width. Piaget (1954) also found that preoperational children attend to the present state of an object without incorporating knowledge from past experiences, hypothesizing about future possibilities, or considering states of transformation. For the preoperational child, seeing really is believing. This tendency for static reasoning is also detectable in the preschool child's tendency to have a polarized understanding of the world, categorizing things as yes/no, good/bad, either/or (Flavell et al., 1993; Siegler, 1991).

Socially, the concept of centration can be applied to the preschooler's limited ability to consider multiple roles or categorizations for people in their lives. This means Mommy is primarily seen in her role as mother, with little attention given to other roles she may occupy, such as sister, daughter, team coach or doctor. The mental ability to envision reversing an action, or understanding that Mommy occupies multiple roles has yet to fully develop. Similarly, if the child's only experience with African Americans is their maid, they may not believe that African Americans can fulfill other roles of importance in society. In the absence of physical experiences, literature can help children expand their world and learn about people, including behaviors and role possibilities for women and men of all races and ethnicities (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Diamond & Moore, 1995).

Information-processing theory extends cognitive theory, stressing the child's active participation in the learning process through the use of schemas. Schemas are naive theories or mental strategies which children use to help make sense of the world. Schemas are used to organize and filter information as the child decides what she or he will or will not process. Processing ability is influenced by the child's aptitude for symbolic mental representation of previous experiences and the use of strategies to integrate new information. External aids, such as literature, can be used to supplement limited knowledge and experience. The formation of strategies, or schema, help the child to overcome limitations in memory capacity which constrain the amount of information that can be kept in memory at any given time. Children use categorization schema to classify people by gender, race and ethnicity. Gender, racial and ethnic cues are gathered from social experiences and interaction with cultural artifacts such as children's literature. The child continually modifies which schema is used according to the situation at hand, a process which not only increases knowledge about the particular schema, but also influences the answers generated. Attention to various stimuli are filtered through the lenses of past experiences, creating the possibility of dismissal or misunderstanding of new information. The years from four to seven are marked by an increasing ability to form schema, to integrate new information into existing schema and to form opinions about people based on particular characteristics (Siegler, 1991).

Social learning, cognitive and information processing theories about child development provide some understanding of influences on, and the processes involved in, gender, racial and ethnic identity formation. Research on identity formation has been extensive; however, a significant number of studies focus on adolescent identity. Research on young children predominantly centers on gender awareness, gender identity, and, to a limited extent, racial awareness. There is a paucity of empirically-based research on the development of racial or ethnic identity and awareness in young children age four to seven.

What follows is a review of the literature on the development of gender identity, followed by an examination of the research on racial and ethnic identity formation. Subsequently, the important role of literature in children's lives will be examined, followed by a review of research on gender and ethnic portrayals found in children's literature to date.

The Development of Gender Identity

In American culture, an important emphasis is placed on gender from the moment of birth. Awareness of gender is almost inescapable, and may play a more powerful role in early identity formation than social categories of race or age (Wood, 1994). Gender is extremely salient to, and gender categorization is implicitly involved in, how we come to understand and think about our social world (Bem, 1993; Geiss, 1993). Gender has been noted as one of the first components of self concept to be developed (Slaby & Frey, 1975; Huston, 1985) and, because of its salience, is likely to be one of the first categories applied when meeting a new person (Knapp & Hall, 1992; Wood, 1994).

During an initial contact, the new person's gender is considered, and influences one's first impressions, and expectations. Social distinctions based on gender can be identified in language through linguistic emphasis, physical appearance, expected personality traits and role behaviors including social and occupational roles (Bem, 1981; Knapp & Hall, 1992; Serbin & Spraifkin, 1986). Gender expectations are also reiterated through interactions with cultural artifacts such as literature (Huston, 1985). Ocampo, et al. (1993) emphasize the salience of gender for young children, noting that gender is fairly easy to differentiate on a perceptual level for many observable reasons including physical characteristics and distinct gender mannerisms. Although manifestations of *femaleness* or *maleness* vary somewhat cross-culturally, anthropological studies suggest that all languages include gender terms and that every known culture has some degree of gender role differentiation (Beall, 1993).

Before discussing prominent theories about gender development, it is important to make a distinction between the often confused concepts of *sex* and *gender*. Sex is a physically distinguishable, biological characteristic, and distinct from gender, which is a socially constructed idea that incorporates social definitions about what it means to be masculine or feminine. The socially defined concepts of femininity and masculinity are added to one's biologically determined sex class, and give cultural definition to what it means to be female or male in a given society (Lott & Maluso, 1993). Since gender is a culturally defined characteristic, it is important to recognize that social definitions of gender are continually reconstructed as society evolves.

Gender categorizations both aid in our understandings of one another, and delimit the possibilities for each sex. Possibilities for both sexes are defined and limited by expectations based on sex in the form of gender stereotyping. Gender stereotypes are learned as tacit or implicit beliefs. Information about gender is given to children continuously from birth, through so many modes, that Bem (1981) claims "there appears to be no other dichotomy in human experience with as many entities assimilated to it as the distinction between male and female" (p. 354). With these considerations in mind, we will now turn to an examination of developmental theories about the development of gender identity.

How Developmental Theories Conceptualize Gender Identity Development

Two prominent theories have been advanced regarding gender identity development: social learning theory, and cognitive theory. Each of these theories will be reviewed briefly in order to provide a framework for understanding the development of gender identity in four- to seven-year-old children.

According to social learning theory (Mischel, 1966; Bandura, 1977), differences between the sexes are not based on biological sex, but rather on imitation and observation: children learn to be masculine and feminine through communication and observation.

Active imitation is undertaken as children work through their rudimentary understandings of what role behaviors go with the differing gender labels, particularly the label they ascribe to themselves. As children mature, previous experiences are used to anticipate responses and judge whether or not newly observed behaviors are appropriate for their gender. Gender-related behavior is learned at an early age, but is adapted throughout the life span as new models are observed and new behaviors are practiced (Lott & Maluso, 1993). This active use of others as models makes the availability of same sex models important and allows children to mold themselves into the gender expected in their culture (Bem, 1993; Wood, 1994). As a socializing force, literature is a symbolic source of gender-role models. Children attend to information in literature about cultural expectations for a person of their gender and use these models to affirm or sculpt their own behavior.

Cognitive theory proposes that from birth to approximately 24 or 30 months, children search for gender labels in the communication of others. These labels are applied to themselves and are ultimately integrated into the child's concept of self. The ability to perceive gender differences occurs before the development of an understanding of what gender labels mean and before realizing the permanence of gender. At the age of two and three years, children are able to recognize physical differences in dress and behaviors of females and males but are not sure that boys who wear barrettes or like to wear dresses are still boys. Outward physical characteristics or behaviors seem to define whether or not a person is male or female (Bem, 1993; Kohlberg, 1966).

By 36 months of age most children are certain of their own and others' gender and have rudimentary understandings of what gender means (Thompson, 1975; Wood, 1994). As children mature, and as their cognitive abilities develop, they begin to understand the constancy of their gender: that it is unchanging and inevitable. Although some children do not grasp the concept of gender constancy until after seven years of age (Emmerich, Goldman, Kirsh & Sharabany, 1977), the period from four to seven years of age is marked

by an increasing understanding of the social meanings of gender and the development of gender constancy. Subsequently, children seek same sex role-models in order to become competent at being masculine or feminine, according to the expectations of their society. Literature is an important source of same-sex and opposite-sex role models for children.

Information about gender differences are acquired from many sources such as personal experience, observation, and media, including literature (Huston, 1985). According to Piaget (1954), the four- to seven-year-old child's understanding of gender is restricted by preoperational thought. Kohlberg (1966) proposed that cognitions about gender precede the motivation to adopt same-sex attributes.

Mental frameworks, such as gender schemas, are used to categorize and sort the information about gender roles and social expectations based on gender (Bem, 1981). Martin and Halverson (1981) hypothesized that self-defining schemas "include physical and role descriptions about oneself" (p. 21) and labels of self. Gender schemas, which refer to children's organization of people in terms of gender-based categories or evaluations, are developed as gender labels and social information related to gender is cognitively organized and assimilated (Bem, 1981; Jacklin & Reynolds, 1993). New information is assimilated into existing schema and, as a result, "gender schemas can lead [children] to ignore information that does not fit the schema or to distort perceptions to make them more consistent with the schema" (Huston, 1985, p. 9). The tendency to make experiences fit their categorical understandings is illustrated when, upon viewing counter-stereotypic behavior, children either distort their recollections to make them more consistent with gender stereotypes or fail to recall the sex of the protagonist altogether (Huston, 1985; Britton & Lumpkin, 1983).

The Development of Racial and Ethnic Awareness and Identity

Racial awareness is the awareness of one's own and other racial groups. Racial identity involves an understanding of belonging to a particular race of people, based on

awareness of skin color and physical characteristics. Members of the same race may or may not belong to the same ethnic group. Likewise, people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds may have similar physical characteristics. Distinct from racial identity, ethnic identity refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group as defined by a set of behavioral characteristics including cultural values, traditions, and behaviors in addition to being a member of a particular racial group. Ethnic identity constitutes a basic part of the (ethnic) individual's sense of self and serves to maintain group identity and social ties (Bernal & Knight, 1993). Ethnic identity is believed to be transmitted through the socialization process as the individual becomes aware of their distinct physical characteristics and behavioral expectations for people with similar heritage (Bernal & Knight, 1993; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Further, just because an individual has roots in a culture, doesn't mean she or he has been socialized with the traditions, language, food, values, views, clothing styles, customs and other aspects of that culture (Gollnick & Chinn, 1986).

To more clearly understand variations in, and the impact of the cultural socialization process on the individual's development of ethnic identity, consider the following models defining different forms of inclusion for new ethnic groups within a dominant culture. Integration into a (new) culture may take one of three forms of cultural development and adjustment: assimilation, acculturation, or pluralism (Gollnick & Chinn, 1986; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Assimilation takes place as members of the minority group adopt the values and beliefs of the majority culture and become more similar to the mainstream. In effect, the minority group gradually loses its distinctiveness and there is a blending of cultures into one, as suggested by the "melting pot" ideal. Acculturation suggests an acceptance of one's own group and another group, with elements of each group included in a new, blended culture. Pluralism implies socialization towards conformity to one's own culture; distinctions of each culture are affirmed and maintained, resulting in an ethnically

heterogeneous population. These different modes of integrating culturally different information interact with social influences to shape the child's development of racial and ethnic identities. Early socialization experiences and cultural practices within the family are critical not only for the child's understanding of their own ethnicity, but also for the determination of later ethnic attitudes towards their own and other groups (Aboud, 1988).

Relatively little research has been focused on the development of racial and ethnic identity. Spencer (1982) found that race awareness follows an awareness of gender differences. As with gender awareness and gender identity, perception plays an important role in the child's identification of racial differences. Skin color, other physical attributes and language differences are noticed by young children and these differences, along with distinctions of gender, continue to be among the first categories applied when meeting a new person (Knapp & Hall, 1992). Investigations of identity formation have demonstrated that the rudiments of racial and ethnic identity develop from the ages of three to seven years (Katz, 1987; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). There is evidence that racial awareness and identity may develop prior to ethnic awareness and identity due to the salience of physical characteristics underlying racial differences (Ocampo et al., 1993).

The child's own status as a minority or majority group member also influences the development of racial and ethnic awareness (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Unlike Euro-Americans, minority children are faced with differences when comparing themselves to the dominant culture. Minority group children are inevitably aware of the majority culture as it surrounds them throughout many social aspects of their lives: schools, media, and social contact with others. For majority group members, dominant culture is treated as innate, a factor which makes Euro-Americans in America less aware of their own cultural distinctions (Gollnick & Chinn, 1986). To the contrary, members of oppressed groups are in a sense forced to become bicultural, or at least competent in more than one culture, to

function in school in addition to participating effectively in their family or their ethnic community.

For Euro-American children, in the absence of integrated schools or neighborhoods, it is possible to largely ignore minority cultures and not be personally challenged to examine their own culture, a process which inevitably happens when faced with cultural differences. Consequently, Euro-Americans living in largely Caucasian communities may not be able to identify the complexity of traits and characteristics which make up the culture of the United States. Majority group children may not consider themselves to belong to an ethnic group, because their values and beliefs are espoused through social institutions, such as schools, and media, including literature. Euro-American culture is generally purported and validated in the larger society. In fact, members of majority groups are often unable to describe their own cultural systems (Gollnick & Chinn, 1986), particularly for those living in more homogenous areas (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). For people in both ethnic minority and majority groups, learning about culture occurs both with and without conscious awareness (Kochman, 1987).

Theoretical Approaches to the Development of Racial and Ethnic Identity

Theoretical approaches to the study of ethnic identity have been presented by psychoanalysts, and social and developmental psychologists. Psychoanalysts focus on internal motivational processes that influence a person to become similar to others of their group. Erikson (1968) saw identity as an evolving sense of self that is rooted in one's culture. Racial and ethnic awareness change with the integration of new experiences and developing cognitive abilities. While psychoanalysts consider affective ties that motivate the individual to become similar to members of one's ethnic group, social psychologists examine the process of comparison between oneself and others. Cognitive developmental psychologists investigate the child's increasing ability to "discriminate, differentiate, and integrate ethnic stimuli and experience" (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987, p. 14). Currently the

work of social and cognitive theorists is prominent, and particular attention is paid herein to the contributions they have made to our understanding of racial and ethnic identity development.

Social learning theory (Mischel, 1966; Bandura, 1977) stresses the role of socialization in children's racial and ethnic identity development. Racial identity begins with racial awareness and requires the recognition that one belongs to a group of people whose genetic features of skin color and physical characteristics distinguish them from other groups. Similarly, ethnic identity begins with ethnic awareness, and the adoption of cultural values, traditions and behaviors belonging to a particular ethnic group. Ethnicity in particular is transmitted through socialization because ethnicity involves not only distinctions based on physical cues of race, but also includes the learning of customs and more subtle behavioral cues (Ocampo, et al., 1993). Active imitation of observed behavior allows children to work through their rudimentary understandings of what role behaviors apply for different ethnic groups, particularly the group they ascribe to themselves. The more similar one's culture is to that of the dominant culture, the greater likelihood that one's ethnicity will be rewarded by others (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). This active use of others as models makes the availability of same race or ethnic models important and accents the value of ethnic representation in children's literature.

Social ecology models (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) stress the influence of environmental factors on the content and manner of familial and societal socialization practices. Family background variables inevitably contribute to the salience of ethnicity in the family and factors such as generation in the United States, parents' ethnic identity, family size and familial patterns of interaction have been found to influence the amount of ethnic teaching in the home (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993). Social variables outside the family which may influence children's understanding of their ethnicity, include how the child is racially or ethnically defined by others and the extent to which the child feels and

acts like a member of their ethnic group (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Social learning theory acknowledges that learning that occurs during socialization is also dependent upon cognitive abilities (Bandura 1977; Ocampo, et al., 1993). Thus, the issues related to cognitive development and the concept of constancy become important for a full understanding of social learning theory.

Most of the empirically-based theories addressing ethnic identity formation have been proposed by cognitive development theorists. The theories vary slightly but all delineate a broadening understanding of ethnicity with age (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Children are aware of color differences by about three years of age (Siegler, 1991), acquire initial racial attitudes by age four, and exhibit strong social preferences by age five (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987).

Katz (1976) notes that from birth to three years, the child observes racial and ethnic cues and develops rudimentary concepts about race or ethnicity. By four years of age children are able to recognize themselves as members of a particular ethnic group. Aboud (1977) also found that by four years of age children become aware of racial and ethnic differences and begin to compare their own racial and ethnic qualities with those of others. Recognition of membership to an ethnic group and the stability of that ethnicity over time, ethnic constancy, begins to form as expectations based on ethnic group membership are consolidated between four and eight years of age while children become aware of their own ethnic group affiliation (Aboud, 1987; Katz, 1976). Children may be able to conceptualize others as part of a group before they are able to distinguish their own group affiliation (Aboud, 1987). However, after becoming cognizant of their own ethnicity, they are more likely to become interested in learning about other ethnic groups. Attitudes about different groups, which will be discussed in more detail later, are crystallized between eight and ten years of age.

Cognitive theory assumes simultaneous development of gender, racial and ethnic constancy, due to their representation by the same cognitive structure. Piaget (1954) called the stage at which constancy is achieved the stage of concrete operational thought. The stage of concrete operations occurs between seven and eleven years of age. A defining characteristic of this stage is that children come to understand that certain relationships remain stable, regardless of their appearance (Kohlberg, 1966). When applied to the concepts of racial/ethnic identity, constancy can be considered as the conservation of race or ethnicity (Semaj, 1980). According to Ocampo et al. (1993) concepts about ethnicity and ethnic group membership should follow the same developmental progression and rules as perceptions and concepts about other social-role identities.

Thus, similar to the belief that children may not have a vested interest in learning gender appropriate behaviors until they understand that gender is permanent and unchangeable, we would expect an interest in learning about one's ethnic background to be influenced by the realization of racial constancy. Katz (1976) argued that cognitive theory dictates that an understanding of skin color is acquired in a similar sequence to other perceptual phenomena, with race awareness and self-identification developing before racial identification and constancy.

There is a relatively small body of literature on the development of ethnic constancy and ethnic identity. Existing research indicates that children's understanding of their own and others' ethnicity, ethnic identification and ethnic constancy increases with age (Aboud, 1984; Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, & Cota, (1990). Aboud's (1984) findings indicate that the formation of ethnic identity develops similarly to that of gender identity. In addition, she found that physical conservation precedes the acquisition of ethnic constancy, implying that the comprehension of social constancy may follow the development of physical constancy. In contrast to gender constancy which is acquired before the age of

seven years (Maccoby, 1980), Aboud (1987) found that children do not see ethnicity as unchangeable until the age of seven or eight.

Semaj (1980) points to the inconsistency of empirical investigations of cognitive theory considering racial and ethnic constancy, noting results showing that physical conservation is mastered prior to, rather than simultaneous with, racial constancy. Thus, although cognitive theory implies that the same level of complex thought is required for an understanding of gender and racial/ethnic identity, research to date has not borne this out. Ocampo et al., (1993) believe that a later development of racial constancy may also be due to the fact that information about racial groups is less pervasive than information about sex and gender, and that ethnicity in particular, may not even have similar perceptual cues. Aboud (1984) found that ethnicity appears to be less salient than race or gender and additional research suggests that a lack of perceptual cues and the ever-changing nature of ethnicity may lead to the development of racial identity prior to ethnic identity (Ocampo et al., 1993; Tanno, 1994). Children asked to sort pictures in categories have indeed demonstrated differences according to age. Preschool children frequently sort pictures of people by age or gender (Davey, 1983; Madge, 1976), while six- to ten-year-old children are more likely to organize pictures according to race. Aboud (1988) hypothesized that this is because age and gender categories are salient for preschool children while race is more prominent for six- to ten-year-olds.

Despite empirical incongruence and theoretical disagreement on whether or why racial, ethnic and gender identities develop at differing rates, there is agreement that racial, ethnic, and gender identity all play important roles in how children see themselves and in how they function and operate in the world. While the complexities of identity formation may not be entirely understood, it is clear that children learn about gender, racial and ethnic identities during the first seven or eight years of life. In addition, as children are developing their own sense of identity, they are acquiring attitudes about others. The next section

briefly examines attitude formation, particularly in relation to the development of stereotypes, prejudice, and positive affect for members of one's own and other gender, ethnic, and racial groups.

The Development of Preferences and Attitudes in Childhood

Ethnic attitudes are acquired sometime between the ages of three and five years (Aboud, 1988). Sex differences emerge in social play situations as preschool children spontaneously demonstrate tendencies to segregate themselves into same sex groups (Maccoby, 1990). What accounts for these early displays of preferences and attitudes? Research findings are inconsistent with respect to the development of preferences, particularly attitudes towards people that are racially or ethnically similar or different from oneself. Some researchers have found that once prejudices against those that are ethnically different are formed, there is a tendency for them to become more pronounced with age (Brand et al., 1974). Other findings indicate that preferences seem to become more flexible with age, experience and cognitive sophistication (Aboud, 1988; Clark et al., 1980; Spencer, 1982; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Social learning and cognitive theory each imply different reasons for the development of attitudes towards one's own and other ethnic groups and will be discussed briefly, followed by a review of empirical studies surveying racial attitudes and preferences among preschool children. Before examining theories of ethnic attitude formation, a few definitions are important.

Attitudes reflect evaluative opinions, feelings and emotions. When attitudes are negative, and result in feelings of hostility or dislike toward members of dissimilar ethnic groups, the term prejudice is generally used (Lott & Maluso, 1993). Aboud (1987) notes that in order for an attitude to be a prejudicial attitude, "it must be evaluative, and it must be an organized predisposition elicited by the person's ethnicity" (p. 41). Stereotypes are widely shared and socially validated attitudes which reinforce and may justify prejudice, generally insinuating inferiority. Discrimination involves overt behaviors that achieve

separation between groups through exclusion, avoidance, or distancing (Lott & Maluso, 1993).

Social learning theory suggests that children adopt attitudes and stereotypes based on their social knowledge of the power and status of different groups in society. These attitudes and stereotypes are learned through subliminal and overt influences of media, including literature, and the educational system. Without considering the influence of parents and important others, this approach infers that all children will hold the same biases regardless of their own ethnic group membership. Incorporating the fact that value systems of parents and important others may differ from society, social learning theory acknowledges that children "learn to evaluate groups the way their parents do either by direct training or by observing and imitating their parent's verbal and nonverbal behavior" (Aboud, 1988, p. 18).

A social-cognitive developmental perspective predicts that different types of prejudice are evident at different ages as a result of cognitive limitations. Prejudice is seen as inevitable, but not necessarily enduring; through experiences, children learn and adapt previous attitudes. Cognitive limitations of four- to seven-year-olds, namely the egocentric nature of preoperational thought, infer that children may initially be unaware of ethnic groups; initial preferences are thought to be random and unpredictable, based on personal considerations, such as affective reward. In addition, initial attitudes are based on perception, such as skin color, language and clothing differences. Four- to seven-year-olds notice dissimilarity, and people who are different tend to be disliked. After seven-years of age, cognitive understandings increase, and the ability to de-center and see things from more than one perspective is seen to account for a decline in bias with age (Aboud, 1988). Clark, et al. (1980) believe this decrease in bias could reflect not only cognitive changes, but an understanding of socially desirable responses, and the tendency to give the desired response to racial questioning. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) note that studies

using interventions aimed towards changing racial attitudes indicate that the researcher's ethnicity may influence children's perceptions also support this latter theory.

Aboud and Doyle (1993) believe that children are not only highly egocentric during the years from 4 to 7 but that they are also sociocentric and thus, inevitably, ethnocentric. They report that social forces are known to have an impact on children's attitudes, and include among these forces friendship with or exposure to outgroup members, multicultural television, parental and peer attitudes. However, it is not known at what age these forces have the most impact. Non-sexist children's literature has had an impact on attitudes of preschool children (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983) and this influence may also occur with multicultural literature interventions, however, evidence suggests that multicultural interventions may have more impact after seven years of age for changing attitudes as cognitive abilities develop (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Doyle, 1993).

The most consistent finding about children's attitudes is that of a pro-white bias among young children (Bagley & Young, 1988; Johnson, 1992; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Although variation was shown in the pro-white bias of Caucasian and biracial preschoolers in Johnson's (1992) study, the differences were more similar and less pronounced than those shown by African American children who showed an erratic preference for whites. This study showed a tendency for Caucasian children to attribute preferences on the basis of racial distinctions more often than either African American or biracial children.

Bagley and Young (1988) studied evaluations of color and ethnicity among preschool children in four countries and found that negative evaluations of the color black were related to a tendency to devalue black people. More pro-black than pro-white preferences were found among African children in Ghana, London and Calgary, while (black) Jamaican children in Jamaica and Canada continued to demonstrate a pro-white bias. Spencer and Horowitz (1973) studied preschool children from three to five years-old and

also found a pattern of negative evaluations of the color black with black people. They used an experimental intervention teaching that the color black and black persons were positive while white and white people were negative. An interesting finding was that the race of the experimenter had an impact on strengthening the positive results of the treatment condition: Caucasian experimenters tended to enhance the acquisition of pro-black attitudes and preferences more than African American experimenters.

Caucasian children consistently express more negative attitudes towards members of other groups; between the ages of four and seven, white children become more biased against others and more in favor of their own group. Minority children remain divided in choosing a favored group up to seven years of age, remaining neutral or non biased in their responses; after seven-years of age, they begin to see their own group as more favorable (Aboud, 1988).

Developmental theory and empirical investigations to date clearly show that attitudes are learned through socialization and interpreted through cognition. Undoubtedly there are important links between identity formation as supported through social environments of culture, language and literature. In the absence of intervention, the tendency for children to exhibit a pro-white bias remains (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Literature provides children with one important source of ethnic, racial and gender models, supplementing experiences with people in their family and community. It is with this critical link in mind that we will turn to an examination of the impact of books and literature on children's learning of social knowledge.

Concepts and Attitudes Learned From Literature

In verbal or written form, stories have traditionally been a part of socialization for young children. In cultures with written language, stories have also been written down in the form of literature (Diamond & Moore, 1995). Historically, in all cultures, myths, folk tales and fables were passed down from old to young, through oral storytelling. Through

stories children learn about roles, rules and expectations of their society, as literature reflects the prevailing attitudes of a society at a given time, and transmits current morals, values, and attitudes in addition to a sense of tradition (Berns, 1989). Literature serves as a vehicle for understanding, vicariously learning about, and learning to appreciate, cultures and traditions similar to and different from one's own (Imdieke, 1990; Rasinski & Padak, 1990). Through interacting with the language, ideas, and pictures presented in books, children learn basic social information and expand their language skills and cognitive development (Berns, 1989). Social, language and cognitive skills all culminate in the child's understanding of self and others, and provide the foundations of gender, racial and ethnic identity. At the core of these aspects of development is social interaction, and to a lesser extent, literature.

Picture books are a special category of children's books which may or may not include text and are said to stimulate the senses, the intellect and the emotions (Jalongo, 1988). Bishop (1992) and Diamond and Moore (1995) comment that illustrations help children develop an appreciation for art and motivate them to experience the story aesthetically. Moore (1985) calls the visual image the "most engaging of sensory messages, imprinting its outlines upon the subconscious like an acid etch" (p. 183). She elaborates about the strength of visual imagery sustained through the use of subliminal advertising, influencing us to discredit that which we are not able to see. In addition, the illustrations in picture books may serve to extend information given in the text, or provide additional information (Crabb & Bielawski, 1994). Lukens (1995) points out the fundamental complexity of seemingly simplistic picture books:

> in any composite of verbal and pictorial storytelling, we see the picture's contents all at once, but are exposed to the verbal story a little at a time in linear progression...we look at a picture to see it as a whole, then absorb the details little by little, noting how they compose the whole...likely because of [the complexities] children never weary of the intimately interwoven visual and verbal arts. (p. 202)

She notes the excitement children experience through the continual discovery offered by repeat readings of picture books and that children absorb, assimilate, and connect details, colors, and shapes as they pick up more and more details in the illustrations. Books allow the child to explore the world through a variety of modes including seeing, thinking and feeling (Berns, 1989). When engaged with books, the reader is involved through both conscious and subconscious processes.

Parent interaction with children and books may also influence the quality of lessons learned, as literature has been found to have an impact on children's attitudes about themselves and others (Flerx et al., 1976; Imdieke, 1990; Rasinski & Padak, 1990). Campbell and Wirtenberg (1980) caution that the less the child knows about an issue, the more influential books may be. The intensity of parental, or other important adults', opinion affects the child's attitudes, and children who interact with their parents infrequently may be more susceptible to media influence. Interacting with an adult about a book provides the child with valuable information through the manner and content of the discussion itself. Without interaction, children's inexperience may limit what they gain from literature, as Jalongo (1988) stresses in her comments about the important role adults play in children's literacy:

> Appearances can be deceiving, and young children must truly judge a book by its cover until an adult reads the book to them. Picture books require interaction between an adult and a child. Surrounding children with books is not enough. They need caring adults to invite them into the world of literature; they need someone to show them the way. (p. 28)

Adults play an important role in linking the lessons gained from literature to life experience. However, the impact of literature on children's attitudes may be short term, unless the child is exposed to the literature several times and its messages are reinforced at home or in the community (Campbell & Wirtenberg, 1980; Flerx et al., 1976).

In addition, literature influences the child's sense of self and enriches the child's development of identity in many ways. For the young child, literature plays a particularly

important role because children begin to understand themselves and others based in part on what they read or are read (Diamond & Moore, 1995). The individual's sense of self is enhanced as the child is able to step away from their own experiences and be introduced to new information, vicarious experiences, or to simply view the familiar from a new perspective (Berns, 1989). The language of children's literature provides information about social order in terms of gender (Flerx et al., 1976; Serbin & Sprafkin, 1986) and race or ethnicity (Barrera, 1992; Fox, 1993) as distinctions are emphasized and reiterated through linguistic elements.

Gender and Ethnicity in Children's Literature

Characters in children's books serve as role models for children. Qualitative and role distinctions by gender or ethnicity illustrate for children societal possibilities and expectations for their gender or race. In order to gain a sense of value and equality in society, children need to see characters like themselves; people with the same skin color, names, living situations, family styles and values reflected in literature (Banfield & Wilson, 1985; Garza de Cortes, 1993; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada & Ross, 1972). Bias in books takes many forms. Although efforts have been made on the part of publishers, authors, teachers and parents alike, there appear to be consistent ethnic and gender biases in children's literature.

How are books assessed for stereotyping and bias? The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1980, cited in Derman-Sparks and the A.B.C. Task Force, 1989), Bishop (1992), Diamond & Moore (1995) and Lo and Lee (1993) offer specific guidelines for assessing books for gender and ethnic stereotyping. The Council on Interracial Books for Children suggests checking the illustrations and the storyline for stereotypes: consider the roles of women; standards for success; how problems are presented and resolved; watch for loaded, judgment laden words; and consider the possible effects of findings on the child's self-image. Date of publication may be indicative of themes and accurate portrayal;

the Council notes that by the 1970s children's books began to accurately reflect the realities of our multiracial society.

Assessment of the accuracy of information presented and characterizations based on the cultural perspective or aesthetic of the group(s) being depicted is also important. Settings and themes, including portrayal of values, in stories and evaluations of relationships between and among characters from different cultures all constitute the authenticity of portrayal (Bishop, 1992; Diamond & Moore, 1995; Lo & Lee, 1993).

Lo & Lee (1993) add that: stories should support the development of a positive self-image in all children, any writing of a culture should be actual writing, commonly known stereotypical generalizations should be avoided, and illustrations should enhance the text and be free of token cultural artifacts. The importance of considering the author's or illustrator's background is also stressed, on the basis that no author can be entirely objective and ethnocentrism is likely to affect the perspective given in the story. The findings of Banfield & Wilson (1985) support the premise that the author should be from the culture about which she or he is writing, since the fables they studied were based on African and African American sources filled with misrepresented and distorted symbolism.

Cultural authenticity can be achieved by publishing work by authors native to that culture, however, it is particularly difficult to find books about minority cultures written by authors from that community. In addition, the number of books published about African American and other ethnic minority experiences seem to waver over time (Sims, 1982). Despite Harris, Yokota, Johnson and Garza de Cortes' (1993) contention that increasing numbers of awards have recently been bestowed upon African American writers, Barrera (1992) notes a discrepancy in the recipients of well-known Newberry and Caldecott Medal awards; the majority of past winners have been individuals from Euro-American backgrounds.

When evaluating children's literature, it is important to recognize that who is included in literature (and how) says as much as who is not. Children who don't see themselves reflected in books may not see themselves validated by the larger society (Cameron et al., 1992; Weitzman et al., 1972). Omission of particular groups from literature hurts males and females (Weitzman et al., 1972), ethnic minority children as well as dominant culture Anglo children (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Harris et al., 1993; Larrick, 1965).

When considering the characters themselves, Bishop (1992) and Diamond and Moore (1995) stress the importance of careful assessment of illustrations in particular for accurate, authentic, and non-stereotypical presentations of people from various cultures as illustrations serve to "visually chart information [and] increase understanding of the text" (p. 176). Children exposed to literature containing poorly depicted or stereotyped characters may develop negative attitudes not only towards members of that group but may also develop a negative outlook on books and reading in general (Chall et al., 1985). Overall, Bishop (1992) emphasizes the importance of depicting a variety (of physical features) among people of any group. Campbell and Wirtenberg (1980) ask for an assessment of the manner in which characters are portrayed. Questions included in the current study, such as whether or not girls and women are portrayed as active and successful, and whether adult women and minority figures are portrayed in positions of authority, provide qualitative information about the portrayal of characters.

Assessing literature for stereotyping and bias can be a time consuming, difficult task, but critics against bias emphasize the important socializing role of literature and stress the importance of providing positive role models for all children living in a multicultural society. Children learn about themselves, their culture, the culture of others, in addition to increasing their language and cognitive skills through reading experiences. How people are portrayed in illustrations and text provide the reader and listener with information and reiterate important social values in addition to influencing attitudes. Careful assessment of

the contents of children's literature helps adults to become aware of what messages are being given to children, both verbally and nonverbally through the child's interaction with books.

Research on the Portrayal of Gender and Ethnicity in Children's Literature

Introduction

Clearly literature can make a difference in children's understanding of, and attitudes towards their own or another's gender and ethnicity. However, studies examining the content of children's literature in regards to gender and ethnicity are few and largely dated. Most studies examine either gender or ethnicity; few consider both together. In general, findings indicate role models and options offered to children remain fairly stereotypical by both gender and race.

In a ten year comparison of basal readers examining the top six ranked careers according to gender and race, Britton & Lumpkin (1983) found a general lack of an increase in the numerical representation of females and people of ethnic minority groups but little or no progress in de-stereotyping of these characters between the years of 1972 and 1982. Noting a continued tendency to under-represent women and people of color, Taxel (1992) describes our advances in terms similar to those of a child's development: "we often take steps forward only to go backwards" (p. 12). It is difficult to find truly unbiased literature, often non-racist stories have sexist themes and non-sexist stories are racist with minority characters playing minimal or no roles, or depicted in a stereotypical manner (Campbell & Wirtenberg, 1980).

Research on gender and ethnic portrayal in children's literature, has provided limited information and has been methodologically flawed on account of several factors. Gender and ethnicity frequency counts alone do not provide descriptive information about manner of portrayal and instruments which do use descriptive scales may not be given operational definitions. Reports of findings are often not quantified, but instead include vague

descriptive phrases such as "increased dramatically" or "grown substantially," without statistical analysis.

Portrayal of Gender in Children's Literature and Implications for Gender Identity

Literature has the power not only to define but to change children's perceptions about what it means to be male or female (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983). Decades of research focusing on the portrayal of the two sexes in children's picture and trade books commonly cite stereotyped depiction of males and females (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Peterson & Lach, 1990). While the frequency of inclusion of males and females has become more equal over time, studies of Caldecott Medal and honor books continue to cite a larger proportion of male characters in central roles, pictures and titles (Engel, 1981; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Purcell & Stewart, 1990). More recent studies have found females and males are nearly equally likely to be included in children's readers (Purcell & Stewart, 1990) and in picture books (Williams et al., 1987).

Over the last five decades, studies have found that males are typically portrayed as instrumental or significant characters, physically active, problem-solvers, independent (Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Yawkey & Yawkey, 1976) and having more fun (McVaigh & Johnson, 1979). Females are generally cast in insignificant roles, shown indoors, as dependent and nurturing (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993). Stories with play themes showed girls played primarily for social benefit and rarely for self-enhancement and mixed play groups were dominated by, and directed by males (McVaigh & Johnson, 1979).

Even in light of more their more frequent inclusion, females are portrayed in central roles only about one-third of the time (Williams et al., 1987) and stereotyped portrayals have changed little since the 1972 study by Weitzman et al. The shift in frequency of female pictures and characters does not seem to carry over into a change in role portrayal or characterization. Girls are more likely to be shown in active roles, yet still shown in need of

rescue; despite their bravery while awaiting rescue, they are not able to help themselves out of trouble (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Purcell & Stewart, 1990). Women are shown in a narrower range of occupations than men (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Purcell & Stewart, 1990): they have moved outside of the home, but not into the labor market (Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Williams et al., 1987). Over the last five decades, women have also been shown using household items more often than males (Crabb & Bielawski, 1994). In the same study males were found to use non-domestic production items more often than females, with an insignificant decrease over time, while their portrayal with household items increased significantly. Use of personal items did not differ significantly. Males have been found in roles as instrumental helpers and recipients of help more frequently than females (Barnett, 1986).

Considering ethnicity and gender simultaneously, Britton & Lumpkin (1983) found that in basal readers the

> proportion of major character roles for females of all races has risen from 14 per cent in 1958-1970 to 20 per cent in 1980-82, a gain that is still far from reality - women are 51.42% of the U.S. population. The representation of minority women has risen from 2 per cent to 6 per cent of all females depicted, but still does not reflect reality, which is closer to 9 per cent. (p. 5)

In the same study, they note a small increase in the percentage of males represented in children's books, from 58 per cent in 1958-1970 to 60 per cent in 1974-76. However, they found a sharp decrease (to 35 percent male major characters in 1980-82) after the publication of guidelines on sexism. Over the same time period, they cite a decrease in the ratio of male major characters to female major characters from 4:1 males to females to 1.75:1. When looking specifically at characters from diverse ethnic groups, Britton and Lumpkin found that representation of males of color has been irregular, but fairly constant, comprising nine per cent of characters in their 1982 study. In contrast they found an increase in the portrayal of females of color as major characters--from two per cent in 1958-70 to 6 per cent in 1980-1982. During the same time period, the overall ratio of minority

males to minority females decreased from 5:1 to 1.5:1 in the 1980-1982 era. When considered together, Britton and Lumpkin note a positive trend in their category of "males/females shown equally for all races," an increase from 9 per cent in 1958-70 to 20 per cent in 1980-82.

The research of Britton & Lumpkin (1983) also examined basal readers for the career options offered to males and females of all races. They found that the depiction of career options tend to be particularly stereotypic for people of color and females of all races, and that the content of these portrayals did not change much over the decade prior to their study. They claim females are offered the "same old traditional, low-paying options - plus a heavy dose of royal job opportunities." (p. 7). Compared to current demographics at the time, Anglo males were found to be over-represented in career examples by 13 per cent, careers for Anglo females were underrepresented by 22 per cent. Minority males were over-represented as 17% of the labor force, compared to their six percent reality. Women of color were also underrepresented by an unspecified amount (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983). An increase in the representation of gender free roles, comprising approximately eight percent, was also noted, however, caution is warranted. Because of a general tendency to over-represent males, they note that neutral references may be perceived as male. Fox (1993) found that in responding to her book, "Koala Lou" which contains three dominating, interesting, obviously female main characters, children tend to refer to the koalas as "he." Fox contends that this social "indoctrination" is subtle and believes that writers of children's books must be equally subtle in their approach to writing children's literature, stating that "labouring the point kills the point of the labouring" (p. 657). Another example of this sort of over-generalization is illustrated by the child who sees a female doctor but repeatedly hears, "Did *he* give you a shot?" "What kind of medicine did *he* give you?" from unknowing friends or relatives. On a large scale, our language serves to reiterate social values and norms (Serbin & Sprafkin, 1986). Clearly, literature can serve

to both support and/or challenge children's understandings of social gender roles and expectations and may be a particularly important mediator during the formative years of gender identity for providing models outside the child's direct experience.

Britton & Lumpkin (1983) found the most common roles for Anglo males were, in descending order, soldier, farmer, doctor, police officer, king and scientist. Common roles for males of color were worker, farmer, warrior, Indian chief and hunter. They point to the blaring contrast that despite 30% representation among enlisted men in 1980, black males were more often shown as slaves and servants than as soldiers. Roles for Euro-American women included: mother, teacher, queen, author, princess and factory worker - and four stories contained female, Anglo astronauts. Jalongo (1988) also found the portrayal of the workplace to be stereotypical. She cites a tendency for books about hospitals to contain female nurses and Euro-American male doctors and books about schools to portray female teachers and male administrators.

Studies on the portrayal of gender in children's literature indicates the preponderance of stereotyped sex-roles for children, despite the fact that non-sexist books have been found to have a positive effect on children's attitudes (Campbell & Wirtenberg, 1980) and to reduce gender stereotypic thinking in four- and five-year-olds (Flerx et al., 1976). Preschool children are more likely to choose a non-stereotypic toy following exposure to a book portraying girls and boys in a non-stereotypic manner (Ashton, 1983). Upon reviewing existing studies, Campbell and Wirtenberg (1980) found the impact of non-sexist literature is stronger and more lasting if the books are read over a period of time and if they go beyond simply changing the gender or ethnicity of the characters to incorporate a portrayal of the joys and struggles of non-traditional lives. Even nonsexist picture books include some surprising biases. In a study examining nonsexist picture books, Davis (1984) found overcompensation in the inclusion of independent females, yet these females

were still more nurturing, emotional and less physically active than males in their sample of nonsexist or conventional (Caldecott Medal and bestseller) books.

There is some evidence that girls and boys may react differently to nonsexist literature. Campbell and Wirtenberg (1980) refer to a study of preschool children who showed a preference for stories in which the characters demonstrated sex-stereotyped behaviors. They also note that the same study found that both girls and boys remembered the non-traditional story about a same sex character for a longer period than a stereotyped story about a same sex character. In addition, they found that social class may be a confounding variable; girls seem to demonstrate more tolerance of non-stereotyped roles for females at all socioeconomic levels while only boys of higher social class demonstrated acceptance of non-stereotypic roles for males. Flerx et al.(1976) attribute the differential impact of non-sexist literature for girls and boys to the divergent consequences that a shift towards egalitarianism means for the two sexes. Girls have a lot to gain by breaking out of stereotyped roles in terms of greater freedom and self-esteem, while boys have more to lose, including superiority and power.

Research on the effects of literature on children's acquisition of social and cognitive knowledge, including self-identifying aspects such as self-esteem and self-concept, we can draw an association to the important role of literature in the development of gender identity. During the transitional years of gender identity development, from three to seven years of age, the impact of sex-stereotyping in literature and media influences may be particularly strong. Research on identity development and the influential role of literature implies that if young children are exposed to only traditional roles, these are the capacities and roles they will deem appropriate for themselves. Studies have shown that literature can alter children's perceptions about gender roles (Campbell & Wirtenberg, 1980), yet research to date indicates a tendency to mis-represent gender role possibilities and cling to outdated values (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Purcell

& Stewart, 1990; Williams et al., 1987). As a social reflector, non-sexist, quality literature supports the child who lives in a non-traditional family or who has other non-traditional role models and also helps to foster the development of more positive attitudes towards difference in general (Derman-Sparks et al., 1989). Similarly, literature which positively portrays females and males of many ethnicities in a diversity of roles provides children in a multicultural society with a variety of role models and information about their own and other gender and ethnic groups.

Portrayal of Race/Ethnicity in Children's Literature and Implications for Racial/Ethnic Identity

Despite our increasingly multicultural society, research focusing on the depiction of ethnic minorities in children's literature is more sparse than studies analyzing gender. Older studies tended to focus on African Americans and sometimes Native Americans, while more recent studies also include Asian and Mexican Americans. The manner of inclusion of diverse groups of people in children's literature ranges from blatant and offensive stereotypes, to disregarding difference, to more respectful, pluralistic representations which value the similarities and differences among all people. In order to halt the perpetuation of stereotypes or inaccurate characterizations, it is important that people of different ethnicities are portrayed authentically, and in positive roles. Because no author can be entirely objective, a cultural lens is bound to taint her/his literary portrayal and some children's book critics consider the author's and/or illustrator's background as important when evaluating a book (Bishop, 1992; Diamond & Moore, 1995).

Generally Caucasians and middle-class families tend to be over represented in children's literature and minority groups tend to be underrepresented. When included, ethnic minority individuals tend to be portrayed as conventional and middle class (Berns, 1989). Distinctions within and between racial groups are often smoothed over, a characteristic Sims (1982) attributed to "melting pot" books. For example, a major theme of

picture books focusing on the African American experience published in 1974 and 1975 was love/understanding for others across races (Mills, 1975). In their study focusing on picture books with play themes, McVaigh and Johnson (1979) found non-White children were seldom depicted: in 64 books, ethnic minority children were represented six times, or in 9% of the books. When looking specifically at the presence of mixed-race play groups, they found that African American and Caucasian children played together in one book from 1945, seven books from the 1960s and four books from the 1970s.

Chall, et al. (1975) replicated Larrick's (1965) study and found that the representation of African American characters in illustration or text had increased 100% over the 1964 data. Still, 85.6% of the books included no African American characters in their text or illustrations. Apparently, this increase was short-lived. In 1984, Rollock updated her 1979 annotated bibliography entitled "The Black Experience in Children's Books" and found that in new titles published between 1979 and 1984, an average of 1.5%, or 25 new publications per year, included African Americans. In addition, many of the titles included in her initial bibliography were out of print by 1984, and the 1984 edition was half the size of the 1979 edition. By the mid-1980s the representation of African Americans in children's literature dwindled to one percent, with even less representation of Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans (Bishop, 1991).

Reimer (1992) noted a shift in literary content to include more African American folktales, more picture books retelling family stories and histories, more books for the very young containing African American characters and more books that include people from the Caribbean. Biographies about African American characters include folk heroes, historical figures, and current political figures, in addition to the previous concentration on athletes.

In contrast, Hopkins (1990), an anthologizer of poetry for children, argued that the situation for African Americans is not improving dramatically, and that publication of poetry specifically, continues to dwindle. Banfield and Wilson (1985) warn that although

there may be more fables based on African and African American sources, they may not be authentic. In their thorough analysis of two highly acclaimed titles, they found that the symbols were misrepresented and distorted. They state that there is "a systematic and determined effort to wipe out the civil rights advances won in the 60s" (p. 193) and note that this is because African Americans, like other people of color, lack power. They further assert that lack of power in a society means that "cultural symbols are almost never reinforced in positive ways in the media (including children's literature)" (p. 195). One result of this cultural repression is that the very meanings of cultural symbols become lost and unknown even to members of the ethnic community.

Considering the representation of Latino people, Nieto (1982) found the primary themes focused on assimilation into the dominant Anglo culture in the United States. Reimer (1992) found that contemporary books about Mexican American are few, citing only nineteen in a 1989 bibliography by Schon. Nieto (1982) also found that most of these books were set in large urban areas and tended to focus on the author's childhood memories.

Reimer (1992) found that most books about Asian American, Latino and Native American groups continue to tell about assimilation experiences and re-tell folktales and legends from oral histories without addressing other issues. Descriptions of rituals and ceremonies are also included in literature about Native Americans. Ethnic minority groups in America are commonly placed together as one group. As is true for any group of people from different heritage, all have in common that they are each comprised of people from diverse and distinct backgrounds, and, as a result, addressing the experiences of specific sub-groups of America's minority population--Asian, Latino or Native Americans--is complex.

Asian Americans come from Chinese, Japanese, Taiwanese, Cambodian, Laotian, Korean and Filipino ancestry, among others. These groups share some common values,

but their immigration experiences and their languages, beliefs, traditions, customs, values and literary heritage's vary. Reimer (1992) found a 1987 Asian American bibliography which addresses each of these groups separately, but she notes that the emphasis is similar: folktales, myths and legends, mostly written about Asians rather than by Asians. Contemporary Asian American writers often write about their own immigration or assimilation experiences or family history, for example, Allen Say's 1993 book, Grandfather's Journey. Reimer (1992) also expressed finding very few books about Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian cultures by the end of the 1980's.

Literature about Latino people is similarly complex. Latino people in America represent many Central and South American countries, in addition to Spain. In common with Asian American groups, each of the Latino groups have varying histories, and distinct cultures. Reimer (1992) notes a lack of contemporary literature about Mexican Americans, despite the fact that Mexican Americans are one of the fastest growing minority groups in America. She notes a particular lack in Latin American poetry and a general emphasis on assimilation experiences and personal history. Analyzing books about the Puerto Rican experience, Nieto (1982) found the books to be sexist, racist, classist and colonialistic.

Native Americans are another group with a rich and diverse heritage, who are often lumped into one category. There are several Native American tribes, including Navajo, Oglala Sioux, Chippewa, and Ohlone, to name only a few. Bibliographies cited in Reimer's 1992 study are somewhat dated, from 1979 and 1980. There appears to be no lack of literature about Native Americans; however, the books are often written about Native Americans rather than by Native Americans and many use loaded vocabulary and stereotypical images. Folktales, legends and biographies are most common, with more current books adding a focus on rituals and ceremonies.

Media such as television also teaches children about ethnic groups. Children tend to accept stereotypes of ethnic minority groups and their lifestyles as portrayed on television

as realistic, yet many members of ethnic minority groups believe that television either ignores them or inaccurately portrays them (Berns, 1989). Prosocial programs reflecting ethnic diversity tend to positively influence children's perceptions of, and interactions with people from those groups (Berns, 1989). Children's programs such as Sesame Street, The Electric Company, Carrascolendas and Villa Alegre feature positive minority models. Analyses of these programs have found them to have a positive affect on minority children's cognitive performance and an acceptance by minority children to imitate these role models (Graves, 1982). The attitudes of African American and Caucasian American children have been found to be altered after only 30 minutes of exposure, generally in the direction of the characterization in the programming: positive characterization results in positive racial attitudes, while negative characterization results in negative racial attitudes (Graves, 1982).

Implications for Children's Ethnic Identity or Attitudes Towards Other Groups

The Important Role of Multicultural and Nonsexist Literature

Multicultural and nonsexist literature is important for all children. Literature serves as a socializing agent, offering children ethnic and gender role models which influence not only values and beliefs, but their attitudes about themselves and others as well (Diamond & Moore, 1995). Literature can expand and alter children's conceptions of gender roles (Flerx et al., 1976; Peterson and Lach, 1990), personal aspirations (Flerx et al., 1976) and occupational roles (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Jalongo, 1988), and has also been shown to influence gender-related play behaviors (Ashton, 1983). Multicultural literature helps children to identify with people who are different from themselves and become aware of a common humanity (Jalongo, 1988). According to Lo and Lee (1993), there are two main groups that may seek multicultural literature: people raised in North America who have participated in the mainstream of Western education, and new immigrants to America who are looking to preserve their own culture and language. The latter group hope to find

portrayals of themselves that are authentic and that will support their beliefs and cultural heritage through inclusion in children's literature.

Values of multicultural literature for children include discovery of a common joy in language, information and understanding about history, discovery about the impact of sociological change and learning about great achievers from all backgrounds (Norton, 1985). Multicultural literature has a positive effect on children's achievement and on their attitudes towards themselves and others (Campbell & Wirtenberg, 1980; Diamond & Moore, 1995). Multicultural literature improves the (ethnic minority child's) self-concept, helps children broaden their understandings about people ethnically different from themselves, in addition to supporting the development of a sense of pride in their own ethnic heritage (Norton, 1985). Norton believes that through exposure to multicultural literature children gain social understandings about humanity, and discover that people should be considered as individuals, apart from stereotypical beliefs.

Simple inclusion of people representing many ethnicities does little on its own to affect attitudes (Sims, 1982) and adults may play an important role in helping children to expand upon their limited knowledge to understand and think critically about what they read (Marzollo, 1991). Derman-Sparks et al. (1989) believe that teaching prejudice is not inherent in talking about differences and also encourage this sort of critical analysis whether the books are believed to be biased or not. Bigelow (1993) calls this sort of critical examination a "fusing of the social and personal" (p. 7) and notes that students must "be encouraged to excavate the unequal relationships" (p. 6). He warns that without attention and critical thinking, the result of multicultural education can be subverted, becoming an "old MacDonald" type of multiculturalism: "here a culture, there a culture, everywhere a culture" (p. 6).

In her often cited work examining the portrayal of black (sic) and white (sic) children in picture books, Larrick (1965) makes the relevance of multicultural, non-stereotyped literature for children from all ethnicities clear:

> Across the county...nonwhite children are learning to read and to understand the American way of life in books which either omit them entirely or scarcely mention them. There is no need to elaborate upon the damage - much of it irreparable ... the impact of all-white books upon...white children is probably even worse. Although his light skin makes him one of the world's minorities, the white child learns from his books that he is the kingfish. There seems little chance of developing the humility so urgently needed for world cooperation, instead of world conflict, as long as our children are brought up on gentle doses of racism through their books. (p. 63)

In order for the lessons and values in books to sink in to children's consciousness, they need to be included in the literature (Cameron et al., 1992). Just as Moore (1985) commented on the subconscious impact of illustrations, Lo and Lee (1993) raise the subconscious impact of invisibility: "Invisibility is dangerous to one's self-esteem. If the world is described and you are not in it, you feel lessened" (p. 15). McGlinn (1994) would agree, claiming that "instead of developing an appreciation for their unique cultures, many children are receiving the message that they are different and somehow inferior to the dominant white culture" (p. 211).

Stereotyping may be worse than invisibility in that negative attitudes may serve to enhance stereotypical differences. Jalongo (1988) stresses that children's books which perpetuate stereotypes or emphasize differences while ignoring common bonds lead to the acquisition of inaccurate impressions and hinder the child's ability to identify with other people. Britton & Lumpkin (1983) assert strongly that if we continue to accept images in our textbooks that limit options by race or sex "basal readers will continue to be straight jackets that limit individual development and preparation for life" (p. 7).

Just because people from different ethnicities are included in texts does not mean that multicultural literature will have a positive impact, decreasing children's gender or ethnically prejudiced attitudes. There can be a tendency for publishers to conform to the

demand for nonsexist and multicultural material by making simple, non-comprehensive adjustments. Females may be depicted as highly independent (a trait traditionally ascribed to males), yet may be portrayed with strong feminine qualities as well; as more nurturing, more emotional, and less physically active than males (Davis, 1984). In terms of ethnicity, there may be a tendency to include one token character of a different race or different ethnic background, or to simply change the ethnicity of the character without changing anything else about the story (Sims, 1982). In a similar manner, during the early stages of integration in the 1960's, some publishers "simply shaded the faces of one character with obviously Caucasian features a different color! ... These practices subvert the goal of expanding children's cultural and ethnic awareness" (Jalongo, 1988, p. 24).

This is precisely the sort of portrayal many current children's literature critics warn against. Sims (1982) warns against this tendency to solely emphasize the universality of human experience; a tendency found in what she calls "melting pot" books, which mostly end up being picture books. She notes that

> melting pot books ignore all differences except physical ones: skin color and other racially related physical features ... without the illustrations one would have no way of knowing that the story was about an Afro-American child... [melting pot books] do not concern themselves with racial prejudice, discrimination, or conflict. Nor do they project any distinctly Afro-American experiences or traditions ... Their topics and themes are the same as those of other realistic picture books for young children - friendships, family relationships, familiar everyday experiences. (p. 33-34)

Sims (1982) believes the melting pot books are a step forward, but supports movement beyond this color-blind perspective towards recognizing our similarities and stressing human relationships and inner resources, simultaneously with a recognition of distinct cultural groups.

Literature can help bridge gaps between children's experiences, social reality and societal expectations. During the early years, as gender identity develops (Slaby & Frye, 1975; Thompson, 1975; Wood, 1994), ethnic identity foundations are being formed (Aboud, 1987; Ocampo et al., 1993; Tanno, 1994) and sex-stereotyped beliefs (Flerx et

al., 1976) and racial and ethnic prejudice is emerging (Brand et al., 1974) the child's exposure to nonsexist and multicultural literature may be particularly important. Since picture books are generally read over and over again during the early years, the preoperational child may be especially vulnerable to the influence of literature (Davis, 1984). There is some evidence that nonsexist literature tends to reduce stereotypic thinking more effectively for girls than boys, and that effects are more prominent for 5-year-olds than 4-year-olds (Flerx et al., 1976).

Role models in literature provide children with information about what it means to be female or male, or to be a member of a particular ethnic group (Jalongo, 1988). Seeing oneself reflected in literature supports the development of a sense of identity and self-esteem (Cameron et al., 1992). Despite efforts by individual authors and publishers, there appears to be consistent, stereotypic bias in children's literature. From three to seven years of age, as important foundations are laid for children's gender, racial and ethnic identity nonverbal and expressive forms of communication, including literature, play an important role. Picture books provide a place for particularly rich, aesthetic learning about gender and ethnicity.

Methods

Sample

Since a primary objective of the current study was to examine gender and ethnic portrayals in children's picture books, it was important to find a population of literature that was not only comprehensive, but also representative. It was assumed that a greater diversity of books would be included in a composite of award books, rather than the commonly analyzed Caldecott Award and Newberry Medal books. Bowker's (1994) group of recommended and award listings was chosen as the population to study because of its comprehensiveness. This list was developed in recognition of the increasing attention given to children's literature over the last century. The increased prominence of children's literature is visible in the remarkable growth in publication numbers as well as increases in the number of prizes or awards granted to authors and illustrators of children's books. The extent to which the titles included in Bowker's listing are children's books which are most frequently purchased or read is unknown.

Bowker's (1994) compilation included recommended children's books and children's books receiving awards from 1983-1993. Generally awards were given the year after publication; therefore the books in the population were published between the years of 1982 and 1993. The population was comprised of 57 award categories, "including major awards and prizes given to children's books, authors and illustrators from the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand" (p. xi). Listings include those from the New York Times Best Illustrated Children's Books of the Year, The Boston Globe, American Library Association, School Library Journal and books receiving various awards, such as the well known Caldecott Award and Newberry Medal books in addition to others; such as the American Book Award, Coretta Scott King Award, and Parent's Choice Award for Illustration in Children's Books, among many others. Awards and lists restricted to specific geographical regions were excluded, and foreign publications and out-

of-print titles were noted. It should also be recognized that the population was *children's books*, not specifically children's *picture* books. The total population consisted of 1,373 books; the number of these books that were picture books was not available.

For the purpose of this study, picture books were defined as those that had an illustration every time a page was turned. Further, because the subject of interest was the portrayal of people in books, additional selection criteria included: 1) books must have people as main characters, and 2) there should be an illustration of a person at least every fourth page. The final criterion required that book length could vary from 20-40 pages.

A random sample of sixty (60) books was drawn from the population of books on Bowker's list with the use of a table of random numbers. In order to evaluate any changes over the decade under consideration, thirty books were pulled from the award years of 1983-1985, and thirty were drawn from the award years of 1989-1993. Each book was assessed according to selection criteria. Those books that met the criteria were included in the sample. For books that did not meet the criteria, additional books were randomly drawn from the population. Books were borrowed from the Santa Cruz Public Library System, which makes an effort to purchase award books. Most books were available through the library system, however, when books were unavailable, additional books were drawn at random until the sample of sixty books was acquired.

The final sample included two books published in 1982, eleven in 1983, ten in 1984, seven in 1985, one in 1989, three in 1990, thirteen in 1991, eight in 1992, and five in 1993. The modal number of pages for the sample books was 32 pages; two books had 24 pages and three had 40 pages. Cases where people were included in the illustrations only every fourth page occurred only twice in the sample; the remaining books had people every time a page was turned. A listing of the sample books is presented in Appendix A.

Rating Measure

Prior to assigning books to individual raters, the researcher noted the book title, author, publisher, year of publication, type of book and number of pages, in addition to assigning the book a sample number from one to sixty. Types of books were categorized using categories delineated by Lukens (1995) and Huck, Hepler, and Hickman (1987) as follows: 1) concept book--teaching a particular concept such as season, mathematics, or colors; 2) customs/traditions--books about specific holidays or ceremonies; 3) folklore--traditional and contemporary tales stressing challenge, courage and achievement; 4) poetry--illustrated poetry books; and 5) story books--realistic stories which help to broaden children's social understanding and sympathies.

A measure entitled Representation of Gender and Ethnicity in Illustrations of Children's Picture Books was designed specifically for this study. This measure is presented in Appendix B. The first question on the measure required skimming through the illustrations of the entire book. On a seven-point scale, ranging from 1 (*all males*), to 7 (*all females*), the book was assessed for its overall tendency to portray males versus females.

The second, third and fourth questions are specific to each main character in the book, with a maximum of three characters to be scored. As with the work of Britton and Lumpkin (1983), raters began by identifying the major character in each story. The Britton and Lumpkin definition of main character was used: "the person(s) around whom the plot centered or whose activity was essential to the plot" (p. 4). Demographic information about each main character was obtained, including: age, gender, ethnicity and occupation. In two books, main characters were not distinguishable from other characters in the books. In these cases, characters of all ages were grouped together and rated under the umbrella category of female and male. Neither book had females or males of differing ethnicities so ethnicity distinctions were not lost.

Question two asked for the age, gender, ethnicity and occupation of each main character. Age categories included: infant/toddler, preschool (*3-5 years*), school-age (*5-11 years*), teen-age, young adult (*20-40 years*) and older (*40+ years*). Gender categories included: male, female and unable to tell. Ethnicity categories included: African American, Asian American, Euro-American (Caucasian), Latino/a, Native American, International (unsure, but not Euro-American), Don't Know and Other (specify). Comparisons by ethnicity were grouped and coded for analysis in two different ways. The first mode of analysis, called "American ethnicity," was a classification including three groups: Euro-American (*Caucasian Americans*), minority American (*African American, Asian American, Latinos, Native Americans, International*) and non-American (*European, African, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican*). Because non-American characters were comprised of Caucasian and non-Caucasian people, a second coding based on skin color was performed. The two "skin ethnicity" groups included Caucasian (*Euro-Americans, Caucasian non-Americans*) and "of color" (*African Americans, Africans, Asian American, Chinese, Japanese, Latinos, Mexicans in Mexico, Mexican Indians*). Occupational role was described on an individual basis, rather than using a dated index of social position or occupational categories.

The third question of the measure was used to obtain information about qualitative attributes of each main character. Attributes were selected which would reveal descriptive information about characteristics typically included in stereotypes for gender and ethnic groups. Nine five-point polarized scales were included: physically inactive versus physically active; disruptive versus compliant; dependent versus independent; submissive versus dominant; foreign/exotic versus American; dumb versus smart; stoic versus nurturing; weak versus strong; and uninfluential versus powerful. For operational definitions of the semantic differential scales, see Appendix C.

The fourth question was used to assess the degree of stereotyping of each main character by gender and ethnicity. The five-point scales extended from stereotyped (1) to

not stereotyped (5). Additional space was provided to allow comments by raters describing the gender or ethnic portrayal. In order to judge stereotypes as objectively as possible, the Council for Interracial Books for Children's Stereotypes Worksheet (cited in Derman-Sparks et al., 1989) was used as a guideline to operationalize gender and ethnic stereotypes (see Appendix D) and Gollnick and Chinn's (1986) descriptions of traits for the dominant American culture were given to help define dominant cultural values (see Appendix E).

Questions five and six provided general information about any minor characters in the books. Question five examined the gender of minor characters on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*all males*), to 4 (*equally males and females*), to 7 (*all females*). The sixth question assessed the ethnicity of minor characters on a seven-point scale, composed of all 1 (*all ethnic minorities*), to 4 (*equal representation of ethnic minorities and Euro-Americans*), to 7 (*all Euro-Americans*).

The final seven questions of the measure again considered the book as a whole, this time considering text in addition to illustrations. Question seven asked for a brief summary of the storyline. Question eight asked for a description of the general setting of the story and whether or not the information provided in the story was congruent with information ascertainable from the illustrations. Roles and descriptions of all characters were compared to the text on a five-point scale, indicating that the text was 1 (*not at all congruent*), to 3 (*equally not congruent and congruent*), to 5 (*very congruent*). Question nine compared the degree of stereotyping in the language and descriptions of the text with stereotyping visible in the illustrations; scored on a five-point scale, from 1 (*text more stereotyped than illustrations*), to 3 (*sometimes stereotyped, sometimes not stereotyped*), to 5 (*text less stereotyped than the illustrations*). Question ten asked whether or not the book was about a particular cultural, ethnic or minority group or if it was about people of varying ethnicities. If the book was about a particular group, space was provided to specify the group. Family style was noted in question eleven: 1 (*traditional*); 2 (*non-traditional*); 3 (*unclear*); 4 (*none*).

Although a somewhat antiquated definition, traditional family was defined as having a father who works outside the home, mother as a homemaker and caretaker of the child(ren). The final question provided space for additional observations including notable roles of minor characters, specific quotes, or comments about difficulties which arose during rating.

Procedure

Six female, Caucasian raters were trained to independently score a total of ten books each. All of the raters were either teachers of young children or students in Early Childhood Education courses. One rater had previously scored books for MacGraw Hill Publishers and three had analyzed books for Cabrillo Community College's Rosmarie Greiner Children's Peace Education Library. Although efforts were made to assure the validity and reliability of the measure through operationalization of scales and group training procedures, it is recognized that the lenses of gender and ethnic perspectives are persistent. The choice of a relatively homogenous group of raters was made as an effort to control for any differences by gender or ethnicity, since the small numbers of raters (6) would not have allowed for statistical comparisons, and a more diverse sample might have introduced variability to the rating responses.

Raters were trained as a group to use the Representation of Ethnicity and Gender in Illustrations of Children's Picture Books measure. Training included operational definitions of constructs included in the measure and discussions about methods for the most objective assessment. Two training sessions were conducted using books for instruction that were not included in the final sample. During the initial training, raters scored two books, out-loud, discussing the scoring among the group. At the end of the first training session all raters independently scored the same book. Results of the initial independent scoring were compared and inter-rater reliability analysis for all questions on the measure grouped together resulted in an alpha coefficient of .65. Unhappy with the reliability of the raters

after one training session, a second training was conducted. Discussion during the first training indicated that previous exposure to a book influenced the raters' perception of main character qualities and the raters' scoring of the character(s). As a result, special effort was taken during the second training and in the final disbursement of books to make sure that raters were not familiar with the titles they were given to score. The second training began with a discussion of discrepancies in scores on the first independently scored book and two more books were scored by the group. At the end of the second training another book was scored independently by all raters and statistically analyzed for inter-rater reliability. Final inter-rater reliability produced a composite alpha coefficient of .91. In addition, the semantic differential scales for main characters were considered apart from other questions and also produced an alpha coefficient of .91.

Part of the purpose in examining illustrations was to examine information which may be gleaned about the ethnicity or gender of illustrated characters by the pre- or emerging-literate child in the absence of an adult reader. Therefore raters were encouraged to try to review the books looking from a child's viewpoint and capture a *general sense* for scoring the questions. Raters were instructed to go through the book and score the illustrations alone for the first six questions of the measure. The final six questions asked for an analysis of the book as a whole, including minor characters and the text. If raters found that their perception of main characters was influenced greatly by information provided in the text, they were instructed to go back and note the altered perception on the first half of the measure.

Results

In the 60 sample books studied, demographic and descriptive information was scored for 99 major characters. In 98% of the books, the gender of the main character was discernible, and ethnicity was ascertained in 97%. Thus, information was gathered about gender for 97 main characters and ethnicity for 96 main characters; statistical analyses did not include ambiguous characters. General information about minor characters was gathered for fifty books; the remaining ten books had no minor characters.

Gender

Table 1 shows the percentage of males and females depicted in the illustrations. Considering both major and minor characters, males tended to be represented more often than females in the illustrations of books studied (mean = 3.5, on a scale of 1 = *all males* to 4 = *equally males and females* to 7 = *all females*). Females and males were shown in equal amounts in 37% of the books. However, books containing all/mostly/more males (46%) occurred almost three times as often as books with all/mostly/more females (17%). Books were half as likely to be comprised of mostly/more females (15%) than of mostly/more males (38%). One book was comprised of only females (2%); five contained all male characters (8%). While males were slightly more represented when considering all characters, looking specifically at the 99 main characters resulted in a greater proportion of females: 54% of main characters were female, while 46% were male.

Table 1 also includes the percentage of minor characters by gender. On a scale of 1 (*all males*), to 4 (*equally males and females*), to 7 (*all females*), males were again favored slightly (mean = 3.7). Minor characters were twice as likely to be all/mostly/more males (40%) as all/mostly/more females (24%).

Table 1

Percent Representation of Gender in Illustrations Among All Characters and in Portrayal of Minor Characters

	all characters	minor characters
all males	8%	6%
mostly/more males	38%	34%
equal	37%	36%
mostly/more females	15%	22%
all females	2%	2%
mean values	3.5	3.7

Table 2 shows the percentage of books by gender and year of publication. Changes over the decade show a reversal in the representation of females and males in major character roles. However, there was no significant statistical difference in the frequency of portrayal of females and males when comparing the years 1983-1985 and 1989-1993.

Table 2

Percentage of Books by Gender and Year of Publication

	1983-1985	1989-1993	Total
female	48%	53%	54%
male	52%	47%	46%

The distribution of main characters by gender varied significantly according to the type of book ($X^2 = 161.9$, $p < .001$). As the distributions in Table 3 show, males were shown as main characters slightly more often than females in poetry and story books, but females were more than twice as likely to be portrayed in folklore. Males and females were shown almost equally in books about customs/traditions and concepts.

Table 3

Percentage of Books by Type and Gender of All Main Characters

	females	males
concept	2%	4%
customs/traditions	2%	2%
folklore	27%	11%
poetry	2%	7%
story	67%	76%

The next set of analyses examined gender differences for main characters on the nine semantic differential scales. Table 4 presents the mean values for main characters by gender. No statistically significant differences according to gender of the main character were found on any of these scales. Results showed that both female and male characters were presented in a positive light, with scores around 3.3 - 4.0 on a five-point scale. Though males and females were not significantly different, females were rated as slightly smarter, more active, and less independent, nurturing, and dominant than males.

In rating the extent to which main characters were stereotyped according to gender, analyses showed that gender stereotyping was slightly less pervasive for males than for

females, though not significantly so. Female main characters were portrayed in gender stereotyped and non-stereotyped roles and behaviors nearly equally, 42% were rated as stereotyped or somewhat stereotyped while 44% were rated as somewhat or not stereotyped. In contrast, males were depicted in non-stereotypic ways (58%) twice as often as in stereotypical behaviors (29%).

Table 4

Main Character Means for Semantic Differential Items by Gender

Characteristic	Female	Male
dependent/independent	4.0	4.3
disruptive/compliant	3.3	3.4
dumb/smart	3.9	3.4
foreign/American	3.5	3.9
inactive/active	3.7	3.4
stoic/nurturing	3.5	3.8
submissive/dominant	3.3	3.8
uninfluential/powerful	3.5	3.5
weak/strong	3.8	3.9
gender stereotyped	3.0	3.5
ethnicity stereotyped	2.9	3.4

Note. The item to the right of the slash represents the concept receiving the higher score on the five-point scale.

Occupational roles were noted for 97% of the main characters. Table 5 shows occupational roles of characters by gender. The majority of main characters were teen-aged or younger (55%), resulting in many role descriptions of main characters as child, preschooler, or family member (30% of females and 38% of males). Females were portrayed in typical female roles such as mother, wife, grandmother, and a princess, and were depicted cooking, serving food, sewing, cleaning, teaching, and shopping. Non-traditional roles for females included a butcher and a boat taxi driver. Males were also most commonly portrayed in typical male roles, including father, grandfather, farmer, sailor and fisherman, carpenter, cowboy, prince and janitor. Additional roles for males included artist, showman, and poet.

Table 5

Occupational Roles by Gender

Females	**Males**
child, preschooler, family member (17)	child, preschooler, family member (21)
mom, wife (4)	dad (1)
grandmother (3)	grandfather (3)
cook (1)	student (2)
waitress (3)	restaurant helper (1)
baker's helper (1)	restaurant owner (1)
seamstress or sewing (2)	baker (1)
cleaner, laundress (1)	farmer (5)

Note: Number in parentheses indicates frequency of appearance.

Table 5, continued

Occupational Roles by Gender

Females	**Males**
student (9)	homesteader (1)
teacher (2)	sailor (1), fisherman (1)
princess (1)	carpenter (1)
old woman, shopper (1)	cowboy (cow punchers) (1)
weaver (1)	semi-professional (1)
farmer (2)	janitor (1)
homesteader (1)	celebrating cultural ritual (1)
celebrating cultural ritual (2)	prince (2)
habadasher (hat maker) (1)	fortune teller (1)
butcher (1)	dwarf (1)
taxi driver, boat (1)	mythical character (1)
legendary figure (2)	cobbler (1), hosier (1)
	mine worker (1)
	actor, showman (1)
	artist (1)
	poet, singer (1)
	homeless (2)
	saint (1)

Note: Number in parentheses indicates frequency of appearance.

Ethnicity

Coding main characters by American ethnicity resulted in 50% Euro-American main characters, 22% American minorities and 28% non-American. Non-American ethnicities included European Caucasians (33%), (black) Africans (22%), Japanese (15%), Chinese (4%), other Asians (4%), Mexican (4%), Mexican Indian (11%), Middle Eastern (4%) and European Jewish (4%) people. Categorizing by "skin color," as opposed to ethnicity, indicated that there were 61% Caucasian and 39% "of color" main characters.

There was a tendency for books to be about a specific ethnic group, rather than representing a diversity of people within one story: only 6% of books portrayed minority and Euro-American minor characters in equal proportions. Sixty percent of minor characters were either all members of ethnic minority groups or all Euro-Americans; 24% of books had more or mostly Euro-American minor characters and 12% had more or mostly ethnic minority minor characters.

Tables 6 and 7 show the relationships between book type and American ethnicity and between book type and skin color, respectively. Evaluation of book type by ethnicity detected that when coding by American ethnicity, minority Americans were included as main characters in story books six-and-one-half times as often as any other type of book. Euro-Americans dominated all story books, and were not included in folklore or books about customs/traditions. In contrast, non-American main characters were nearly twice as likely to be portrayed in folklore over story books and were not included in any other type of literature. Of particular interest when viewing percentages by "skin color" is the contrast seen between "of color" and Caucasian main characters in the category of folklore (see Table 7). People of color were represented in folklore titles six times as often as Caucasians, constituting 80% of all main characters in folklore. In contrast, Caucasians were included in story books twice as often as people "of color." The relationships between

book type and ethnicity and between book type and skin color were significant ($X^2 = 41.7$, $p < .0001$ and $X^2 = 161.9$, $p < .0001$).

Table 6

Percentage of Books by Type and American Ethnicity

	Minority American	Euro-American	Non-American
concept	9.5%	6%	0%
customs/traditions	9.5%	0%	0%
folklore	9.5%	0%	63%
poetry	9.5%	4%	0%
story	62%	90%	37%

Table 7

Percentage of Books by Type and Skin Color

	"of color"	Caucasian
concept	5%	5%
customs/traditions	5%	0%
folklore	41%	7%
poetry	5%	3%
story	43%	85%

Table 8 shows the results for year of publication by American ethnicity and Table 9 displays the percentage of books for year of publication by skin color ethnicity. Over the

decade under consideration, distribution of main characters by American ethnicity coding and "skin color" coding illustrate an increased likelihood to portray minority Americans, non-Americans and people "of color" and a decrease in the percent of Euro-American or Caucasian characters ($X^2 = 41.7$, $p < .0001$). Differences from the beginning to the end of the decade are particularly striking as people "of color" climbed from 21% to 50% of main characters over the time period studied ($X^2 = 48.2\%$, $p < .0001$).

Table 8

Percentage of Books by Year of Publication and American Ethnicity

	1983-1985	1989-1993	Total
Minority American	11%	23%	17%
Euro-American	68%	37%	52%
Non-American	21%	40%	31%

Table 9

Percentage of Books by Year of Publication and Skin Color

	1983-1985	1989-1993	Total
"of color"	21%	50%	36%
Caucasian	79%	50%	64%

Examination of the gender and ethnicity of main characters is shown in Table 10 for American ethnicity and in Table 11 for "skin color." As Table 10 indicates, while females and males were more likely to be Euro-American, more females were non-American,

whereas more males were minority American. Examination of Table 11 shows that about two-thirds of males and females were Caucasian and one-third "of color."

Table 10

Percentage of Books by Gender and American Ethnicity

	females	males
Minority American	17%	26%
Euro-American	48%	52%
Non-American	35%	21%

Table 11

Percentage of Books by Gender and Skin Color

	females	males
"of color"	37%	40%
Caucasian	63%	60%

In order to examine whether main characters were portrayed differently by ethnicity, a semantic differential scaling was used. Table 12 presents the means for main characters by American Ethnicity on the semantic differential scales. There were statistically significant differences by American ethnicity in the categories of dumb/smart [$F(2, 93) = 3.4, p < .05$], foreign/American [$F(2, 93) = 80.7, p < .001$] and gender stereotyped [$F(2, 93) = 6.3, p < .01$]. When compared with Euro-Americans, minority American and non-American characters were portrayed as less smart and more foreign/ exotic. Though the

differences between ethnic groups were not statistically significant, there was a tendency for minority and non-American characters to be portrayed as slightly more independent, active and submissive, but less stereotyped by ethnicity than Euro-Americans. Minority Americans were depicted as slightly more nurturing and compliant than Euro-Americans, but non-Americans were slightly more stoic and disruptive than Euro-Americans. Non-Americans were rated as somewhat more influential than Euro-Americans, who were more powerful than minority Americans. Minority Americans were less stereotyped by gender than Euro-Americans (means of 3.7 and 3.4), while non-Americans were more stereotyped by gender (mean of 2.7).

Analysis of semantic differential scales by "skin color" coding produced significant differences in the qualitative attributes of main characters in three categories. Table 13 displays the means for main characters on the semantic differential items by skin color. Significant results were found for: foreign/American [$F(1, 93) = 7.4$, $p < .01$]; gender stereotyped [$F(1, 93) = 7.4$, $p < .01$]; and ethnicity stereotyped [$F(1, 93) = 4.3$, $p < .05$]. People "of color" were portrayed as more foreign and less American than Caucasian characters, but less stereotyped by gender and ethnicity. Compared to results with American Ethnicity coding, coding by skin color resulted in the portrayal of people "of color" as slightly more dependent, compliant, active, submissive and strong than Caucasians, though not significantly so.

Table 12

Main Character Means for Semantic Differential Items by American Ethnicity

Characteristic	Minority American	Euro-American	Non-American	Significance
dependent/independent	4.4	3.8	4.7	n.s.
disruptive/compliant	3.6	3.2	3.1	n.s.
dumb/smart	3.8	4.1	3.7	.05
foreign/American	3.9	4.9	1.4	.001
inactive/active	3.5	3.4	3.9	n.s.
stoic/nurturing	4.0	3.7	3.3	n.s.
submissive/dominant	3.2	3.9	3.2	n.s.
uninfluential/powerful	3.3	3.5	3.7	n.s.
weak/strong	3.8	3.8	3.9	n.s.
gender stereotyped	3.7	3.4	2.7	.01
ethnicity stereotyped	4.0	2.7	3.4	n.s.

Table 13

Main Character Means for Semantic Differential Items by Skin Color

Characteristic	"of color"	Caucasian	Significance
dependent/independent	4.0	4.3	.07
disruptive/compliant	3.5	3.2	n.s.
dumb/smart	3.9	4.0	n.s.
foreign/American	2.6	4.4	.01
inactive/active	3.7	3.5	n.s.
stoic/nurturing	3.7	3.6	n.s.
submissive/dominant	3.2	3.8	n.s.
uninfluential/powerful	3.5	3.5	n.s.
weak/strong	3.9	3.7	n.s.
gender stereotyped	3.5	3.1	.01
ethnicity stereotyped	3.9	2.7	.05

Discussion

Previous studies have cited persistent bias in children's literature. Women and minorities have repeatedly been found to be under-represented, or to be included in stereotypical roles. This study indicates that award winning literature has made important strides in countering previous gender and ethnic biases.

Results of the current study are contrary to previous findings in regard to the frequency of portrayal of females and males. Although males continue to predominate the combined total of minor and major characters in the sample studied, this general tendency to favor males is subordinated by the finding that females filled roles as major characters slightly more often. In the current study, the analysis of major characters alone reveals that female characters were portrayed in 54% of the major character roles. Previous research on children's picture and trade books has persistently cited more frequent and more instrumental inclusion of male main characters (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Engle, 1981; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993). Although near equal representation of males and females have been found (Purcell & Stewart, 1990; Williams et al., 1987), no previous studies reviewed found a greater number of female main characters. Despite the fact that no statistically significant differences were found in the current study in terms of qualitative representations of female and male main characters on the semantic differential scales, females were portrayed as slightly smarter and more active but less nurturing than males. These findings were an unexpected contrast to previous content analyses which consistently reported females portrayed in stereotypical manners including being less active, less intelligent and more nurturing than males (Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Yawkey & Yawkey, 1976).

Despite the fact that females were rated counter-stereotypically on the scales of physically inactive/physically active, dumb/smart and stoic/nurturing, females were seen as

more stereotypically portrayed overall than males overall on the gender stereotyped scale. Casting males in nurturing, non-stereotypical roles implies an intention to allow for emotionality in males. Although small, these surprising differences are a positive change. Yet, males continue to be portrayed as stereotypically more dominant than females. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that the lack of significant differences in itself indicates positive change towards more equivalent models for young children of both sexes.

Occupational roles presented in the current study for females and males indicate that children are still offered fairly stereotypical career options. Children were most commonly shown playing, in school or preschool and involved in family activities. Roles for women included traditional roles of mother, grandmother, waitress, cleaner, seamstress and princess; but only the first three were included more than once. Non-traditional roles for women included farming and driving a taxi. Men were also predominantly portrayed in traditional male roles including father, grandfather, baker, homesteader, sailor, carpenter, prince and cowboy, among others. The most uncommon and non-stereotypical role portrayed was a story about a homeless, single father and his son.

In addition, it is interesting to note changes in the types of books females and males were likely to be portrayed in. Females were included as main characters in folklore books more than twice as often as males and in stories and poetry less frequently than males. As a result, children may gain more of a sense of historical experiences for females and may see more traditional female role models than males, who are included more often in contemporary themes.

While analysis by gender has provided some interesting contrast to previous research, the amount of inclusion of people from many different ethnic heritages is even more striking. While previous studies have repeatedly found Caucasian characters to be overrepresented (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Chall, et al., 1975; Hopkins, 1990; McVaigh

& Johnson, 1979; Reimer, 1992), comprising as little as nine percent of all titles studied (McVaigh & Johnson, 1979), half of the main characters in the present sample were Euro-American, 22% were American minorities and 28% of these were non-American. Non-American people included 33% Caucasian Europeans and 67% non-Caucasians. Coding the ethnicity of main characters by skin color painted a picture almost mirroring the racial demographics of children today. Sixty-one percent of main characters were Caucasian and 39% were people "of color." In numbers alone, this apparent resemblance to the cultural diversity in America is positive. However, the fact that more than half of the people "of color" included were portrayed in countries outside of America gives subtle messages to children that ethnically diverse, non-Caucasian children are different: they are not American and they belong elsewhere.

In addition to significant findings on the scale of foreign/exotic and American, "skin color" coding produced significant results on the semantic differential scales of dumb/smart, gender stereotyped and ethnic stereotyped scales. Although people of color, depicted in America or in another country, and whether coded by American ethnicity or "skin color," were portrayed nearly equally to each other in terms of strong/weak, they were more submissive than both Euro-Americans and Caucasians. In addition, minority Americans were seen as slightly less powerful than Euro-Americans while non-Americans were seen as slightly more powerful than Euro-Americans. Euro-Americans were also rated as significantly smarter than minority Americans and non-Americans, a difference which disappeared when analyzing by skin color distinctions. In effect, these qualitative differences indicate strong ethnic role models for minority American children, however, these characters are all portrayed in countries outside of America and serve to perpetuate the dominance of Euro-Americans over people "of color" and non-Americans alike. American cultural values of individualism and youthfulness noted by Gollnick and Chinn (1986) can

be seen to be reiterated through the slight tendency to portray all children as compliant and independent, powerful and strong.

Similar to the proposition by Flerx et al. (1976) that females are more willing to accept non-traditional gender roles than males because they have more to gain, significant unequal portrayals of different ethnic groups may indicate an unwillingness on the part of authors or publishers to portray Caucasian and non-Caucasian people as equals. Allowing equality inevitably requires that dominant Caucasian groups must relinquish some power. However, significant findings indicating that people "of color" are less stereotyped by gender and ethnicity imply a willingness at least to portray non-Caucasian people in a positive light. The fact that the books in the sample under examination were recommended literature also indicates support for these models. The struggle for non-Caucasian females is not so nearly won. The dual forces of discrimination impacting ethnic minority females in America is highlighted by the finding that females tended to be rated as more ethnically stereotyped than males.

Differences in the portrayal of ethnicity when considered by book type were also found. While frequency distributions of main characters indicate that Ethnic minority characters have clearly arrived in children's award books, however, the types of books which include ethnic minority characters are different than the types of books portraying Caucasian characters. Similar to previous studies which have found ethnic minority characters included most often in folktales and myths (Reimer, 1992), the current study revealed that minority Americans and people "of color" continue to comprise the majority of characters in folklore titles. Although minority Americans were most commonly portrayed in stories, non-Americans (who were mostly "of color") were predominantly depicted in folklore titles. In contrast, Euro-Americans were absent from folklore and books about customs/traditions. Overall, Caucasians were mostly portrayed in story books more than

any other type of book and more often than any other ethnic group and were represented in only a small amount of folklore.

Implications of Results for Identity Development

Considering that picture books are generally directed for preschool and early elementary school children, current results which indicate general portrayals of children as independent, powerful and strong can be seen as supporting the positive resolution of developmental milestones such as autonomy, initiative and assured self-esteem. Engel (1981) cautioned that the total numbers of males and females represented in children's literature may have a stronger influence in affecting children's perceptions of gender roles and perpetuating gender inequalities than the inclusion of significant numbers of females in main roles. Current findings indicate a mix of positive and stereotypical roles and qualities for children by both gender and ethnicity.

The fact that girls were present half as often in concept books may mean that young girls will identify with the characters less and hence, pay less attention, to books providing information about concepts. Implications of the higher incidence of females in folklore may mean that females have the potential to gain more of a sense of history, but this may be the source of some of the more traditional role models as well. Examination of character ratings on the semantic differential scales have shown that overall females are offered models which support their growth to be independent, active people and to believe that they are intelligent. Children are shown that males can be independent, but nurturing as well. In both of these areas, the current results differ from previous findings which frequently cited only stereotypical gender role models for children. In the current study, stereotypical bias persists in that girls are still encouraged to be somewhat more submissive and boys slightly more dominant, however, both girls and boys benefit from seeing intelligent females and nurturing males. Both boys and girls are able to find role models that support them to develop into well-rounded people.

The presence of largely stereotypical occupational role models does not reflect the diversity of women in the workforce, yet showing females as smart rather than dumb does help to show that females may be competent in what has traditionally been considered to be a male trait. Although gender results in this study are statistically insignificant, changes in America's workforce and family life are beginning to be supported in children's literature. Lack of statistically significant findings by gender in itself indicates nearly equivalent portrayals, but parents may still have to look hard to find truly non-sexist literature. In terms of occupation, both girls and boys are likely to still learn from literature that it is "better" to aspire for traditional careers and may be confused by a contradiction between qualitative and occupational portrayals.

It is also difficult to find bias-free literature for children when considering ethnicity, however significant changes were evident between the beginning and the end of the decade studied. The percent of minority American main characters and people "of color" have both more than doubled. Non-American characters also nearly doubled, however, the fact that some of these characters are Caucasian resulted in equal numbers of Caucasian and "of color" main characters by 1989-1993 when main characters were coded by "skin color." Although these findings are very different from previous findings which cite a persistent lack of inclusion of ethnic minority characters (Britton & Lumpkin, 1983; Chall, et al., 1975; Hopkins, 1990; McVaigh & Johnson, 1979; Reimer, 1992), this increase in frequency is not mirrored in a diversity of types of books, but continues the trend of most frequently including ethnic minority characters in folktales (Reimer, 1992). The fact that Euro-Americans and Caucasians are absent from customs/traditions titles and that Caucasians are present in only 20% of folklore titles indicates a lack of history and culture being given to children from the dominant culture in their literature. Perhaps this is part of the reason children from the dominant culture may grow up unable to describe their culture and in fact feel they have none as Gollnick and Chinn (1987) claim.

Whether coded by American ethnicity or skin color, non-Caucasian people were consistently, seen by raters in this study as more foreign or exotic than American. This can be seen not only in the scores on the semantic differential scales but also in the fact that minority Americans and people "of color" were included most often in books about custom/traditions and folklore rather than as regular people in story books. The impact of this stratified inclusion could mean that children of all ethnicities learn that non-Caucasian people belong outside of America. However, it should also be recognized that characters in folklore are generally portrayed as strong and influential, and in that regard children are given positive models for people "of color." At a minimum there is a message that people "of color" are worthy of inclusion in literature. Efforts to provide children with respectful, culturally supportive literature about their ethnic heritage are important. The significant prevalence of folklore titles as opposed to inclusion in everyday American situations is one way of validating ethnic minority children's heritage. Difficult issues surrounding the intention to respect ethnic histories and customs, cultural sensitivity in a sense, are inextricably confounded with "Americanized" portrayals and a preference for assimilation. Nevertheless, these difficult issues do not negate the value of more equivalent representation across all types of children's literature.

The semantic differential scores indicated that minority American and non-American main characters were portrayed as less smart and more foreign than Euro-Americans. In addition, minority and non-Americans were shown to be slightly more independent and active but less ethnically stereotyped than Euro-Americans. When considering skin color, people "of color" were portrayed as significantly more foreign, but less stereotyped by gender and ethnicity than Caucasians. The lesser degree of stereotyping by ethnicity for people "of color" is particularly favorable because it means that they are presented in generally positive ways. Such favorable results are mixed when considering differences on the semantic differential scales. Small differences indicated that people "of color" were seen

as slightly more dependent, compliant, active, nurturing and strong. Caucasians were seen as slightly smarter and more powerful. These results indicate that Caucasian children are still encouraged to be "top dogs" but ethnic minority children are offered strong, loving models as well. In numbers, representation by ethnicity has reached equivalence, but in manner of portrayal children are still given stratified ethnic models in their literature.

Setting Caucasian people above others has served to perpetuate a polarized society, denying the importance of including different cultures and expecting assimilation while denying and disrespecting the distinctions of different ethnicities. The melting pot ideology has served to belittle differences, resulting in avoidance, disregard and the hushing of conversation regarding positive aspects of actual differences. Acting as if differences don't matter and should not be noticed may in fact be teaching children that discussion of differences are "bad" or "wrong" and although the intention has been to foster acceptance, the silence may in practice serve to teach prejudice. The work of changing this orientation is a big task and must be undertaken by individuals, families and social institutions as a team. The findings of Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) which pointed out that Caucasian researchers were more influential than African American researchers in positively influencing attitude changes towards ethnic minority children, accents this point. At a minimum, attentiveness to inclusion of characters of all ethnicities in children's literature by Caucasian parents and teachers in particular, may be a key factor in influencing positive attitudes towards ethnic minority groups.

Providing positive role models for children in literature is a complex task. Manner and frequency of inclusion give nonverbal clues about the status of different groups in society, and a willingness to examine these power relations, how they have evolved and how they can be challenged is a much greater task for parents and educators than simple inclusion or representation of people of diverse ethnicities in illustrations and storylines. How to respectfully portray culture without making it seem too different is difficult.

Publishers need to receive support for publishing non-sexist and multicultural literature. Findings from this study indicate that literature about cultural history and practice for Euro-Americans is particularly lacking, and minority Americans are disproportionately portrayed in settings outside of America. These children still need literature that says they belong in America, for their own positive identity development, as well as to receive respect and inclusion by Euro-American children.

Inclusion of positive models for children by gender and ethnicity in children's literature could be an important early component to national efforts to combat the racism and social strife which plague our nation. Ultimately, who is represented in our books and materials must also be supported by the way we talk about difference and injustice, as well as how inclusive our language is on a daily basis. An anti-bias approach becomes particularly important for raising children in multicultural societies whether they are instructed in ethnically diverse classrooms or as part of a more homogenous student body, and whether they live in richly diverse inner city environments or more segregated, homogenous neighborhoods (Derman-Sparks et al., 1989). Understandings about gender and ethnic attitudes are influenced greatly through social means. As such, they can be re-constructed through socially validated means such as literature. We know that nonsexist and multicultural materials can have a positive effect on young children's attitudes and personal development: it is time to echo that knowledge in the institution of children's literature.

Limitations

The population under study in this research was children's award books published in the United States from 1983-1993. This population is limited by the requirement that books must be published in the United States. In fact, children's literature from other countries that is available in the United States may provide different gender and ethnic models for children. Caution in generalizing the results of this study are also advised due to limitations

inherent in the population sampled. The extent to which Bowker's (1994) list actually represents literature that is read by children is unknown. Although the sample books studied were borrowed from a public library, the availability of titles at different libraries and the demographic composition of people who frequent libraries is likely to vary. Also, whether or not the variety of award listings noted by Bowker are actually referred to is also unknown. Another factor warranting caution for the interpretation of results is evident when reviewing the authors who wrote the books included in the sample: three authors wrote one-sixth of the sample books. This may be due to the fact that books included in Bowker's list may have received more than one award or recommendation and were thus more likely to be selected when the sample was drawn. It is possible in fact, that books which were listed more than once may be more likely to be read by children nationwide.

Studies in the past have predominantly examined the population of Caldecott or Newberry award winning children's books, primarily for gender. Bowker's (1994) list of award winning children's literature includes Caldecott and Newberry award winners, but they provide a minority of the titles in the population. Less known and newer awards may have different standards for recommendation and these criteria were not known. Without the existence of studies examining similar literature award groups it is impossible to determine if differences between current and previous findings indicate actual changes or truly different populations. Standards for critical analysis of children's literature vary greatly; one book in the sample of this study, Pedro and the Padre, was specifically not recommended in another listing discussing currently available Hispanic literature (Schon, 1994).

Similarly, there is no standardized measure to analyze ethnic or gender portrayals in children's literature. Analysis of frequency of inclusion of females, males and ethnicity of characters does not provide important descriptive information about the manner of portrayal. Descriptive assessments may be criticized for the inescapable influence of raters'

subjective judgment. Inter-rater reliability among judges in this study was very high, but the reliability of this previously unused measure over time, and the reliability between current and future raters is unknown. Despite efforts to operationalize the measure and make it as objective as possible, because racism and sexism are socially constructed concepts, their definitions are likely to change over time, a process which could alter the rating of a particular book over time. Similarly, the ethnocentric or gender perspectives, experiences and attitudes of raters are inescapably likely to influence their scoring at any time. Although the measure used proved to be highly reliable among the group of raters for this study, the issue of the validity of the measure remains, as does the issue of the reliability of scores from a homogenous group of raters. A more diverse group of raters could potentially result in different evaluations of the literature sampled and this should be considered in future research conducted with this measure and in generalizing the results of the current study.

Questions for Further Research

Given our diverse population and the harmful divisions evident in American society today, the minimal research in the area of ethnic representation and the lack of examination of the impact of multicultural literature on attitude formation and changing children's ethnic attitudes is not only sad, but distressing as well. Literature is a cultural artifact, an institution which serves to dictate and perpetuate cultural values, morals and norms, and the values and roles presented in literature must be critically examined. Future research focusing on best-seller or non-award books and books available in the United States that are published in other countries would be invaluable.

Problems in the nation, such as hate crimes and the increasing number of white supremacist groups, gangs, and sexual harassment charges are frightening. Examination of how gender and ethnicity are portrayed will help us to re-examine power differentials and values children learn from these portrayals. Ultimately our willingness to discuss

inequalities and to sacrifice individualism and power for greater equality and appreciation of difference could provide for a stronger, more compassionate country.

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Appendix A

Sample Books

Aardema, V. (1991). Pedro and the padre. NY: Dial Books for Young Readers.

Ahlberg, A. (1983). Baby's catalogue. NY: Little, Brown & Co.

Alexander, L. (1992). Fortune tellers. NY: Dutton Child Book.

Ancona, G. (1993). Powwow. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace.

Baker, J. (1991). Window. NY: Greenwillow.

Bang, M. (1985). The paper crane. NY: Greenwillow.

Berger, B. (1984). Grandfather twilight. NY: Philomel.

Bierhorst, J. (1984). Spirit child. NY: William Morrow and Company.

Browne, A. (1993). Zoo. NY: Knopf Books for Young Readers.

Bunting, E. (1991). Fly away home. NY: Houghton Mifflin.

Burningham, J. (1985). Granpa. NY: Crown Books for Young Readers.

Cooper, S. (1983). Silver cow: A Welsh tale. NY: Macmillan Children's Book Group.

DePaola, T. (1983). Sing, Pierrot, sing. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace.

Dorros, A. (1991). Abuela. NY: Trumpet Club.

Friedman, I. R. (1984). How my parents learned to eat. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Geringer, L. (1985). Three hat day. NY: Harper Collins Children's Books.

Gerson, M. (1992). Why the sky is far away: A Nigerian folktale. NY: Little, Brown & Co.

Greenfield, E. (1991). Night on neighborhood street. NY: Dial Books for Young Readers.

Hale, S. J. (1984). Mary had a little lamb. (Illustrator: DePaola, T.) NY: Holiday House.

Heath, A. (1992). Sofie's role. NY: Four Winds Press.

Hoffman, M. (1991). Amazing Grace. NY: Dial Books for Young Readers.

Hughes, S. (1984). Alfie gives a hand. NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

Appendix A, continued

Sample Books

Hughes, S. (1984). Evening at Alfie's. NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

Hughes, S. (1985). Noisy. NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

Hughes, S. (1985). When we went to the park. NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

Hutton, W. (1983). Jonah and the great fish. NY: Atheneum.

Isadora, R. (1991). At the crossroads. NY: Greenwillow.

Jukes, M. (1984). Like Jake and me. NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Khalsa, D. K. (1990). Cowboy dreams. NY: Clarkson N. Potter.

Kimmel, E. A. (1990). The Chanukkah guest. NY: Holiday House.

Levinson, R. (1992). Our home is the sea. NY: E. P. Dutton.

Lindgren, B. (1983). Sam's bath. NY: William Morrow.

Lobel, A. (1991). Dwarf giant. NY: Holiday House.

Lyon, G. (1993). Come a tide. NY: Orchard Books.

Marshall, J. (1993). Old mother hubbard and her wonderful dog. NY: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux.

Martinez, A. C. (1983). Woman who outshone the sun: The legend of Lucia Zeteño. Emeryville, CA: Children's Book Press.

McCully, E. L. (1992). Mirette on the high wire. NY: G. P. Putnam & Sons.

McMillan, B. (1991). Eating fractions. NY: Scholastic

Mills, L. (1991). The rag coat. NY: Little, Brown & Co.

Molel, T. M. (1991). The orphan boy. NY: Houghton Mifflin.

Rosenberg, M. (1983). My friend Leslie: The story of a handicapped child. NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

Rounds, G. (1993). Cowboys. NY: Holiday House.

Rylant, C. (1985). The relatives came. NY: Macmillan Children's Book Group.

Appendix A, continued

Sample Books

San Souci, R. (1989). The boy and the ghost. NY: Simon & Schuster Trade.

Stevenson, J. (1982). We can't sleep. NY: Greenwillow.

Stevenson, J. (1983). What's under my bed? NY: Greenwillow.

Stevenson, J. (1992). Don't you know there's a war on? NY: Greenwillow.

Turner, A. (1985). Dakota dugout. NY: Macmillan Children's Book Group.

Walter, M. P. (1983). My mama needs me. NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard.

Wiesner, D. (1992). June 29, 1999. NY: Clarion Books.

Willard, N. (1991). Pish posh, said Hieronymous Bosch. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace.

Williams, V. B. (1982). A chair for my mother. NY: Greenwillow.

Williams, V. B. (1983). Something special for me. NY: Greenwillow.

Williams, V. B. (1984). Music, music for everyone. NY: Greenwillow.

Williams, V. B. (1990). More more more, said the baby. NY: Greenwillow.

Wisniewski, D. (1992). Sundiata: Lion king of Mali. NY: Houghton Mifflin.

Wolff, A. (1984). Year of birds. NY: Puffin Books.

Wolkstein, D. (1983). The magic wings: A tale from China. NY: E. P. Dutton.

Wood, A. (1984). The napping house. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace.

Young, R. (1991). Daisy's Taxi. NY: Orchard Books.

Representation of Gender and Ethnicity in Illustrations of Children's Picture Books

Book title	_____	Author	_____	Book #	_____
Publisher	_____	Year	_____	Rater:	_____
# of pages	_____	Type	_____		

Illustrations

1. Are females or males more likely to be depicted in the illustrations?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
all males	mostly males	more males	equally males/females	more females	mostly females	all females

2.

	Major character I	Major character II	Major character III
Age	_____	_____	_____
Gender:	_____	_____	_____
Ethnicity	_____	_____	_____
(based on)	_____	_____	_____
specific group	_____	_____	_____
(Occupational) Role	_____	_____	_____

3. Rate each major character on the following scales:

Major character I.		Major character II		Major character III	
physically inactive	physically active	physically inactive	physically active	physically inactive	physically active
disruptive	compliant	disruptive	compliant	disruptive	compliant
dependent	independent	dependent	independent	dependent	independent
submissive	dominant	submissive	dominant	submissive	dominant
foreign/exotic	American	foreign/exotic	American	foreign/exotic	American
dumb	smart	dumb	smart	dumb	smart
stoic	nurturing	stoic	nurturing	stoic	nurturing
weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong
uninfluential	powerful	uninfluential	powerful	uninfluential	powerful

Appendix B, continued

Measure

Representation of Gender and Ethnicity in Illustrations of Children's Picture Books

4a. Rate each major character on the following scales and describe information used for assessment below:

____ stereotyped gender	____	____ not-stereotyped gender		____ stereotyped gender	____	____ not-stereotyped gender		____ stereotyped gender	____	____ not-stereotyped gender

Describe:

4b. Rate each major character on the following scales and describe information used for assessment below:

____ stereotyped ethnicity	____	____ not-stereotyped ethnicity		____ stereotyped ethnicity	____	____ not-stereotyped ethnicity		____ stereotyped ethnicity	____	____ not-stereotyped ethnicity

Describe:

5. If there are other (minor) characters in the book, who are they in terms of gender?

1 all males	2 mostly males	3 more males	4 equal numbers of males/females	5 more females	6 mostly females	7 all females

6. What is the ethnic composition of the other characters?

1 all ethnic minorities	2 mostly ethnic minorities	3 more ethnic minorities	4 equal ethnic minorities/ Euro-Americans	5 more Euro-Americans	6 mostly Euro-Americans	7 all Euro-Americans

Text: Consider the book as a whole.

7. Give a brief summary of the storyline:

8a. Is the text congruent with the illustrations? Consider aspects of roles, description of characters...

not at all	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	very much

8b. What is the general setting?

9. Is the text more or less stereotyped than the illustrations? more stereotyped ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ less stereotyped

10. Is this book about a particular cultural/ethnic/minority group or mixed? _____ which? _____

11. What style of family is portrayed in the story?

1 traditional	2 non-traditional	3 unclear	4 none

12. Additional observations (include notable roles of minor characters, specific quotes that may be of interest):

Appendix C

Operational Definitions of Semantic Differential Scales

Question 3 on Measure:

Representation of Gender and Ethnicity in Illustrations of Children's Picture Books

1.a. *Physically inactive.* Fine motor activity; sitting reading, talking, often indoor activities, with limited or no physical movement. [a]

1.b. *Physically active.* Gross motor activity; physical activity, work or play, running, climbing, sports. [a]

2.a. *Disruptive.* Interrupting, rude, loud voice or gross movements irrespective of others, illegal and violent behavior.

2.b. *Compliant.* Quiet, obedient, conforming to cultural expectations for person of their gender or ethnicity.

3.a. *Dependent.* Seeking or relying on others for help, protection, or reassurance; maintaining close physical proximity to others. [a]

3.b. *Independent.* Self-initiated, and self-sustained behavior, autonomous functioning, resistance to externally imposed constraints. [a]

4.a. Submissive. Weak, uninfluential, responsive to the requests and actions of others without complaint or particular desire.

4.b. Dominant. Aggressive behavior, needing to be in charge, taking control, without consideration or attention to the needs or desires of others.

[a] Definitions given by Davis (1984)

Appendix C, continued

Operational Definitions of Semantic Differential Scales

Question 3 on Measure:

Representation of Gender and Ethnicity in Illustrations of Children's Picture Books

5.a. *Foreign/exotic.* Depicted in traditional dress, setting in country other than America, values and traditions shown as special as opposed to just unique or different from American values and traditions, cooperative, concerned with welfare of group.

5.b. *American.* Dressed in clothing typical for time period of story, displayed in celebrations of America, generally urban setting, individualistic, play for fun, work for money, desire for material possessions.

6.a. *Dumb.* Ineffectual, opinions not listened to or without opinions or ideas.

6.b. *Smart.* Intellectual contributions or cleverness portrayed, able to sway the opinions of others using reasoning.

7.a. *Stoic.* Displaying few emotions, persistent despite obstacles.

7.b. *Nurturing.* Giving physical or emotional aid, support, or comfort to another; demonstrating affection or compassion for another. [a]

8.a. *Weak.* Physically weak, needing help with tasks requiring physical strength.

8.b. *Strong.* Helpful with tasks requiring physical strength, taking control of gross motor tasks.

9.a. *Uninfluential.* Portrayed as quiet, rule-abiding, follower.

9.b. *Powerful.* Guiding, leading actions of others, directive or charismatic, gaining compliance, may be overt or covert.

[a] Definitions given by Davis (1984)

Appendix D

Stereotypes Worksheet

Gender Stereotypes

Male Stereotypes	**Female Stereotypes**
Active	Passive
Brave	Frightened
Strong	Weak
Rough	Gentle
Inventive	Unoriginal
Intelligent, Logical	Silly, Illogical
Quiet, Easygoing	Shrewish, nagging
Decisive, Problem-solving	Confused
Messy	Neat
Tall	Short
Mechanical	Inept
Independent	Dependent
Leader, Innovator	Follower, Conformer
Expressing anger	Controlling anger
Unemotional	Emotional
Playing or working outdoors	Playing or working indoors
Unconcerned about appearance	Concerned about appearance
As parent, playing with children	As parent, nurturing children
Having innate need for adventure	Having innate need for marriage and motherhood

Stereotypes of Asian-Americans

Male Stereotypes	**Female Stereotypes**
smiling, polite, and small	sweet, well-behaved servile, bowing girl
bucktoothed and squinty-eyed	sexy, sweet "China Doll"
mystical, inscrutable, and wise	sexy, evil "Dragon Lady"
expert in martial arts	overbearing, old-fashioned grandmother
exotic foreigner	
sinister, sly	
places no value on human life	
model minority who worked hard and "made it"	
super-student	

Stereotypes of Afro-Americans

Male Stereotypes	**Female Stereotypes**
the shuffling, eye-rolling, earful, superstitious comic	the big-bosomed "mammy," loyal to whites
gentle, self-sacrificing older man	the big, boss mother or maid t - commander of the household
the athletic super-jock	the sexy temptress
he smooth-talking con man	the stupid, but sweet, little girl
super stud	the tragic mulatto
he stupid, but comical, little boy	
the rough, dangerous criminal	
he loudly-dressed, happy-go-lucky buffoon	
the exotic primitive	

Appendix D, continued

Stereotypes Worksheet

Stereotypes of Latinos

Male Stereotypes
sombrero-wearing, serape-clad, sandaled man or boy
man taking a siesta near a cactus or an overburdened burro
ignorant, cheerful, lazy peon
sneaky, knife-wielding, mustached bandit
humble, big-eyed, poor-but-honest boy
teenage gang member
macho boaster and supreme-commander of household

Female Stereotypes
hard working, poor, submissive self-sacrificing religious mother of many
sweet, small, shy, gentle girl
sexy, loud, fiery, young woman (who often prefers a white man to Latino men
undereducated, submissive, nice girl with marriage as a life goal

Occupational Stereotypes

impoverished migrant workers (most Latinos actually live in cities)
unemployed barrio dwellers

Stereotypes of Native Americans

Male Stereotypes
savage, bloodthirsty "native"
stoic, loyal follower
drunken, mean thief
drunken comic
hunter, tracker
noble child of nature
wise old chief
evil medicine man
brave boy, endowed by nature with special "Indian" qualities

Female Stereotypes
heavyset, workhorse "squaw"

"Indian princess" (depicted with European features and often in love with a white man for whom she is willing to sacrifice her life)

Occupational Stereotypes

hunters
cattle thieves
warriors
unemployed loafers
crafts people

Note. From Guidelines for Selecting Bias-Free Textbooks and Storybooks (1980) The Council on Interracial Books for Children.

Appendix E

Traits and Values of Dominant American culture

- Individualism
- Freedom
- Nuclear family
- Emphasis on youthfulness
- Values tend to be absolute rather than on a continuum
- Agrarian tradition, but now primarily residents of small towns and metropolitan areas
- Mass communication and mass education
- Work is done regularly, purposefully, and sometimes grimly
- Play is fun - an outlet from work
- Achievement and success are measured by the quantity of material goods purchased
- Religious beliefs are concerned with general morality

Note. From Gollnick and Chinn (1986)