Erica C. Jarvis. Redefining the feminine in children's picture books. A Master's paper for the M.S. in L.S. degree. April, 2002. 75 pages. Advisor: Brian W. Sturm.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the methods used in the 70s and 80s to examine gender stereotypes in picture books were still valid. The visual texts of fifteen Caldecott medal and honor books were examined for the presence or absence of twenty pre-determined behavior characteristics using both an old and a new coding schema. Using the new coding schema, four behavior characteristics changed dramatically: dependent and emotional decreased while independent and nontraditional increased. The results of the new coding schema also fashioned a behavioral profile for the main female characters in the books examined. The characters were found to be independent, active, passive, and traditional. The inclusion of the active trait in the new profile was supported by the results of previous studies on gender stereotyping. Each of the other attributes appeared in the behavioral profiles of at least one of the other studies examined.

Headings:

Sex role -- Juvenile Literature

Picture books for children -- History and criticism

Caldecott medal -- Juvenile literature

REDEFINING THE FEMININE IN CHILDREN'S PICTURE BOOKS

by
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Introduction

> Furthermore, the intended audience of picture books is by definition inexperienced – in need of learning how to think about their world, how to see and understand themselves and others. Consequently, picture books are a significant means by which we integrate young children into the ideology of our culture. (Nodelman, 1999, p. 73)

Despite the pervasiveness of television, videos, and other types of media, picture books continue to play an essential role in the daily lives of many children. According to a small telephone survey performed by Peterson and Lach (1990), picture books are an integral part of the curriculum and daily activities of children in some pre-school settings. Most likely, the number of children that come in contact with picture books on a daily basis will increase as more and more children enter daycares, nurseries, and other pre-schools at an earlier age. This exposure provides children with a number of rewards: picture books are fun and entertaining, they help establish early literacy habits, and they help a child with the socialization process. Before delving into this issue more closely, I must clarify two terms integral to this paper: 'picture book' and 'story.'

According to Russell "the picture storybook combines the art of storytelling with that of illustration" (2001, p. 122). In most picture books, equal emphasis is placed on both the written and the visual texts. The actual 'story' of the picture book is created in the mind of the 'reader' where the visual and written texts meet. In this paper, the term 'reader' also refers to the child who is read the written text but reads the visual text

herself. Lewis sheds further light on this complicated relationship when he says that "the words change the pictures and the pictures change the words and the product is something altogether different" (2001, p. 36). Along the same lines, Nikolajeva and Scott clarify that in many picture books the written and visual texts enhance and/or complement each other, each supplying information that the other lacks (2000, p. 229). While the scholars of picture books may place equal emphasis on the written and visual text, this may not be appropriate when attempting to look at them through the eyes of their original intended audience – preliterate children (Chatton, 2001, p. 57). Frequently emergent readers draw upon clues in the visual text to clarify the meaning of new vocabulary and syntax from the written text; consequently the majority of this paper will concentrate on issues raised by story as it is expressed in the visual text.

A brief discussion of story and storytelling is also needed before this discourse can proceed. Even before there were books, humans employed story to help them make sense of our perplexing world. Carr defines story as "the creation of narrative for sorting and constructing the multiple contexts of the world" (in press). Originally stories, or what are now called folktales, were passed from one generation to the next orally. In his work, Russell mentions that the body of folk literature appears in a number of different forms that are usually associated with preliterate societies: legends, myths, tall tales, fables, and even what are now referred to as 'fairy tales,' (2001, p. 148). Modern society inherited most of the stories it enjoys from the folk literature of its ancestors. They used story as a vehicle to help pass knowledge essential to survival from one generation to the next generation. In fact, "storytelling was looked upon as a way of teaching social and moral values" (Greene, 1996, p. 2). Russell concurs that our ancestors used story to

reinforce social mores, cultural practices, and to perpetuate the established social and political order (p. 150).

According to Kortenhaus and Demarest, literate cultures use children's books in much the same way that our ancestors used storytelling: picture books are used as vehicles for transmitting values and attitudes to the youngest generation (1993, p. 220). Lewis states that, "childhood is no longer seen as an age of innocence but as a time of learning" (1996, p. 110). He goes on to clarify that play, exploration, and laughter are all essential parts of the learning process. Picture books, which exemplify all three of these characteristics, are also vehicles for learning. But do the messages that are taught by picture books actually stay with their young readers? Kortenhaus and Demarest suggest that the messages of picture books do have a long lasting effect on their young readers. In their work, the authors refer to a number of ethnographic studies that found that adolescents could accurately recall titles and contents of picture books that were read to them when they were children. Kortenhaus and Demarest then conclude that "given the long-term influence of books, there can be no doubt that the characters portrayed in children's literature mold a child's conception of socially accepted roles and values, and indicate how males and females are supposed to act" (p. 220). Peterson and Lach (1990) also conclude that picture books influence gender development in young children. Unfortunately, some research also suggests that picture books can be vehicles for perpetuating archaic ideology.

During the women's liberation movement of the 1970s, feminist scholars began to focus on how females are portrayed in children's literature. Initially, the research concentrated on juvenile literature but then in 1971 Nilsen came across something she

refers to as the ‘cult of the apron’ while she was thumbing through a number of picture books from a library display cart (p. 918). Over the next thirty years, numerous studies found that gender stereotypes are all too plentiful in both the written and visual texts of picture books (Barnett, 1986; Collins, Ingoldsby, & Dellmann, 1984; Davis, 1984; Engel, 1981; Nilsen, 1978; Stewig & Higgs, 1973; Stewig & Knipfel, 1975; St. Peter, 1979; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross, 1972; Williams, Vernon, Williams, & Malecha, 1987). Researchers also found that males are pictured far more frequently as both main and supporting characters in picture books (Béreaud, 1975; Czaplinski, 1972; Dougherty & Engel, 1987; Kolbe & La Voie, 1981). In some instances, even books that have authentic female characters perpetuate the stereotypes because positive messages in the written text are not replicated in the visual text. This is a problem because emergent readers look to the visual text for clues on socially acceptable gender roles and values. I will look more closely at the implications of these studies in the ‘Literature Review' section of this paper.

In 1990 the American Association of University Women released the results of a commissioned survey that documented that girls experience a severe loss of self-esteem during adolescence. This nationwide survey of three thousand girls and boys found that 69 percent of the elementary school boys and 60 percent of the elementary schools girls thought that they were happy the way they were. The same survey found 46 percent of the high school boys and 29 percent of the high school girls were happy the way they were (1995, p. 19). Over the last decade, feminists have proposed a number of possible causes for the drop in self-esteem experienced by teenage girls. Vandergrift specifically discusses one possible cause that has direct impact on this particular inquiry: she

articulates that girls and young adults are not finding enough 'authentic female voices' in the literature they read (1996, p. 17). At about the same time, another wave of research on sex-stereotyping in picture books ensued. Once again researchers found that despite the increased attention to this issue, very little progress had been made since 1971 (Davis & McDaniel, 1999; Ernst, 1995; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Oskamp & Kaufman, 1996; Peterson & Lach; 1990). The abundance of research on this issue prompted Vandergrift to compile a list of over fifty picture books that discuss a range of feminist themes and issues. Vandergrift (1995) and other feminists believe that youth advocates must find a way to help young girls improve their self-esteem before they enter adolescence if this phenomenon is going to be prevented from happening in the future.

It was an analysis of books from Vandergrift's list of feminist picture books that first prompted this study. In an informal research project, I replicated the methods used in the earlier studies with a small sample of picture books from Vandergrift's list. Specifically, I examined the location of the main female character in each illustration, the behavior characteristics exhibited by the main female character, and the instances where the main female character was portrayed performing an active or passive activity. The coding criteria used were developed from the Williams, Vernon, Williams, & Malecha (1987) and Kortenhaus & Demarest (1993) studies. The results of the preliminary study were somewhat ambiguous. The main female character in each book appeared to be simultaneously traditional and non-traditional. This led me to wonder whether the measure used by the scholars was still reliable. The discourse used to discuss what it means to be feminine has changed drastically over the last thirty years; maybe the method needs to be updated as well.

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the measures used in the previous research studies are still valid. First, I will examine how the main female character in a sample of Caldecott medal and honor books from the original studies are portrayed replicating the measures used by previous scholars. Next I will examine the same sample using a measure developed specifically for this inquiry. The new measure will use the same terminology but it will incorporate more modern definitions. In this inquiry, I will concentrate on how the main female characters are portrayed in the visual texts; however, I will make reference to the written texts when there appear to be significant contradictions. For as Lewis states, "analyses of the pictures in picturebooks always need to be fed into an understanding of the book as a whole, and if our fine dissections of structure do not help us to understand more about the story to which they are contributing they are of limited use to us" (2001, p. 123).

In my analysis, I will also refer to an idea first proposed by Gilligan (1982/1993). She believed that psychologists tend to equate male behavior with normalcy and female behavior with deviancy from the norm. Gilligan suggests that if females want things to change behaviorists need to begin considering female behavior normal even if it is different from male behavior. Only then will society truly be able to understand what it is to be authentically feminine. During this study, I will try and determine if the scholars who examined gender stereotypes in the original studies lost sight of this idea. This would mean that the problem lies in the value our society associates with a criterion not in how it is assigned.

Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is threefold: to introduce general picture decoding principles, to describe the gender role stereotyping problem, and to synthesize the literature to recreate a schema that measures gender stereotyping in picture books. The first section introduces some general picture decoding principles that can be used to examine the visual text of any picture book. The next section examines literature on gender stereotyping in non-award picture books. Finally, the third section moves into a discussion of the measures used to examine gender stereotyping in Caldecott medal and honor books. This section is further subdivided into three sub-sections: the literature that examines the 'invisible female' phenomenon, the literature that identifies gender stereotyped activities of picture book characters, and the literature that identifies gender stereotyped behavior characteristics of characters. By the end of this literature review, I will have synthesized the literature to recreate the 'old coding schema' that I will then use to analyze my sample of Caldecott winners and honor books. I will also have established some guiding criteria for creating a 'new coding schema' for examining the same sample of picture books.

General Principles

There are a number of general principles on decoding images that I will introduce in this section of my literature review (Bang, 1991; Lewis, 1996; Lewis, 2001; Moebius, 1986; Nikolajeva and Scott, 2000; Nodelman, 1999; Shulevitz, 1985; Sipe, 1998). A

discussion of these principles is important because it helps explain how we, as adults, may decode the meaning of visual texts differently than a child would. According to Nodelman, young children scan pictures differently than adults do. A young child will pay equal attention to all parts of an illustration while an adult will immediately focus in on the human at the center of the illustration. This tendency to focus on one item also demonstrates that adults assign different values to items in an illustration. Young children, on the other hand, have not yet learned to do so, explaining why they give equal attention to all parts of an illustration. Adults need to be aware of this learned bias if they are going to try and decode illustrations more objectively. Before delving more deeply into these principles of design and expression, the literature that explains the relationships between written and visual texts in picture books needs to be reviewed.

In the literature, the authors use a number of metaphors to describe the relationship between the written and visual texts of picture books (Lewis, 1996, 2001; Nikolajeva & Scott 2000; Sipe, 1998). A discussion of these metaphors is important because it calls attention to one of the limitations of this study: I will be decoding the illustrations with only minimal input from the text and by doing this I risk settling on an incomplete interpretation. In his 1996 work Lewis uses three metaphors to describe the relationship between written and visual text: polysystemy, the double orientation/aspect, and picture books as a 'process' and not just a form of text. In his 2001 work he also describes the relationship in ecological terms. Sipe introduces two new terms for describing the relationship: transmediation and synergy. Both Lewis and Sipe are referring to the way written and visual texts interact in the mind of the reader to create a meaning that cannot be found in either the written or visual text alone. Nikolajeva and

Scott introduce five additional terms to represent the different levels of connection possible between the written and visual texts of a picture book. Specifically, the authors discuss symmetrical, enhancing, complementary, counterpointing (ironic counterpoint, perspectival counterpoint, counterpoint in characterization), and contradictory pictures. Now that the relationship is clearer, it is time to move on to a discussion of some of the principles that will assist in the decoding of the visual text.

Scholars have also identified a number of general principles of design and expression that can be used to decode illustrations (Bang, 1991; Moebius, 1986; Shulevitz, 1985). Bang introduces a number of principles that can be used to analyze any illustration's composition. Specifically, she identifies ten general principles: (1) smooth, flat, and horizontal shapes evoke a sense of calmness; (2) vertical shapes suggest excitement; (3) diagonal shapes suggest motion or tension; (4) items appearing in the top half of an illustration are more 'spiritual' while items appearing in the lower half of the illustration are more 'grounded'; (5) objects appearing in the center of the page are more likely to draw the viewer's attention; (6) viewers feel more comfortable looking at pictures with light backgrounds; (7) pointed shapes make viewers uneasy while curved shapes make the viewer feel more secure; (8) the relative size of the person(s) and/or object(s) pictured in an illustration affect the viewer's perception of that person or object; (9) the viewer notices similar colors before she notices similar shapes; and (10) contrasts are used to attract the viewer's attention. These principles affect how the viewer interprets the action in a given illustration. For example, if a character other than the female protagonist is pictured in the center of the illustration, then the reader may think this other character is the active agent in this scene.

Moebius (1986) introduces several general picture codes that overlap to some degree with Bang's ten principles. Specifically, he introduces five decoding principles: codes of position, size and diminishing returns; codes of perspectives; codes of the frame and of the right and round; codes of line and capillarity; and codes of color. Moebius also discusses the significance of thresholds (doorways and stairways). He theorizes that they imply a character is in a state of doubt. Shulevitz (1985) also discusses picture codes and visual codes. Once again his codes are reminiscent of Bang's ten principles. Unfortunately, his picture codes and visual codes have not been defined as thoroughly as in the previously mentioned works. He does introduce two principles that have not yet been discussed elsewhere: the principle that every picture has an actor and a stage that have to be related to each other in some way and the principle that symmetrical objects suggest balance while asymmetrical objects suggest a lack of balance.

Non-Award Picture Book Studies

A number of quantitative and qualitative studies have examined the differences in how females are portrayed in non-award picture books (Barnett, 1986; Béreaud, 1975; Peterson & Lach, 1990; Segel, 1982; Stewig & Higgs, 1973; Stewig & Knipfel, 1975; St. Peter, 1979). Segel is the only author who does not actually offer empirical data. Instead she merely reviews some of the literature on gender bias in picture books. Her unique contribution is she critically examines the literature she reviews. For instance, she criticizes Weitzman et al. (1972) and Nilsen (1971) for assuming that figures of unspecified gender are all males. Her observations will be useful when I begin developing the new coding schema. The other authors in this section use a number of different methods to determine that gender bias is a problem in non-award picture books.

For instance, Barnett (1986) examined helping acts and rated them in terms of instrumentality and expressiveness. He found that males were pictured more frequently and were more likely to be both the helpers and the recipients of help. He also found that the number of instrumental helping acts far out-weighed the number of expressive helping acts. Barnett describes instrumental help as an action that is performed to obtain a desired situation or object for another person. Expressive help is when one character provides emotional support to console or comfort another character. Interestingly, he found that non-human female characters were more likely to be portrayed performing expressive helping acts. He concludes that non-human female characters are more likely to be portrayed in a gender-biased manner. Since I do not want to contaminate my results, I have decided not to include non-human female characters in my sample.

Béreaud (1975), who provides us with the only non-American study, used a very different measure but her conclusions are ultimately very similar. She examined two different publishers' series of French picture books and determined that females are under-represented in both series. Specifically, she examined the number and ratio of each gender in the titles, in the central roles, and in the actual visual texts. She concluded that females in both series, and in the modern series particularly, tended to be portrayed exhibiting gender stereotypical behaviors, in traditional occupations, and performing mostly gender-stereotyped activities. She also identifies male, female, and cross-gendered themes. One positive feature of her study is she provides examples from the texts to define what she means by each term. She concluded that male readers are taught to experiment and have adventures, while female readers are taught they should learn good manners.

Both Stewig and Higgs (1973) and Stewig and Knipfel (1975) examined randomly selected groups of American non-award picture books; the latter study updates the earlier study. Both studies measure three types of information: the presence and/or absence of female and male characters, the occupational roles of each character, and the types of activities each character performs. There are some real inconsistencies in both of these studies. For instance, reading and cooking are considered recreational activities for men but they are negatively associated with the homemaker role of females. Another problem with both of these studies is the authors do not provide a list of the titles they examined.

Two of the studies in this section performed time series analyses. Peterson and Lach (1990) examined books reviewed in the Horn Book Magazine during three different years: 1967, 1977, and 1987. For each book, the authors determined the number of each gender in the central role and the number of each gender in supporting roles. They found that the number of females in central roles is approaching parity but that the number of male secondary characters still far outweighs the number of female supporting characters. Their work is unique because they also offer an in-depth literature review of how gender bias affects the cognitive and affective development of children.

St. Peter (1979) also performed a time study analysis. She examined picture books from two time periods: books published between 1903 and 1965 (before the women's movement) and books published between 1966 and 1975 (after the women's movement). A unique feature of her study is she compares the books in these two sections to titles from a non-sexist picture book list (books were published between 1882 and 1973). The author examined the percentage of expressive and instrumental activities

by gender. She also compared the ratio of females to males in the titles, on the covers, in central roles, and in actual illustrations of the books in the three categories. She concludes that very little progress has been made in the post-women's movement books in terms of parity. Interestingly, she also notes that the feminist books tended to overcompensate for the lack of parity in regular books; the number of female characters in books from the non-sexist list far outweighed the number of male characters. In addition, the female characters in these books tended to be depicted performing highly instrumental activities and only a few expressive activities.

Studies of Caldecott Medal & Honor Books

Researchers have also studied the extent that picture books continue to perpetuate gender stereotypes in award winning picture books. Most of the studies concentrate on Caldecott books because the scholars feel that these are the most influential picture books in the field. According to Nilsen, "these books are fairly representative of the best that we have in picture books, and once a book gets on this exclusive list it is ordered by practically every children's librarian in the country" (1971, p. 919). This statement is easily supported by the fact that I was able to obtain access to almost every book that has been designated a Caldecott medal or honor book since its inception in 1938. The different studies in this section of the literature review examine Caldecott medal and honor books from a number of different time periods. Many of the studies overlap in scope and in the evaluative criteria used. Results, however, vary from study to study. This may indicate one inherent problem of using content analysis – the results are influenced greatly by the coding schema used and the coders' varying degrees of subjectivity. The literature in this section has been further sub-divided into three

schemata measuring different types of information: the number and ratio of each gender in a book (in the title, written text, visual text, etc.), gender stereotyped activities, and gender stereotyped behavior characteristics.

Female invisibility

A number of studies using Caldecott medal and honor books have been performed, all of which allude to the 'invisible female' phenomenon (Davis & McDaniel, 1999; Dougherty & Engel, 1987; Engel, 1981; Nilsen, 1971, 1978). Researchers have used a variety of different measures to reveal this phenomenon in picture books: the ratio, percentage, and frequency of females in the title; the numbers of main characters of each gender; the number of secondary characters of each gender; the number of instances where characters of each gender are depicted in the visual texts; and the number of instances where characters of each gender are mentioned in the written texts.

As previously mentioned, Nilsen's 1971 study was the first of many to address this issue. In her study, she analyzed Caldecott medal and honor books from 1951 to 1970. Specifically, she noted the number of females mentioned in the titles of the books, the total number of characters of each gender, and the total number of characters of each gender depicted in the visual text. She also observed that frequently women are pictured on the sidelines of a scene, looking in on the action rather than participating in it. One unique aspect of her study is she also includes a number of possible reasons this phenomenon seems to be perpetuating itself: the publishing industry and the education system may subtly encourage authors to include more male characters in hopes that this will improve the reading levels and habits of young boys, the peculiarities of the English language which uses words like "man" and "he" to apply to both males and females, a

body of gender biased folktales, and the preponderance of male artists. In her 1978 study, Nilsen updates the findings from her 1971 study to include statistics for books that were designated Caldecott medal and honor books between 1971 and 1975.

Nilsen's (1971) original study was then updated two more times in the eighties (Dougherty & Engel, 1987; Engel, 1981). In 1981, Engel examined the Caldecott medal and honor books awarded between 1976 and 1980. Then in 1987, Dougherty and Engel examined the Caldecott medal and honor books winners from 1981 to 1985. One unique feature of the Engel study is that she also gives examples from the picture books of instances where language, clothing, and the roles of a specific character indicate gender stereotypes as well as gender biases. Unfortunately, she does not provide actual statistics for these types of gender stereotyping. One advantage of the Dougherty and Engel study is they acknowledge that, "judging the characters as to sex and roles depends somewhat on the viewpoints of society and the researcher" (p. 396). They then go on to give examples from the books in their samples on how they determined the gender of a character that appeared to be somewhat androgynous. My inquiry was partially inspired by their concern that the changing views of our society may affect the results of this type of study: I am attempting to compensate for our societal changes by incorporating two coding schemata into my study.

Unlike the other studies in this section, Davis and McDaniel (1999) only examined the Caldecott medal books and not the Caldecott honor books. For each book, the authors indicated the number and percentage of instances where females, males, and both are depicted in the visual texts and mentioned in the written texts. One unique feature of this study is the authors examined titles representing a fairly large range of

award dates. The authors also included a list of the books they examined and the specific coding statistics they found for each book.

Gender Stereotyped Activities

In addition to examining the 'invisible female' phenomenon, all of the studies in this section of the literature review also examined the types of activities depicted in Caldecott medal and honor books (Collins et al., 1984; Czaplinski, 1972; Kolbe & La Voie, 1981; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Weitzman et al., 1972.). The researchers each used different measures to conclude that characters tend to be depicted performing gender stereotypical activities.

Weitzman et al. (1972) examined four different types of children's books: Caldecott medal books, Newbery award books, Little Golden Books, and selected etiquette books. This study repeats many of the same measures from the previous section. In addition, the authors also examine three types of activities: service, rescue, and leadership. Unfortunately, the authors do not provide definitions of these terms; however, they do provide examples from the written and visual texts. Furthermore, the authors provide basic statistics on the location (i.e., indoors or outdoors) of all characters by gender. This study is hard to replicate consistently since the authors do not adequately define their codes. Another reason this study might be hard to replicate is the authors give their statistics in terms of ratios and not in terms of numbers. In 1981, Kolbe and La Voie (1981) performed a study to update some of the findings of the Weitzman et al. study. The authors recreated some of the measures from the earlier study to examine the nineteen Caldecott medal and honor selections from the years 1972 to 1979. The authors of the later study did include adequate guidance on how to apply the

expressive/instrumental role codes and the significant/insignificant codes. Unfortunately, the authors neglected to include adequate guidance on how to apply the stereotyped/nonstereotyped codes. This limitation has direct bearing on the inquiry at hand since I am trying to determine whether the coding schemata used in the earlier studies are still relevant to our twenty-first century society.

Czaplinski (1972) also examines types of activities but she frames her measure in a slightly different way than the two previous studies. She uses a ten-point scale to examine three specific types of activities: physical, intellectual, and emotional activities. In the methods section, she gives adequate guidance on how to use the ten-point scale and she even includes short definitions for each point. The author also includes the lists of books she examined in her study and the empirical results for each book by measure. Like Weitzman et al. (1972), she broadens her sample to include both Carroll Award winners (awarded to fine examples of children's literature) and non-award bestsellers in addition to her primary Caldecott medal book sample.

Collins et al. (1984) identify seventeen factors to analyze the contents of picture books: female in title, male in title, female in central role, male in central role, female in pictures, males in pictures, both in pictures, female animals in pictures, male animals in pictures, both genders of animals in pictures, characters with no gender, central character, role function, inside or outside, theme, traditional versus non traditional, and occupations. One problem with this study has to do with the inclusion of animal characters. Unfortunately, books that depict anthropomorphic characters tend to perpetuate gender stereotypes because illustrating stereotypical dress and behaviors is an easy way to imply gender.

Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993) created a measure that is very easy to follow. They established codes for nine instrumental-independent activities: playing ball, riding a bike or horse, climbing, running, swimming/fishing, helping others, making something, solving a problem, and active outdoor play. They also identify nine passive-dependent activities: playing house, picking flowers, housework helping, caring for sibling, caring for pet, watching others play, needing help, causing a problem, and quiet indoor play. One problem with this study is the activities examined were specific to the books in the sample. Another limitation of this study is the authors examined randomly selected Caldecott medal and honor books but did not include a list of the books analyzed; this makes it very difficult to verify that the codes are being interpreted consistently.

Sex-Stereotyped Behavior Characteristics

Three studies attempted to determine typical behavior characteristics of main characters and their primary opposite gendered characters (Davis, 1984; Oskamp & Kaufman, 1996; Williams et al., 1987). Fifteen behaviors, many of which are opposites of each other, were identified and defined by Davis in the initial study: dependent, independent, cooperative, competitive, directive, submissive, persistent, explorative, creative, imitative, nurturant, aggressive, emotional, active, and passively active. Davis examined each illustration for the presence of one or more of these fifteen behavior characteristics. According to Davis, "this procedure permitted the coding of multiple behaviors per illustration in each book" (p. 8). One problem with this study has to do with the absence of examples from the written and visual texts of the picture books analyzed. Without actual examples, it is very hard to verify that the criteria are being applied consistently.

The authors of the two later studies coded five additional behavior characteristics: rescue, service, camaraderie with same-sex peers, traditional role, and nontraditional role (Oskamp & Kaufman, 1996; Williams et al., 1987). The addition of the 'camaraderie with same-sex peers' category refers to a phenomenon first raised by Viriginia Woolf in *A Room of One's Own*. Woolf noted that, "it was strange to think that all the great women of fiction were, until Jane Austen's day, not only seen by the other sex, but seen only in relation to the other sex" (1929/1981, p. 82). Williams et al. added this characteristic to their study because it examines a phenomenon they noticed over and over again in the visual texts of picture books: boys are pictured playing with other boys, girls are also pictured playing with boys, but girls are rarely pictured playing only with other girls.

Unfortunately, neither Oskamp and Kaufman (1996) nor Williams et al. (1987) included the definitions for the five new character traits that they added to their studies. In addition, both sets of authors changed Davis's 'passively active' characteristic to a 'passive' characteristic; however, neither study explains how this change affected their results. These two studies are hard to replicate because they are missing both definitions for the target characteristics used and examples of how the definitions were applied to the specific written and visual texts of the sample examined. I will be using the fifteen behavior characteristics originally defined by Davis (1984) plus the five identified by the two later studies from this section of the literature review. I tried to synthesize definitions for the five undefined behavior characteristics based on definitions and examples given in other parts of the literature review.

Research Methodology

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the coding schemata used in the 70s and 80s to examine gender stereotypes in picture books are still viable in the twenty-first century. Latent and manifest content analysis was used to examine how females are portrayed in the visual texts of the fifteen picture books that were chosen. Each book was examined using both the old coding schema and the new coding schema. For each of the fifteen books, all of the illustrations depicting the main female character were analyzed to identify her location and her manifested behavior characteristics.

There are a number of research questions guiding this study:

Are the methods that the original scholars used still valid? Has the discourse used to discuss what it means to be feminine drastically changed over the last thirty years? Are the new methods adequate for updating this discourse to reflect the current definition of what it means to be feminine? Is too much of the overall meaning of the picture book lost when the visual text is analyzed separately from the written text? Ultimately, this study will also determine if using the new coding schema affords results that suggest gender stereotyping in picture books is less prevalent, more prevalent, or the same as was originally thought?

Scope

This study was designed to use the behavior characteristics measure first developed by Davis (1984) that was further fleshed out by Williams et al. (1987) and Oskamp and Kaufman (1996). In order to do this, a new coding schema was developed using the same coding criteria but incorporating more modern definitions. Fifteen Caldecott medal and honor books were examined using both coding schemata. There were two other minimal prerequisites that every book in the sample had to meet. To begin with, only books that had a main female character that appeared in at least fifty percent of the illustrations were included in this study. Secondly, a book was only eligible for inclusion if it was also examined in one of the earlier studies listed in the literature review section of this paper. This particular study only examined how the female characters were depicted in the visual texts of these picture books; however, on occasion reference to the written text was necessary for clarification purposes.

Limitations

This research study has a number of limitations that should be mentioned. One limitation of this inquiry is that latent content analysis relies heavily on a coder's interpretation of the coding criteria. I found that criteria had to be clearly defined. Unfortunately, clearly defined criteria were not enough to ensure that the codes were applied consistently. Detailed notes on how a particular behavior characteristic was applied in a particular situation were necessary to ensure that the coding criteria were applied consistently across all the books in the sample.

This study was designed to have only one person examine the fifteen books in the sample using first the old schema and then the new schema. A second coder examined

three of the books from the sample using the old schema and three different books from the sample using the new schema. Unfortunately, intercoder reliability was extremely low during open coding: 44% agreement for the old coding schema and 42% agreement for the new coding schema. The operational definitions of the codes were then further defined before the axial coding process began. Both coders re-examined the books using the new set of operational notes. After the second pass, the percentage of agreement between the two coders improved dramatically: 94% agreement for the old coding schema and 96% agreement for the new coding schema. It is possible, however, that the axial coding process (second pass through) may have negatively impacted the reliability of the results. A future study should incorporate a pilot study using picture books not in the final sample so as to ensure that the coding criteria are operational before the actual study begins. Including this step would increase the reliability of the results.

The way the study was designed, only the main female character in the book was examined using the two coding schemata. Unfortunately, this gives us only a partial indication of what is happening in the visual texts of these picture books. Many of the books also have a significant male character that could have been studied. In addition, a very ambitious study could examine how all the characters in the picture books are portrayed in the visual texts.

This study was designed to examine only the visual text. Very little attention was paid to how that main character was portrayed in the written text. As mentioned previously, the actual meaning of a picture book cannot be found in the written text or visual text alone. The meaning is made in the mind of the reader where the two types of

text meet and form a new meaning (Lewis, 1996, 2001; Sipe, 1998). Future studies could look at how the main female character is depicted in both the visual and the written texts.

Another limitation of this study is that I am only examining picture books with female characters that are also human. The decision to examine only human characters was based on the fact that a number of previous scholars have noted that non-human characters tend to be overly stereotyped. It was felt that including books in the sample that have a main female animal character might improperly skew the results; by not including these books, however, I risk missing some significant findings.

Finally, since I only examined fifteen picture books, the significance of my findings is limited. The validity of the old coding schema used is also questionable since definitions for the criteria were only available for fifteen of the twenty behavior characteristics. In addition, the literature review did not provide an adequate number of operational definitions for how the old coding schema was applied. Without actual examples of how previous scholars applied the coding criteria in specific books it is hard to determine if their studies are being consistently replicated in this study. Unfortunately, the new coding schema is just as suspect. The new codes were synthesized from a variety of different sources, including *The American Heritage Dictionary* (1982). Future studies might want to have this or another new coding schema evaluated by an expert on social behavior. Additionally, the results of this study would have been more valid if I had used two already tested measures. Since the new coding schema did not exist yet, I had to be satisfied with using both already tested coding criteria and previously untried coding criteria.

Procedure

In this study, I examined fifteen Caldecott medal and honor books:

1. As previously mentioned, the books in the sample also met two additional requirements: each one had a female character who appeared in at least fifty percent of the illustrations and each of the picture books was previously examined in one of the other studies on gender stereotyping mentioned in the literature review section of this paper.

2. The Association for Library Service to Children (2001) compiled an annotated list of all Caldecott medal and honor books from 1938 to 2001. I used the annotations from their work to make a table of books that had a significant female character. In this table, I indicated next to the title of the book which studies from the literature review had already examined that particular book. If I could not make a decision to include the book from the annotation, I browsed through the actual book to see if it should be added to the list of possible titles.

3. I then used a random number generator to pick fifteen books from the twenty-seven books that appeared to be good candidates for inclusion in this study (see Appendix A). This process also established an order for examining the picture books.

4. Once the fifteen titles had been chosen, it was time to begin examining the picture books. At this point, a coding form was developed. The form fit on one side of a sheet of paper (see Appendix B). Only one form was needed per book (as long as the book had less than thirty-two illustrations). The form solicited a variety of general information for the book being examined: title of the book, name of the main female character, number of illustrations, coding method used, initials of coder, date that the

coding was performed, and the type of coding used (open, axial, or selective). Each column of the form gave space for the coder to indicate the number of the illustration being examined, whether the main female character was present, the gender composition of the illustration, location of the main female character, and the appropriate behavior characteristics for the illustration being examined.

5. In the analysis section of this paper I will give examples for each of the coding criteria used based on what I found in the picture books. Several of the books in my sample did not have dust jackets so I decided to examine only the illustrations in the actual body of the story. To ensure consistency while coding, I took analytic notes on how I interpreted codes in each specific book. There were six options in the gender composition section: single female, single male, group female, group male, group both, and group unknown. On the form, I indicated whether the main female character was indoors, outdoors, unknown, or in a threshold location. The threshold positions were also coded by whether the character was in a window, door, or on a porch. I decided to use the target behaviors used by Davis (1984) and further refined by Williams et al. (1987) and Oskamp and Kaufman (1996). Since Davis only provided definitions for fifteen of the twenty criteria, I synthesized the other five definitions from other studies in the literature review. Like Davis, I decided to code all of the target behaviors I felt were appropriate for a given illustration. The definitions for the fifteen behavior characteristics used by Davis appear in the table exactly how they appeared in his study. The definitions for the five behavior characteristics added by Williams et al. appear in brackets since they were not taken from one particular source. The twenty behavior characteristics appear in Table 1.

Table 1: Old Coding Schema - Behavior Characteristics

Dependent: seeking or relying on others for help, protection, or reassurance; maintaining close physical proximity to others.	Nurturant: giving physical or emotional aid, support, or comfort to another; demonstrating affection or compassion for another.
Independent: self-initiated and self-sustained behavior, autonomous functioning, resistance to externally imposed constraints.	Aggressive: physically or emotionally hurting someone; verbal aggression; destroying property.
Cooperative: working together or joint effort toward common goal, complementary division of labor in a given activity.	Emotional: affective display of feelings; manifestation of pleasure, fear, anger, sorrow, etc., via laughing, cowering, crying, frowning, violent outbursts, etc. (use facial expressions & body language).
Competitive: striving against another in an activity or game for a particular goal, position, or reward; desire to be first, best, winner.	Active: gross motor (large muscle) physical activity, work, play.
Directive: guiding, leading, impelling others toward an action or goal; controlling behavior of others.	Passively active: fine motor (small muscle) activity; alert, attentive activity, but with minimal or no physical movement, (e.g., reading, talking, thinking, daydreaming, watching TV).
Submissive: yielding to the direction of others; deference to wishes of others.	Rescues: [saving another individual, human or animal, from a dangerous situation or imprisonment].
Persistent: maintenance of goal-directed activity despite obstacles, setbacks, or adverse conditions.	Service: [a solicited or unsolicited action performed for another individual that is intended to obtain for that individual a desired object or situation].
Explorative: seeking knowledge or information through careful examination or investigation; inquisitive and curious.	Same-sex peers: [when a character is shown in the company of characters who are all of the same age and gender].
Creative: producing novel idea or product; unique solution to problem; engaging in fantasy or imaginative play.	Traditional: [when a character is depicted in a role typically associated with her gender, i.e., in a homemaking role, care-giver, as an emotional character, performing gendered activities, or appears in customary garb (skirts, aprons, etc.)].
Imitative: duplicating, mimicking, or modeling behavior (activity or verbalization) of others.	Nontraditional: [a character is depicted in a role usually associated with members of the opposite sex, i.e. an occupation typically associated with the opposite sex, active instrumental activities, as a non-emotional character].

6. Once the first coder finished examining the first six books, three of the books were then given to the second coder to examine. Percentages of agreement were then compiled. As previously mentioned, intercoder reliability was extremely low during open coding. Therefore, the operational definitions had to be refined.

7. Both coders re-examined the books using the new set of operational notes. Once again percentages of agreement were compiled. This time the percentage of agreement between the two coders improved dramatically.

8. Since the literature did not provide definitions for a new measure, I had to create my own definitions. I did this by synthesizing information from the literature with definitions found in *The American Heritage Dictionary* (1982). The twenty behavior characteristics and their definitions appear in Table 2.

Table 2: New Coding Schema - Behavior Characteristics

Dependent: relying on someone else for support and aid.	Nurturant: caring for or attending to someone or something else; protecting another being from harm.
Independent: self-reliant; may accept input from another but still makes own decisions; empowered to do what has to do; realizing the power of own voice and/or agency to overcome all obstacles.	Aggressive: moving or acting in a hostile fashion; assertive; forceful.
Cooperative: willingness to work in concert with others; willingness to work together with others to complete a task or to move towards a goal; collaborative.	Emotional: excessive displays of feelings; overly sensitive; excessively demonstrative.
Competitive: competing against another; striving to win; unwillingness to work cooperatively with others.	Active: energetic, dynamic, and lively; full of life; characterized by action or activity.
Directive: issuing orders or giving instructions to another; commanding.	Passive: inactive, inert, lifeless, and characterized by minimal physical activity.
Submissive: docile; obediently following instructions or orders given by another.	Rescues: saving another from danger or imprisonment; protecting another from danger.
Persistent: not giving up easily; steadfast; determined; overcoming obstacles.	Service: action that is performed to obtain a desired situation or object for another person (usually without his or her assistance); performing duties for an employer; performing chores for another.
Explorative: a willingness and tendency to experiment and try new things; investigative.	Same-sex peers: playing with or spending time with individuals of the same age and gender with no members of the opposite gender present.
Creative: resourceful; imaginative; artistic; expressive; attempting to solve a problem in an original way; having the ability to create item or handicraft that is original, expressive, and/or artistic.	Traditional: a character who appears or behaves in ways that are considered conventional (i.e., in attire, in occupation, in the activities performed, or types of emotions expressed).
Imitative: mimicking or copying what others do, say, or create; uninspired.	Nontraditional: unconventional; going against customary behavior in some way (i.e., in attire, in occupation, in the activities performed, or in emotions expressed) but not necessarily in all ways.

9. Once the first coder finished examining the same six books using the new coding schema, the second coder examined the three books from the original sample of six that she had not seen yet. Once again the lack of agreement between the two coders made it necessary for the definitions to be refined. Just as before, the axial coding process resulted in an improved interrater agreement.

10. At this point, the frequency counts for each of the behavior characteristics using both the old and new coding schemata were compiled and compared.

For this study, I was only able to examine fifteen books: and yet, each picture book was coded twice using both an old and new schemata. None of the other studies in the literature review used both an old and a new schemata. Feminist thought suggests that the discourse used to discuss what it means to be a woman is constantly changing and even contradictory at times (Yeoman, 1999). As Vandergrift states, "the female protagonist, however, no matter how feisty or independent, is not necessarily representative of feminist thought" (1995, Beyond female protagonists section, ¶ 1). And yet, scholars are still using the same coding schema that was first used in the 80s to examine picture books in terms of gender stereotyping. This study was designed to determine if the measure is actually still viable in the twenty-first century. To some extent, this study will also measure the effect that changes in society have had on how gender stereotyping is interpreted in illustrations.

Analysis

Interrater Reliability

By including this step of the research project, I hoped to increase the reliability of the results. One of the best ways to make this happen is to use more than one coder. Unfortunately, it was not feasible to use two coders for the whole study. Instead, I decided to use two coders for six of the fifteen books (forty percent of the final sample). The two coders first used the old coding schema to independently examine how the main female character was depicted in the visual texts of the same three books. The two coders then independently examined the other three books using the new coding schema. As stated in the 'Research Methodology,' the two coders used a form specially designed to record the presence/absence of one or more of the twenty target behaviors for each of the illustrations in a given picture book.

Intercoder reliability in the initial pre-study was extremely low. So low in fact, that the operational definitions of most of the target characteristics in both schemata had to be completely revised. The two coders then reexamined all six picture books using the new operational definitions for both schemata. This time percentages of agreement were much more inline. To determine percentages of agreement, a formula also used by Davis was employed: specifically "total number of agreements divided by total number of agreements plus disagreements" (1984, p. 7). Using the old coding schema, a total of 179 behavior characteristics were identified in the first three picture books yielding an

interrater agreement of 94%. Reliability figures for the specific behavior characteristics ranged from 66% for persistence to 100% for independence. The two behavioral categories with low percentages of agreement (persistence and service) were also only identified a few times (three and four respectively).

Using the new coding schema, a total of 137 behavior characteristics were identified in the next three picture books yielding an interrater agreement of 96%. Reliability figures for the specific behavior characteristics ranged from 75% for competitive to 100% for passive. The reason the interrater reliability for competitive was lower has to do with the fact that it was actually only identified three times. One disagreement in a small sample can have a huge impact on interrater reliability.

Findings

Table 3: Frequency Count of Behavior Characteristics – Old Coding Schema

Behavior	Total	Behavior	Total
Dependent	120	Nurturant	25
Independent	43	Aggressive	2
Cooperative	15	Emotional	52
Competitive	4	Active	67
Directive	17	Passive	102
Submissive	43	Rescues	1
Persistent	28	Service	28
Explorative	5	Same-sex peers	5
Creative	6	Traditional	178
Imitative	1	Nontraditional	2

In the main study, a total of 744 behavior characteristics were identified using the old coding schema. In this section, I will give examples of how the operational definitions for the various behavior characteristics were applied using the old coding schema.

According to the old schema definition of dependent, sustaining close physical proximity implies a character is dependent. On a number of occasions, I had to indicate that Ida in *Outside Over There* (Sendak, 1981) was dependent because she was maintaining a close proximity to her sister, mother, or some other character. This designation seems particularly ridiculous at the end of the book when Ida is helping her little sister learn how to walk. If anyone is dependent in this illustration it is Ida's little sister.

A protagonist was coded as independent if she had a self-initiated behavior at some point in the story. At one point during *The Funny Little Woman* (Mosel, 1972) the main character (who actually does not have a name) is shown initiating her own escape from the Oni. She sneaks out of the house, tries to paddle herself across the river, and even tries to run through the mud. Only at the very end of the story, does she receive any assistance from another character: an older man helps pull the funny little woman out of the earthen floor.

Cooperative was indicated when there was a clear division of labor in a given activity. In *When I Was Young in the Mountains* (Rylant, 1982), the little girl and her brother are involved in a joint effort to pump water from the well. The little girl (who

does not have a name) works the pump while her little brother holds the bucket that catches the water.

A character was coded as competitive when she was depicted as striving against another individual in an activity or a game. One of the best examples of competitive occurred in *Jumanji* (Van Allsburg, 1981). The story focuses on Judy and her brother Peter and their new board game - Jumanji. At the very beginning of the story, the two siblings compete against each other. Soon they realize that the moves they make in the board game are actually occurring in the world around them. By the end of the story, it becomes clear that they are also competing against the game itself: their house will not return to normal until one of them wins the game.

Several protagonists were characterized as directive because they impelled others toward a goal or an action. In *Sam, Bangs & Moonshine* (Ness, 1966), the main character Samantha is known for her wild tales. At one point, she tells her friend Thomas that her pet Kangaroo went to the cave by the Blue Rock where her mermaid mother lived. Her crazy story actually impels Thomas to set off in search of the Kangaroo and very nearly costs him his life when the tide comes in high due to a bad storm. The illustration of this event actually shows Samantha sitting on her porch dreaming up her next moonshine, while Thomas is riding his bicycle towards imminent danger.

I indicated that characters like little Blanche in *The Talking Eggs: A Folktale from the American South* (San Souci, 1989) were submissive when they were shown yielding to the direction of others. On a number of occasions Blanche is depicted as submissive. Near the beginning of the story, her mother is shown yelling at her while Blanche stands starring toward the ground looking dejected. In the middle of the story, Blanche is also

shown yielding to the wishes of the old woman who tells her not laugh at any of the funny things she sees. Blanche manages to keep from laughing at all of the strange sights that greet her. She even follows the really important advice of the old woman: she only takes the eggs that say, "Take me." Blanche becomes rich because she yields to the old woman's wishes, while her sister who does not yield to the old woman's wishes is run off by a pack of wild animals.

Several protagonists were characterized as persistent because they demonstrated they were able to maintain a goal-directed activity despite adverse conditions. Lapowinsa and Lupan are illustrated running for their lives in scene after scene in *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970). They could even feel his cold breath on their necks, and yet they continued on in their flight for freedom.

Protagonists like Nyasha in *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987) were coded as explorative when they were depicted as inquisitive and curious. On a number of occasions, Nyasha was illustrated investigating the natural world around her. Her attention was drawn to exotic birds, a little snake, and even a fabulous view of a far-off city.

A protagonist was coded as creative if she produced a novel thought or idea. At the end of *The Funny Little Woman* (Mosel, 1972), the main character uses the magic paddle she took from the Oni to make so many dumplings that she decides to open her own dumpling business. In one of the last illustrations, it shows the funny little woman surrounded by myriad people who are all there to buy her dumplings. The accompanying text says her little business made her one of the richest women in all of Japan.

Imitative was indicated if a character modeled or duplicated the behavior of another character. I only noted one instance where a character was portrayed as imitative in all fifteen books. In *Baboushka and the Three Kings* (Robbins, 1960), Baboushka sets out to find the newborn Babe only after three kings visit her and give her the idea to bring gifts to the new Babe. She turns down their original offer but by morning she has begun to regret her hasty decision. At the end of the story, the reader learns that every Christmas while Baboushka is searching for the Babe, she leaves presents at the houses of little children.

Several protagonists were characterized as nurturant because they demonstrated affection or compassion for another being. Nyasha in *The Talking Eggs: A Folktale from the American South* (San Souci, 1989) is shown sharing water with the old woman. The accompanying text says the old woman claimed to be dying of thirst. Unfortunately, Nyasha's compassionate act also gets her in trouble; when she returns home a little while later her mother scolds her for being late and for bringing home warm water.

I indicated that characters like Gretel in *Hansel and Gretel* (Lesser, 1984) were aggressive if illustrations depicted them hurting someone or destroying property. Gretel does both. At the beginning of the story, there is an illustration of her hiding behind the window of the little old woman's edible house. Several panes are missing from the window. One of them is even lying on the ground at Gretel's feet. Then a later illustration shows Gretel pushing the little old woman into the fire where she burns to ashes. The text tells the reader Gretel then rescues Hansel from his cage. Unfortunately, the visual text does not show the reader this event.

Most of the protagonists whom I indicated were emotional were illustrated manifesting pleasure, dismay, fear, etc. There was a very appropriate scene in *Tom Tit Tot* (Ness, 1965) where the 'darter' is shown sitting at a spinning wheel bawling her eyes out because she has to spin five skeins or the king will cut her head off. There are also a few less obvious illustrations where she is shown sitting or standing with a look of fear and dread on her face because she does not know what to do.

Una from *Saint George and the Dragon* (Hodges, 1984) was coded as active because she is shown in physical motion a lot. A number of times she is shown riding a horse; she even gallops at one point. It is interesting that it is actually Una who was sent on this adventure in search of a knight to protect her kingdom from the dragon in the first place.

Passive was indicated if a character was shown using only minimal or no physical movement. Over and over again, the miller's daughter in *Rumpelstiltskin* (Zelinsky, 1986) is shown talking, thinking, weeping, and even sleeping. At the very beginning of the story, she is illustrated staring out through the doorway at her father. It appears that she should be working but she seems more engrossed by what is happening outside.

Only one female character out of all fifteen books was actually illustrated rescuing another character. In *Outside Over There* (Sendak, 1981), Ida rescues her sister from the goblins. She accomplishes her task by playing a horn that compels the goblins to dance. Before long, the dancing goblins are turned into a dancing stream and Ida is able to free her sister. After she defeats the goblins, Ida is shown reaching her arms towards her little sister who is waiting with open arms for her.

Several characters were portrayed performing acts of service where they are shown assisting someone other than themselves. In *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987), Nyasha offers food to a young boy because she thinks he must be hungry. The picture shows Nyasha's whole escort stopping so that she can hand the young man the yam she was saving for her own lunch.

There were only two books in the sample that depicted the main character in a friendship with same sex peers: *Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper* (Brown, 1954) and *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987). This type of relationship was only coded if the characters were illustrated interacting without any other characters in the background. There is one scene in *Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper* where the Cinderella and her two stepsisters are shown sitting on a couch talking that was coded as camaraderie with same-sex peers. Later in the book, there is a scene that was not included where the reader can see Cinderella's godmother sitting in the background while Cinderella opens the door for her stepsisters.

All of the female characters were depicted as traditional at some point in time. Usually a character was coded as traditional because she was depicted wearing traditional attire or sporting a traditional hairdo. For instance, the protagonist of *When I Was Young in the Mountains* (Rylant, 1982) was shown wearing a dress on a number of occasions. It seemed odd to code her as traditional just because of her attire because she was also usually shown wearing big workmen's boots.

Using the old coding schema, only two characters were coded as nontraditional, the little girls in both *When I Was Young in the Mountains* (Rylant, 1982) and in *A Chair for My Mother* (Williams, 1982). I only coded nontraditional when a character was

completely nontraditional. For instance, in *A Chair for My Mother* the little girl is shown sitting in a chair. Actually only the little girl's pants and sneakers are shown but the reader knows it is the little girl because she is wearing the same clothes in an earlier scene. Interestingly, the only other illustration of a completely nontraditional character was the little girl in *When I Was Young in the Mountains*. In one scene she was illustrated diving into a pond. Once again, the reader only sees the little girl's feet because the rest of her is under the water.

Table 4: Frequency Count of Behavior Characteristics – New Coding Schema

Behavior	Total	Behavior	Total
Dependent	49	Nurturant	25
Independent	95	Aggressive	1
Cooperative	22	Emotional	16
Competitive	4	Active	76
Directive	17	Passive	99
Submissive	39	Rescues	1
Persistent	28	Service	24
Explorative	5	Same-sex peers	5
Creative	8	Traditional	178
Imitative	1	Nontraditional	51

Using the new coding schema, a total of 744 behavior characteristics were identified. In this section, I will only give examples for a few of the behavior characteristics. For several of the behavior characteristics it actually did not matter if the old coding or new coding schemata were used. The results were exactly the same for competitive, directive, persistent, explorative, imitative, nurturant, rescues, camaraderie with same-sex peers, and traditional. In addition, I will not re-discuss the aggressive criteria because the only example of aggressive using the new criteria was discussed in the other section. Using the new definition, destroying property is no longer an example of aggressiveness but harming the old woman still is.

Dependent was indicated using the new schema if a character relied on another character for support or aid. The new definition no longer coded dependency based on proximity; however, the number of instances that the 'darter' in *Tom Tit Tot* (Ness, 1965) was coded as dependent only changed about half the time. Even though proximity was no longer an issue, the 'darter' was still dependent on 'that' (Tom Tit Tot) for her five skeins a day; without his help she would surely lose her head. I coded her as dependent in all of the illustrations where she was shown standing next to him. In all of those illustrations, 'that' was either taking away the flax or returning with the skeins.

In the previous section, I tried not to code a character as both dependent and independent. Needless to say, a number of characters that were coded as dependent because of the proximity clause could not be coded as independent. How the coder interprets the portrayal of the miller's daughter in *Rumpelstiltskin* (Zelinsky, 1986) is an example of how the different definitions can work. In the last two illustrations, the miller's daughter is shown holding her child. A strict interpretation of the old coding criteria meant that these two illustrations had to be coded as dependent. In actuality, the miller's daughter was fairly self-reliant by the end of the book. With the help of her maid, she is able to save her child and get rid of Rumpelstiltskin forever.

Cooperative was indicated if a character worked in concert with others to accomplish a goal. In *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987) there is a scene where Mufaro is shown with his arms around Manyara and Nyasha. Using the old criteria Nyasha was coded as dependent due to the proximity clause. In the scene, Nyasha also looks disheartened. Using the new criteria Nyasha was coded as

cooperative because she in participating in this close family moment despite her melancholy.

Using the old coding criteria, Lapowinsa in *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970) was coded as submissive because it appeared that she was yielding to the direction of Lupan in a number of the scenes where they are running. The new coding criteria re-defined submissive as obediently following the instructions or orders of another character. Seen in this new light, the illustrations of Lapowinsa and Lupan running from the Moon no longer suggest she is submissive.

The new coding criteria for creative allowed me to recognize handiwork that was not completely original. For instance, in *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987), Nyasha was shown making a number of clay jugs that looked almost exactly alike. Although these jugs are not completely original the ability to create them does require special skills and knowledge on the part of the potter.

The operational definition of emotional using the old criteria was extremely sensitive. If a character smiled ever so slightly the emotional criterion was indicated on the form; the new definition for emotional was a lot less sensitive. Illustrations of Gretel crying and cowering in *Hansel and Gretel* (Lesser, 1984) were still coded as emotional but illustrations of Gretel smiling were not. For instance, the last illustration depicts Hansel and Gretel returning home to their father with jewels to share. Gretel's smile is normal for a child who has not seen her father in a few days and should not be considered overly emotional.

Several characters were coded as active using the new definition because they demonstrated they were characterized by action or activity. This use of the word action

implies that there could be a series of small movements. The addition of the new clause meant that a character like Ida in *Outside Over There* (Sendak, 1981) who was holding a child could then be considered active because it requires a type of action. By holding the child, Ida's arms are resisting the weight of the child. Anyone who has ever carried a child for long period of time realizes that it is not a passive activity.

Changes to the operational definitions for the active criterion also meant that actions that were previously coded as passive could then be coded as active. For instance, there is an illustration in *The Funny Little Woman* (Mosel, 1972) where the main character appears to not be moving. In actuality, she is using every muscle she has to hang on to a rock in an attempt to save herself from the Oni.

When the coding for criteria for creative changed it also affected the coding criteria for service. Using the old coding criteria the illustration of Nyasha making the clay jars in *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987) was coded as service. It no longer seems necessary to code the activity in that illustration as service since it is now coded as creative.

Using the new criteria for nontraditional, characters like the little girl in *When I Was Young in the Mountains* (Rylant, 1982) could then be coded as both traditional and nontraditional. As previously mentioned, the little girl is frequently shown wearing both a dress and workmen's boots. She is also shown pumping water from a well. Activities requiring physical strength are typically associated with male characters.

Table 5: Mean Frequencies of Behavior Characteristics – Both Coding Schemata

Behavior	Old	New	Behavior	Old	New
Dependent	8	3.27	Nurturant	1.67	1.67
Independent	2.87	6.33	Aggressive	0.13	0.07
Cooperative	1	1.47	Emotional	3.47	1.07
Competitive	0.27	0.27	Active	4.47	5.07
Directive	1.13	1.13	Passive	6.8	6.6
Submissive	2.87	2.6	Rescues	0.07	0.07
Persistent	1.87	1.87	Service	1.87	1.6
Explorative	0.33	0.33	Same-sex peers	0.33	0.33
Creative	0.4	0.53	Traditional	11.9	11.9
Imitative	0.07	0.07	Nontraditional	0.13	3.4

An analysis of the mean frequencies of the discrete behaviors exhibited by the main female character shows that the new coding criteria only changed a few of the frequencies. Close examination shows that seven characteristics had mean frequencies that were less than one: competitive, explorative, creative, imitative, aggressive, rescues, and camaraderie with same-sex peers. A number of target behaviors were greater than one but less than three: cooperative, directive, submissive, persistent, nurturant, and service. The active, passive, and traditional variables were exhibited with considerable frequency no matter which coding schema was used. The remaining behaviors appear to have been affected dramatically by changes in the coding schemata. The nontraditional characteristic had a mean frequency less than one using the old criteria but a notably

larger mean frequency using the new coding schema. The mean frequency for the emotional criteria decreased with the introduction of the new coding criteria. There may be a correlation between the dependent and independent criteria: as the one was augmented the other seemed to decline. More picture books would need to be examined to make sure this is not a sampling error.

Comparison with Prior Studies

In this part of the inquiry, I hope to demonstrate how the results of this study compare to the results of previous studies on gender stereotyping in picture books. Specifically, I will revisit and provide a more in-depth discussion of the results of five of the studies from the 'Literature Review' section of this paper. The behavioral profile from the new coding schema of this study will be used as a reference point. An analysis of the mean frequencies of the behaviors using the new coding schema found that there were four characteristics that were exhibited with considerable frequency: independent (6.33), active (5.07), passive (6.6), and traditional (11.9). These four traits and possibly the trait with the next highest frequency - nontraditional (3.4) - represent the average behavior profile of the female characters examined in this study.

Czaplinski (1972)

Two of the picture books from this sample were also used in Czaplinski's 1972 study where she examined gender stereotyping in award winning picture books: *Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper* (Brown, 1954) and *Baboushka and the Three Kings* (Robbins, 1960). Czaplinksi used a number of different measures in her study but there is one, her analysis of activity levels, which directly applies to the discourse at hand. Specifically, she used a ten-point scale to code the activity levels of each gender

for physical, intellectual, and emotional activities. She coded one occurrence of an activity level per gender. In other words, if two female characters were portrayed dancing, then it was only coded once. Regrettably, it is more difficult to extract the relevant information from her results since she lumped all of the activities exhibited by female characters together.

In *Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper* (Brown, 1954), Czaplinski (1972) coded at least one activity level in each of the three main areas for female characters. In her 'Scales of Physical, Intellectual, and Emotional Strength, ' section she indicated that for this book the results are for physical - 10, 6, 5, 4, 3, and 2; for intellectual - 4; and for emotional - 4 and 2 (p. 56). The key to the 'Scales of Strength' can be used to interpret the results for the physical activity levels: a character exerted great power by using magic, a character was depicted physically exerting herself in this case running, a character was depicted moderately exerting herself (i.e., dancing), a character was depicted walking or using some other form of slow movements, a character used small hand movements, and a character was depicted watching other characters. There was only one intellectual activity level coded under the female category and it was fantasizing unproductively. The emotional activity level section indicates that a female character expressed hurt feelings and was depicted crying (pp. 51-53).

Comparing the mean frequencies from my study for *Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper* (Brown, 1954) with Czaplinski's (1972) findings suggests that the results of the two studies are similar but not exactly the same. If I had found that Cinderella was fantasizing unproductively, then it would have been coded in the creative section. Using only the visual text, I did not find any instances where the creative characteristic was

exhibited. There are two possible reasons for this: she is referring to the written text or she is referring to a character other than Cinderella. My results for the other three appropriate behavior characteristics are more in line with her results: emotional was coded two times, active was indicated seven times, and passive was indicated five times.

Czaplinski (1972) also coded at least one activity level in each of the three main areas for *Baboushka and the Three Kings* (Robbins, 1960). In her 'Scales of Strength' section she indicated that for this book the results are for physical - 4, 3, and 2; for intellectual - 5 and 4; and for emotional - 3 (p. 56). Once again, the key to the 'Scales of Strength' can be used to interpret the results for the physical activity levels: a character was depicted exerting herself moderately in this case sweeping, a character was depicted making small hand movements, and a character was depicted watching other characters. In the intellectual activities section a character was depicted intuiting with only a little deduction and a character was depicted fantasizing unproductively. In the emotional activities section a character was depicted continually expressing nervousness (pp. 51-53). Czaplinski also suggested that this book negatively associates submissiveness and service with Baboushka and adventure with the three kings (pp. 73-74).

Comparing the mean frequencies from my study for *Baboushka and the Three Kings* (Robbins, 1960) with Czaplinski's (1972) results suggests that they are only a few similarities. Once again, the relevant behavior characteristics from my study are creative, emotional, active, and passive. My results for two of the appropriate behavior characteristics are in line with her results: active was indicated five times and passive was indicated three times. However, I did not find any instances where creative and emotional were exhibited in the visual texts. Either the interpretations are different or the

activities were found in the written text. Interestingly, I also did not find any instances where submissiveness and service were exhibited. It appears that I interpreted these two characteristics differently than Czaplinski did. I felt that to code either service or submissive there had to be another character present that was orchestrating the main character's actions. Since Baboushka was alone in her house, I did not feel these characteristics were exhibited. Finally, I disagree with Czaplinksi's belief that Baboushka does not go on an adventure. She may not have found the newborn Babe but by continually searching for the babe in the world outside of her house, she demonstrates that she is having an adventure and is therefore a partially nontraditional character.

Weitzman et al. (1972)

The two books in this section, *Sam Bangs & Moonshine* (Ness, 1966) and *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970), will appear again in the Davis (1984) section. The Weitzman et al. (1972) study is more qualitative than quantitative but the authors did include some quantitative information. The authors provided statistics on the ratios of males to females depicted in service, rescue, and leadership activities. Unfortunately, the authors did not provide definitions for these terms; however, they did provide sufficient examples from the written and visual texts. The relevant behavior characteristics from my study are directive, service, and rescue.

Examining the Caldecott winners and honor books published between 1967 and 1972, Weitzman et al. (1972) found that the male to female ratio of characters depicted in service activities was 0:3, in leadership activities was 3:2, and in rescue activities was 5:1 (p.1134). To begin with the authors applauded *Sam, Bangs & Moonshine* (Ness, 1966) for having a female protagonist but expressed concern that she was given a boy's name –

Sam (short for Samantha). They also praise the fact that Sam engages in a number of adventures, but they again express concern that these adventures are only in her head (p. 1131). Weitzman et al. then observed that little girls like Sam are usually found indoors. They also found that Sam exhibited the directive character trait because she is constantly directing the activities of Thomas. They conclude that in picture books, boys play in the real world while girls stand back and watch them (p. 1133).

Comparing the mean frequencies from my study for this book with Weitzman et al.'s (1972) study resulted in a number of interesting findings. In *Sam, Bangs & Moonshine* (Ness, 1966), I found that the main female character was depicted as directive one time but that she was not depicted performing a service or rescue activity at all. I also found that she exhibited the creative characteristic two times and the passive characteristic ten times. Most of the time Sam is illustrated indoors but there are two exceptions that occur: one at the beginning of the book and one at the end of the book. One of the first illustrations depicts Sam standing on the beach examining a starfish that I coded as explorative (a typically male trait). Then at the end of the book, Sam is shown running. The next illustration is of Thomas in bed looking at the gerbil but the reader does not see Sam so I was not able to count it as service. Weitzman et al.'s interpretation does not take into account the fact that Sam actually develops in this story and learns that excessive moonshine (day-dreaming) can be dangerous. The last scene also suggests that Sam may finally be entering the outside world as a participant.

Weitzman et al. (1972) also express concerns about the depiction of the main female character in *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970). The authors observe that it was the male character that orchestrated Lapowinsa's escape from the moon. They also observe

that he directs her each step of the way (p. 1134). The authors conclude that in most books "the male central characters engage in many exciting and heroic adventures which emphasize their cleverness" (p. 1131). They then state that there were only two books in their sample that had a girl that experienced adventures: *The Angry Moon* was not one of the books that had a female adventurer.

Once again, my results were slightly different from Weitzman et al.'s (1972) findings. I found in *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970) that the main female character was depicted as directive three times but that she was not depicted performing a service or rescue activity at all. Since I was only using the visual text, I coded Lapowinsa as directive whenever she took the lead in the illustration. I also would like to note that an adult female actually gave Lupan the magic items he needed to help orchestrate his and Lapowinsa's escape from the moon: without these magic items the two might never have escaped. I believe that after she is rescued, Lapowinsa becomes a full participant in the adventure. She even helps Lupan row the canoe.

Davis (1984)

Tom Tit Tot (Ness, 1965), *Sam, Bangs & Moonshine* (Ness, 1966), *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970), and *The Funny Little Woman* (Mosel, 1972) are all examined in both Davis's (1984) and my studies. As previously mentioned, Davis examined behavior characteristics using a measure that was similar to the measure used in this inquiry. He examined fifteen of the twenty behavior characteristics included in this inquiry. Davis provided definitions for these fifteen characteristics but he did not give examples of how the traits were applied in the specific picture book texts included in his sample. His measure allowed for multiple character traits to be coded for the same picture and for the

same trait to be coded multiple times per book. Therefore, he framed his results in terms of the mean frequency of each characteristic. Davis found that there were four characteristics that were exhibited with considerable frequency: independent (8.10), emotional (5.87), active (8.08), and passively active (18.87). Together these four traits form the behavioral profile he found for female characters in the picture books he examined.

Most of the discourse in this section will be devoted to a comparison of the quantitative data since Davis (1984) included very little qualitative information in his study. Davis's results reflect what was found in both the visual and the written texts, whereas my results only reflect what was found in the visual texts. Therefore the results of our studies should not be directly compared since our measures and samples were different but I will provide my results as a point of reference.

Three of the character traits in Davis's (1984) behavior profile are also in my behavioral profile: independent (6.33), active (5.07), and passive (6.6). However, using the new coding schema, I found that the emotional characteristic was not a salient attribute for the characters examined: it had a mean frequency of only 1.07. The traditional and nontraditional characteristics will not be discussed in this section because they were not included in Davis's original study. So how did these particular books compare to Davis's results?

In *Tom Tit Tot* (Ness, 1965) only independent and passive made it into the behavioral profile for the 'darter.' I coded independent 5 times and passive 9 times while active and emotional were only coded 3 times each. I would also add dependent (6) to her behavioral profile.

Independent and passive were the only two characteristics to be included in the profile for the main character of *Sam, Bangs & Moonshine* (Ness, 1966). I indicated that independent and passive were exhibited 6 and 10 times respectively while the other two characteristics were only exhibited 1 time each. None of the other characteristics really stood out.

In *The Angry Moon* (Sleator, 1970) the independent, active, and possibly passive characteristics were exhibited with considerable frequency. Independent was coded 5 times, active was coded 9 times, and passive was coded 4 times but emotional was only coded 2 times. The results of this inquiry suggest that dependent (7) and persistent (6) should also be added to the behavior profile for Lapowinsa.

Independent, active, and possibly passive would be included in the behavioral profile of the main character in *The Funny Little Woman* (Mosel, 1972). I coded independent and active 11 and 13 times respectively. Passive was only indicated 5 times and emotional was not indicated at all. The reason I did not code emotional at all in a book that is about a laughing woman is because the laughing occurs in the written text. In the visual text all the reader sees is a woman with a slight smile. Since my definition for emotional required excessive displays of feelings in the visual text, I decided that an illustration of a slightly smiling woman was not deemed emotional. My interpretation may be partially cultural. When someone laughs, I expect to see teeth, whereas the funny little woman never showed her teeth.

Williams et al. (1987)

Six of the books examined in the Williams et al. (1987) study were also included in my inquiry: *Jumanji* (Van Allsburg, 1981), *Outside Over There* (Sendak, 1981), *A*

Chair for My Mother (Williams, 1982), *When I Was Young in the Mountains* (Rylant, 1982), *Saint George and the Dragon* (Hodges, 1984), and *Hansel and Gretel* (Lesser, 1984). Williams et al. used all twenty of the behavior characteristics used in this inquiry; however, the authors only coded a behavior characteristic once per character. In addition, the characteristic was only coded if three out of four evaluators agreed that it was clearly a salient characteristic (p. 150). It is assumed that Williams et al. used Davis' definitions for the character traits since they did not include their own. They also did not include definitions for the five new characteristics. The authors did provide a few qualitative examples of how the criteria were applied in the actual picture books, but they did not provide qualitative information for every book. In their study, the authors provide the actual number of times that the traits were indicated rather than the mean frequencies of those traits since they only applied a term once per character. The authors state that their results are based primarily on what is happening in the visual texts of the picture books they examined. Williams et al. found that there was only one trait exhibited with considerable frequency – traditional (17). I extrapolated from their table of behavior characteristics that the three next most frequent character traits were nurturant (6), active (8), and passive (6). In the text the authors implied that submissive, nurturant, dependent, and passive are characteristics more commonly associated with female characters than with male characters (p. 154). I have decided not to include them in their behavior profile because an examination of their results table suggests that including submissive (5) and dependent (5) would also require including cooperative (5).

Three of the character traits in Williams et al.'s (1987) behavior profile are also in my behavioral profile: active (5.07), passive (6.6), and traditional (11.9). Once again, my

results are only included as a reference point. Using the new coding schema, I found that the nurturant characteristic was only exhibited approximately 1.07 times per picture book.

The only really salient characteristics of Judy in *Jumanji* (Van Allsburg, 1981) were traditional (7) and possibly passive (4). The other two characteristics nurturant and active were exhibited 0 and 1 time respectively. Judy did not exhibit any other characteristics with considerable frequency in my inquiry.

Outside Over There (Sendak, 1981) was the only picture book where I found that the results of my inquiry paralleled the results of Williams et al. (1987). The four behavior characteristics in the behavioral profile of Williams et al. also had high frequencies in my study: nurturant (8), active (12), passive (8), and nontraditional (16). In addition to these characteristics, my inquiry also found that Ida exhibited the independent (8) and nontraditional (8) characteristics a lot. Ida was actually one of the most developed characters examined in the inquiry. However, Williams et al. proposed that the characters in *Outside Over There* were exceedingly traditional. The authors assert that the story is about a sailor, his passive wife, and his 'foolish daughter.' The authors neglect to mention that the story really centers on Ida who is brave enough to go 'outside over there' and rescue her sister from the goblins.

There were two salient attributes of the main female character of *When I Was Young in the Mountains* (Rylant, 1982) in my study: passive (7) and traditional (9). The other two characteristics, nurturant and active, were only exhibited 2 times each. Independent (4) and nontraditional (4) were two other characteristics that might be added to a behavioral profile for the little girl in this story.

In *A Chair for My Mother* (Williams, 1982) passive (7) and traditional (7) were the only characteristics included in my behavior profile for the main character. I only coded active 3 times and nurturant was actually not coded at all. However, independent (7) and nontraditional (7) would definitely be added to a behavioral profile for the little girl.

I found that active (5), passive (6), and traditional (11) would be included in the behavioral profile of Una in *Saint George and the Dragon* (Hodges, 1984). I would not include nurturant since it was only coded 3 times. I would add dependent to the behavioral profile since it was coded 6 times. Williams et al. asserted that this was also a very traditional story. They were bothered by the fact that the male knight carried weapons and rode a horse but the female only rode a donkey and cared for a lamb (1972, p. 154). This is an example of how the meaning of a story can be misinterpreted when only the illustrations are examined. The written text tells the reader that Una (the princess) traveled long and far to find a knight who could slay the dragon that is terrorizing her kingdom. Una may appear traditional in these illustrations but in actuality she is performing a task that is very untraditional. The King could just as easily have sent one of his male servants on this quest to find a knight.

In *Hansel and Gretel* (Lesser, 1984) passive (11) and traditional (14) were exhibited with considerable frequency. Active was coded 5 times and would probably not be included in the final behavioral profile. Nurturant was not coded at all. Two other characteristics, submissive (4) and dependent (5), would be included only if active were included.

Oskamp et al. (1996)

Three of the books examined in the Oskamp et al. (1996) study were also included in my inquiry: *Rumpelstiltskin* (Zelinsky, 1986), *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987), and *The Talking Eggs: A Folktale from the American South* (San Souci, 1989). Oskamp et al. used the same twenty behavior characteristics that Williams et al. used and they also neglected to include definitions. The authors state that, "in order to be considered salient, the characteristic had to be displayed more than once by the character (e.g., cooperation) or to be shown in a key part of the plot (e.g., rescuing someone" (Procedures section, ¶ 5). Since an attribute was only coded once per picture book, the authors framed their results in terms of frequency counts. These results were based on how the characters were portrayed in the visual texts and not how they were portrayed in the written texts. Based on their table of salient traits in the '1986-1991' column, dependent (10), submissive (6), and active (9) were the attributes that were frequently associated with female characters.

Oskamp et al. stated in their work that one qualification of their "findings is that the a priori categorization scheme for characters' behavior did not consider underlying themes or morals in books" (1996, Discussion section, ¶ 8). The authors believed that some themes actually restrict how characters in both genders can be portrayed. Two of the books they refer to were also included in this study, *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987) and *The Talking Eggs: A Folktale from the American South* (San Souci, 1989). The authors claim that in these two books, "the good and dutiful sister rather than the peevish and disobedient one gets the handsome prince or the valuable jewels" (Discussion section, ¶ 8). Since this theme was used in both of the

books mentioned, they felt it followed that the main female characters were depicted as overly dependent and submissive.

None of these attributes would be included in a behavioral profile for Nyasha in *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters: An African Tale* (Steptoe, 1987). Dependent (0), submissive (1), and active (2) were just not salient attributes of Nyasha in my inquiry. Instead, I found that she was independent (7), traditional (11), and nurturant (5).

Dependent (9) was the only trait that would definitely be included in a behavioral profile of the main character of *Rumpelstiltskin* (Zelinsky, 1986). I only coded submissive and active 5 and 4 times respectively. Instead, I coded passive (9) and traditional (15) a lot more frequently.

In *The Talking Eggs: A Folktale from the American South* (San Souci, 1989), only submissive would be included in the behavioral profile. Dependent and active were only coded 4 times each. On the other hand, independent (6), passive (7), and traditional (10) would be included in a behavioral profile for Blanche.

Conclusion

Summary

Pre-literate children look to picture books for clues on socially acceptable gendered behaviors. Unfortunately, research has shown that picture books continue to perpetuate gender biases and stereotypes. The purpose of this study was to determine whether the methods used in the 70s and 80s to examine gender stereotypes in picture books were still valid. The visual texts of fifteen Caldecott medal and honor books were examined for the presence or absence of twenty pre-determined behavior characteristics using both an old and a new coding schema. Using the new coding schema, four behavior characteristics changed significantly: dependent and emotional decreased while independent and nontraditional increased. The results of the new coding schema also fashioned a behavioral profile for the main female characters in the books examined. The characters were found to be independent, active, passive, and traditional. The inclusion of the active trait in the new profile was supported by the results of previous studies on gender stereotyping. Each of the other attributes appeared in the behavioral profiles of at least one of the other studies examined.

Conclusion

Interpreting the results of this inquiry requires caution since only a small sample was used. Further caution is warranted by the fact that it is questionable whether the old and new schemata are completely reliable. The literature review only produced

definitions for fifteen of the twenty behavior characteristics, and it gave very little guidance on how those definitions should be applied. In addition, the new coding schema may require further refining since this was the first time that it was used. Another concern is raised by the fact that content analysis is a very subjective methodology. Despite these cautions, it does appear that this study has addressed all of the questions it set out to address. Each of the questions that guided this inquiry will now be discussed.

Were the methods that the original scholars used still valid? This inquiry found that the measures used by the previous scholars were still partially valid. A side-by-side comparison was made of the mean frequencies of all twenty-behavior characteristics using both the old and new coding schemata. The results of the comparison suggested that only four of the characteristics changed significantly when the new coding schema was used: dependent and emotional both decreased while independent and nontraditional increased. The other sixteen characteristics seem to still be valid since their frequencies only changed minimally.

Has the discourse used to discuss what it means to be feminine drastically changed over the last thirty years? This discourse does appear to have changed somewhat, though it has yet to be determined to what degree it has changed. This makes it very difficult for scholars to identify characteristics to code that will actually add meaning to the text. For example, feminist scholars have started using the phrase 'authentic female character' instead of 'strong female character' because they believe that authentic females will be portrayed with a variety of character traits that span the continuum between traditional and nontraditional roles (Vandergrift, 1995). According to Oskamp et al., "it seems to have become less clear over the past 25 years just what

constitutes 'traditional gender role behavior" (Discussion section, ¶ 4). This uncertainty was evident in the results of the various studies examined. A comparison of the behavioral profiles for the three studies examined plus this inquiry appear in Table 6.

Table 6: Behavioral Profiles for Female Characters

Study	Trait 1	Trait 2	Trait 3	Trait 4	Other
Davis's (1984)	Independent	Active	Passive		Emotional
Williams et al. (1987)		Active	Passive	Traditional	Nurturant
Oskamp et al. (1996)		Active			Dependent, Submissive
Jarvis (2002)	Independent	Active	Passive	Traditional	

Were the new methods adequate for updating this discourse to reflect the current definition of what it means to be feminine? The new methods may not have been completely adequate. The difficulty lies in how the two terms, traditional and nontraditional, were defined in both schemata. As previously mentioned, scholars are now unclear what actually constitutes a traditional female role. In this inquiry, the new schema definition for 'traditional' was very similar to the old schema definition of 'traditional.' In fact, the mean frequency for the traditional characteristic did not change between the two schemata. The nontraditional characteristic obviously developed some since the mean frequency changed from 0.13 in the old schema to 3.4 in the new schema. Unfortunately, these two traits are central to the discourse of what it means to be feminine. The reason that the mean frequency for the nontraditional characteristic changed while it did not change for the traditional characteristic might indicate that both

terms need further refining. It may also indicate that there is a flaw in the measure: maybe there is a continuum between traditional and nontraditional that is not realized with a measure that only recognizes the presence or absence of a trait.

Was too much of the overall meaning of the picture book lost when the visual texts were analyzed separately from the written texts? Inevitably, when one element of a picture book is examined separately from all other elements of a picture book, something is lost. Throughout this inquiry, I have given numerous examples of illustrations that take on a whole new meaning when the written text is taken into account. For instance, in *Hansel and Gretel* (Lesser, 1984) there is an illustration of Gretel where she appears to be watching for her parents while Hansel builds a fire. In the background the sun is setting. Gretel's hand is shading her eyes as if she is straining hard to see off into the distance. The text, however, reads that when it became dark, Gretel started crying. The text adds significant depth to this illustration. Similarly, the atmosphere created by the almost panoramic view of a deep dark forest and the two small children could not easily be replicated with words. The written and visual texts truly do complement and enhance each other on this occasion. Maybe the question should not be what was lost but what was gained by concentrating on one element in order to augment the meaning of the picture book as a whole.

Did this study determine if using the new coding schema affords results that suggest gender stereotyping in picture books is less prevalent, more prevalent, or the same as it was originally thought? Ultimately, the results of this inquiry suggest that gender stereotyping is only a little less prevalent than originally thought. Regrettably, the fact that the independent and nontraditional characteristics increased is practically (but

not quite) annulled by the fact that the traditional characteristic remained the same. In addition, Table 6 demonstrated that there were no knew characteristics introduced to the behavioral profile of the characters examined in this inquiry. In fact, the behavioral profile was simply composed of a characteristic or two from each of the previous studies. The reason that Oskamp et al.'s (1996) results seem more gender stereotyped than the other studies may have to do with the fact that they included non-human female characters in their study. None of this overshadows the fact that the nontraditional characteristic did increase dramatically. Maybe this increase is a sign that our society is just beginning to truly appreciate diversity.

Implications for Further Study

There are a number of ways this study could be expanded, many of which have to do with the type of sample used. In the first place, a larger sample of books could be examined. The study could easily be designed to perform a time series analysis since so many of the Caldecott medal and honor books are still available. A study could also be performed that compares behavior characteristics of female characters in award books with female characteristics in non-award books or even with female characters in feminist picture books.

Other ways to expand upon this study relate to the way the methodology is framed. For instance, a study could examine the behavior characteristics attributed to both female and male characters in picture books. An ambitious study could even be designed to examine how all characters in a picture book are portrayed. Future studies could also examine how characters are portrayed in both the visual and the written text. Another study could contrast how human female characters and non-human female

characters are portrayed in picture books. Finally, more research could be done to further improve the measure. At the very least, the traditional and nontraditional characteristics should be re-examined. Future studies should get input from behavior specialists on how to further improve all of the behavior characteristics.

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Appendix A

Study Sample

Brown, M. (1954). *Cinderella, or the little glass slipper*. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers.

Hodges, M. (1984). *Saint George and the dragon*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Lesser, R. (1984). *Hansel and Gretel*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mosel, A. (1972*). The funny little woman*. New York: Dutton Children's Books.

Ness, E. (1965). *Tom Tit Tot*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Ness, E. (1966). *Sam, Bangs & moonshine*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Robbins, R. (1960). *Baboushka and the three kings*. Oakland, CA: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Rylant, C. (1982). *When I was young in the mountains*. New York: Dutton Children's Books.

San Souci, R. D. (1989*). The talking eggs: A folktale from the American South*. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers.

Sendak, M. (1981). *Outside over there*. [New York]: HarperCollins Publishers.

Sleator, W. (1970). *The angry moon*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Steptoe, J. (1987). *Mufaro's beautiful daughters: An African tale*. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books.

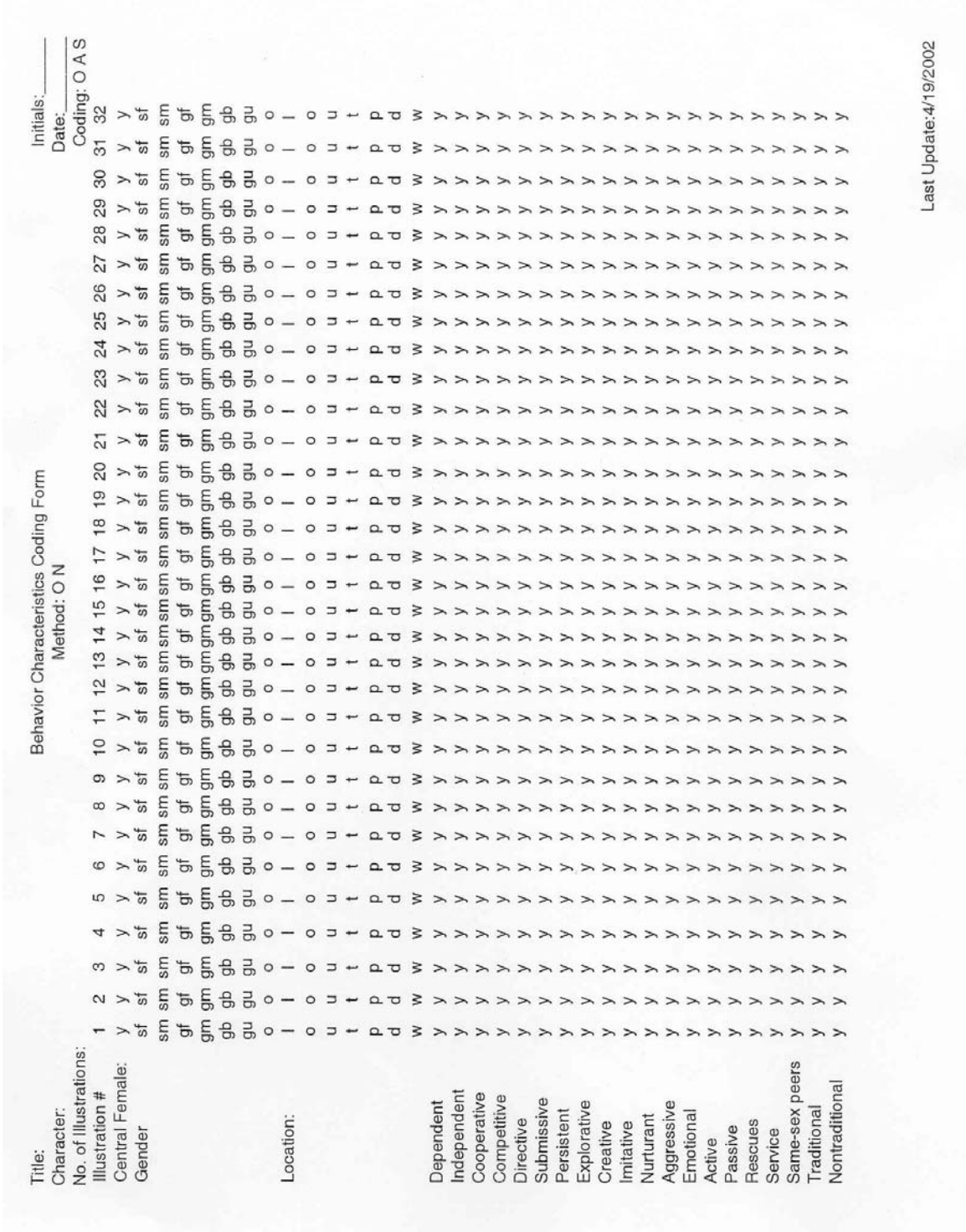
Van Allsburg, C. (1981). *Jumanji*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Zelinksy, P. O. (1986). *Rumpelstiltskin*. New York: Dutton Children's Books.

Williams, V. (1982). *A chair for my mother*. New York: Greenwillow Books.

Appendix B

Coding Form



Coding Key & Instructions

Title: Indicate the title of the picture book and the book code.
Character: Indicate the main female character's name if possible [use a two to three word description if there is no name].
Number of Illustrations: Indicate the total number of illustrations for the book.
Method: Circle O for Old or N for New to indicate the coding schemata being used.
Initials: Indicate the initials of the coder.
Date: Indicate the date the book was coded.
Coding: Indicate the type of coding that is being performed:
O for Open coding (1st pass)
A for Axial coding (2nd pass)
S for Selective coding (3rd pass)
Illustration #: Circle the illustration number currently being coded.
Central Female: Circle 'Y' if the main female character is in this particular illustration
Gender: Circle the gender of the humans and humanoids in the illustration (do not count animals even if they turn into a human in a later illustration:

SF for Single female	GF for Group females	GB for Group both
SM for Single male	GM for Group males	GU for Group unknown

Location: Circle the appropriate initial for the location of the main female character. If main female is not in this particular illustration move on to the next illustration and start at the 'Illustration No.' line. The location codes are:

I for Inside O for Outside U for Unclear T for Threshold

If 'Threshold' is used then also indicate:

P for Porch D for Doorway W for Window

Behavior Characteristics: Circle the 'y' in the correct column for all behavior characteristics displayed by the main female character in this particular illustration. The determination should be based on the illustration. Text can be used for clarification but do not indicate a behavior characteristic that only appears in the text. If no behavior characteristics are displayed in this particular illustration than do not circle any y's. There are twenty behavior characteristics:

Dependent	Nurturant
Independent	Aggressive
Cooperative	Emotional
Competitive	Active
Directive	Passive
Submissive	Rescues
Persistent	Service
Explorative	Same-sex peers
Creative	Traditional
Imitative	Nontraditional