

“Gentle Doses of Racism”: Racist Discourses in the Construction of
Scientific Literacy, Mathematical Literacy, and Print-Based Literacies
in Children’s Basal Readers

by

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“Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has effects, and in that sense at least, 'becomes true.' Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practice. Thus, there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations.”

-Michel Foucault (1995, p. 27)

“The harder it is to exercise direct domination, and the more it is disapproved of, the more likely it is that gentle, disguised forms of domination will be seen as the only possible way of exercising domination and exploitation.”

-Pierre Bourdieu (1990, p. 128)

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To Brother,

because you bought me the old typewriter so many years ago
and lugged its clunky heft home for me through the crowded street fair
simply because you believed that I could write. Your belief in me
is one of the greatest blessings of my life. Right hand, left hand.

To Dearest, Alan, and Ethan,

because you sustained me throughout this adventure with love,
empathy, and laughter. I could never have done this without you.
It's a beautiful thing to be in the inner circle. *Je vous aime!*

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ABSTRACT

Basal readers have long been problematized for a lack of diversity among the characters and experiences represented in the text selections. Building on this, and informed by critical theory, critical race theory, and Bourdieuan perspectives, this dissertation examines racist discourses in a set of third grade basal readers. In order to explore the guiding research question of *How are African American represented in literacy curriculum materials?*, I engaged in a critical discourse analysis of the 119 stories and informational text selections contained in the basal readers.

The results of this research illustrate the ways in which these basal readers present discourses that reproduce White, middle-class privilege, while marginalizing people of color, particularly working-class African Americans. These racist discourses, persistent across the textbook selections, present ethnic and class-based differences in school based forms of knowledge and capital: cultural, symbolic, social, and economic. These forms of capital are linked to literacy competencies constructed in school contexts: print-based literacy, scientific literacy, and mathematical literacy. In sum, Whites are presented as largely academically successfully, print-literate, scientifically literate, mathematically literate, financially savvy, and middle-class. This contrasts with the representation of African Americans as largely working-class individuals who

engage in labor that does not require or build these multiple literacies.

Furthermore, Whites are positioned as gatekeepers to institutions and knowledge related to print-based literacy, science, mathematics, and money.

Following these findings, I provide heuristics that I developed as frameworks to guide the critical analysis of children's texts; the goal is for these to serve as tools not only for teachers themselves, but also for teachers to support children in developing critical literacy skills. Furthermore, I provide suggestions for how a multiliteracies perspective can challenge the authority granted racist classroom materials.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: TEACHING THE TEACHER

Impetus for This Research

It was almost fifteen years ago that it happened. I was a beginning elementary school educator in the Metro-Detroit area, working as a reading teacher. The students had been reading a lot of fairy tales that year and the classroom bookshelf was filled with beautifully illustrated picture storybooks¹, including the, then newly published, fairy tale retellings of *Rumpelstiltskin* and *Rapunzel* illustrated by Paul O. Zelinsky (1996, 1997). These were among the children's favorites. How could they not be, with their award-winning, lushly painted illustrations that conveyed the drama and emotion of good triumphing over evil? Yet the question of what else the books were conveying didn't even occur to me.

That is until after recess one day, when I saw the books that Whitney pulled from her backpack to read during independent reading time. They were fairy tale picture storybooks. Books that her mother bought for her, books her mother had sought out and purchased by special order for her daughter. Books that opened to stories of African American² princesses that were as beautiful as Whitney, with her rich mahogany skin, sparkling eyes, and long hair twists decorated with bright hair ties. Looking at the illustrations in Whitney's books, the realization suddenly dawned on me that almost every single book in our classroom library featured characters who didn't look like the children in our class. While almost all of the

¹ Picture storybooks is a term that refers to illustrated children's books, typically for children birth to grade 5, that rely on text and extensive illustrations to work together to construct the larger whole of the text. These books are usually around 32 pages in length, with text and large illustrations on every page or double-page spread. The illustrations carry a great deal of meaning for the overall story, often supplying essential character development and plot details that are not explicitly written in the text. This is not to say that picture storybooks are solely intended for very young children; many picture storybooks are written at reading levels that are at or above a 4th grade reading level and are intended for children at the upper elementary levels or higher.

² I use the term African American to refer not to a "race", but to an ethno-cultural group. While there are multiple socially accepted terms used to refer to this ethno-cultural group (African Americans, African-Americans, Afro-Americans, Black Americans, Blacks, etc.), I use the term African American as it is used by the wider population to reflect the ethno-cultural group whose ancestors were from sub-Saharan Africa.

children were African American, book after book was filled with illustrations and stories of White children. I still remember standing by the classroom bookshelf, leafing through book after book, and asking myself, “How could I not have noticed?”

How did I overlook the ways, written and unwritten, illustrated and un-illustrated, that the books were telling my students that there wasn’t a place for them in the land of fairy tales? The ways the books were conveying representations of Whiteness as the norm, and hence my students’ African American culture as the marginalized “other”? The ways the books were implicitly conveying to my students potentially damaging discourses about ethnicity, power, and positioning?

It is not a comfortable or easy thing to examine one’s own role in perpetuating discourses of racism and inequity, but that painfully eye-opening experience was a catalyst for me in beginning to do so. One immediate result was that I³ began to reflect on the role of children’s books in the classroom, and the importance of making thoughtful choices about the kinds of books I made available to my students and used for instruction. I began to seek out books for

³ I approach research and scholarly writing from a critical, post-modern perspective that positions research findings as the situated, contextualized interpretations of the researcher, not as absolute, fully knowable truths uncovered by the researcher, as would be the case from the positivist or post-positivist traditions (Bredo, 2006; Dewey, 1998; Erickson, 1986; Howe, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As Howe (2001) has argued, “[K]nowledge, particularly in social research, must be seen as actively constructed—as culturally and historically grounded, as laden with moral and political values, and as serving certain interests and purposes” (p. 202). I situate myself in my research writing in ways that reflect this post-modern perspective; for example, instead of “the researcher,” I use “I,” and include personal narratives that illustrate my scholarly questioning and sense making. This post-modern style of social science research is used frequently in literacy scholarship from a critical perspective. Additionally, post-modern perspectives on social research have called for the critical researcher to engage in “self-conscious criticism” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305) in which the researcher engages in research “with their assumptions on the table, so no one is confused concerning the epistemological and political baggage they bring with them to the research site” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p 306). I explore my own privilege and assumptions as a researcher, a White, college-educated woman, and someone from a working-class background in *Appendix A: Positioning Myself As a Critical Researcher*.

our classroom that represented a variety of ethnicities⁴, cultures, gendered perspectives, and experiences. It became fiercely important to me that my students have opportunities to see themselves reflected in the books in our classroom—the books we used for guided reading lessons, as mentor texts for our own writing, those I read aloud to them, and the books in which they lost themselves while reading on a cozy rug during independent reading time. I had begun to see curriculum and curriculum materials in a different way. I started asking, first of myself and then of others, whose stories and experiences were represented, misrepresented, or silenced in classroom texts, materials, lessons, and curriculum. Even though I hadn't yet constructed the theoretical understandings or become fluent in academic discourses to describe it, I was beginning to see education through a critical lens.

Today, as a doctoral candidate, a teacher educator, and a literacy consultant in schools serving high poverty, urban communities, I have

⁴ While race and ethnicity are terms that are often used interchangeably in social science research, it is important to note that the two terms are highly debated in regards to interpretations of the physical, social, political, and cultural realities they seek to explain. Even though race is a socio-political construct, not a scientific one (American Anthropological Association, 1998; Aronson, 2007; Cross, 1991; Darder & Torres, 20004; Gracia, 2007; Hall, 1996; and Luke, 2008), the perception of an individual's "race" has import in regards to relationships of oppression and domination in society; race is a label that has profound social, economic, educational, and political consequences. As Luke has argued, "[R]ace' itself is a Eurocentric construction, historically evolved as a term and category to scientifically demonstrate the superiority of Anglo/European cultures in the context of colonialism, slavery and genocide" (2009, p. 3-4). While I recognize the very real implications of individuals and groups being imposed or self-identifying with a race label, I resist the use of race as a useful paradigm because I believe that words have the potential to construct reality, instead of merely reflecting it. Therefore, I use the term ethnicity, as it moves beyond mere explanations of phenotypes to foreground the important role culture plays in producing and reproducing identity and group membership. For a thorough examination of the issues related to use of the terms race and ethnicity, see Gracia (2007) and Aronson (2007). For an in-depth analysis of self-identification in terms of ethnicity, nationality, and nativity, see Smith's (2008, 1997, 1984) survey research.

constructed understandings of critical theory and critical pedagogy that inform my daily professional life. I engage with colleagues in on-going dialogue about power, domination, oppression, and social justice, both informally and through professional organizations dedicated to social justice work. In methods courses and field instruction, I engage my university students in considering what equity and social justice mean for teaching and learning in K-12 classrooms. When I teach children's literature courses, review books for professional journals, and evaluate exam items for statewide assessments programs, raising questions about representations of culture, ethnicity, and equity has become an intrinsic part of my work. I engage in these things with the hope that fewer classroom teachers find themselves, as I did, wondering how they hadn't noticed that their students are silenced in, and excluded from, so many of their texts and curriculum materials. This becomes increasingly germane to public education as our classrooms become increasingly diverse.

Children's Texts in the Context of Classrooms

Public school classrooms in the United States are increasing in cultural and ethnic diversity; it is estimated that by the year 2050 over 56% of students enrolled in U.S. public schools will be students of color (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1996). But will these students have an equal likelihood of academic success as their White peers, particularly when children of color are more likely to grow up in poverty than are White children (United States Bureau of the Census, 2009)? There is a substantial body of literature that documents and expresses concern for the ways in which the current public school privileging of dominant,

White, middle-class language, culture, and literacy practices places low-income students and students of color at an academic disadvantage (Au, 1998; Au & Raphael, 2000; Bracken, & Fischel, 2008; Delpit, 1999, 2002; Heath, 1983; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Moll, 1994; Neuman, 1999; Neuman, Greco, & Celano, 2001; and Rex & Jordan, 2004; Rex & Nelson, 2002).

Some, such as Neuman (1999), have argued a deficit model to explain this achievement gap. A deficit model positions parallel culture group students as lacking or lagging in skills, language, and/or cultural understandings that are privileged by the dominant culture; this model positions the teacher as gatekeeper to and instructor of the dominant culture. However, many disagree with a deficit model, offering instead a model that explains the gap as a result of the mismatch between students' home and school cultures (Au, 1998; Delpit, 1999, 2002; Heath, 1983; 2004; Moll, 1994; Nieto, 2009; Rex, 2006). This view resists positioning the school's largely White, middle-class culture as more valid than the home cultures of students of color, and, furthermore, it argues that students benefit from strategic biculturalism. This perspective posits that it is important to resist the privileging of the dominant culture in the classroom. bell hooks emphasizes that as classrooms increase in diversity, "teachers are faced with the way the politics of domination are often reproduced in the educational setting" (1994, p.39).

One way to challenge this domination is through culturally relevant pedagogy (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b; and Villegas, 1991). Ladson-Billings (1995b) argues that culturally relevant

classroom instruction should meet the following criteria: “an ability to develop students academically, a willingness to nurture and support cultural competence, and the development of a sociopolitical or critical consciousness” (p. 483). Gay (2000) states that such teaching draws from:

“the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning more relevant to and effective [for students].... It teaches to and through strengths of these students. It is culturally validating and affirming” (p. 29).

Are the texts⁵ used for classroom teaching culturally relevant and affirming? If so, whose culture do they affirm? I would argue that the concept of culturally relevant pedagogy is applicable not only to classroom teaching practices, but also to children’s texts themselves. As I will explicate more fully in Chapter 2: *Children’s Texts as Tools of Reproduction*, children’s texts can serve as tools for the reproduction of oppression, or they can resist the reproduction of the dominant discourses which have a long history in playing a role in the marginalization of people of color in children’s texts.

Written texts for children are used across the elementary school curriculum as tools for learning. These texts serve as tools for teaching and learning the explicit, intended school curriculum, yet they also have the potential

⁵ While text is a term that may be used to refer to multiple discourses individuals use as tools to construct and communicate meaning (including texts that are print-based, graphic, electronic, oral, etc.), for the purposes of this research, I use the term text to refer to print-based texts, specifically books and textbooks. This does not mean that I view such texts as more valid than other textual forms. Indeed, I would agree with a cultural studies perspective that popular media and popular culture present a wealth of texts from which children and youth construct meaning about the world around them (Giroux, Burbules, Keller, & Bekerman, 2008; Giroux, 1999, 1998; Giroux & Simon, 1989). However, print-based texts do play an important role in classroom literacy instruction, are largely privileged in classroom settings, and are the focus of this research; texts other than print-based ones are simply beyond the scope of this paper.

to serve as tools for teaching and learning implicit discourses constructed by the texts. In the case of basal⁶ readers used for literacy instruction, the texts, often stories and informational passages, must be *about* something in order for children to have something to read. These stories and passages make available to children representations of the world around them, and in doing so have tremendous potential as tools of enculturation. The content, both explicit and implicit, in children's texts can play a role in the discourses that children construct about the world around them, themselves, and others who are different from them (Banfield, 1985; Bettelheim, 1989; Bishop, 1982, 1983, 1990, 2007; Cook, 1985; Davies, 1989, 2003, 2005; Galda, 2001; Harris, 1993; Jones, 2008; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, H., 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995a, 1995b; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Saltmarsh, 2007; Ussery, 2006; Yeoman, 1999; Zipes, 1983, 1999, 2001). The question of how the "other" has been represented in children's texts has a long and troubled past.

The History of Diversity in Children's Texts

Children's literature has a long history of featuring solely or predominantly White, middle-class characters (Bishop, 2007; Goncalves, 1997; Harris, 1997; Johnson & Mongo, 2004; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, H., 1995; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Varga-Dobai & Wilson, 2008). White, middle-class culture has been traditionally presented as the norm, with African Americans and other parallel

⁶ Basal readers have been defined as "a sequential, grade-specific, all-inclusive set of instructional materials for teaching reading in grades kindergarten through eight" (Wepner & Feeley, 1993, p. 38).

culture groups⁷ positioned as the other. The history of the representation of African Americans in children's literature is rife with stereotypes and derogatory representations of their physical appearance, language, cognitive abilities, cultural practices, and power/positioning (Banfield, 1985; Bishop, 1982, 1983, 1990, 2007; Cook, 1985; Harris, 1993; Joshua, 2002; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Ussery, 2006).

In 1965 Nancy Larrick, who served as the president of the International Reading Association, published *The All-White World of Children's Books* (1965, 1995), her landmark research on diversity in children's books. A content analysis of over 5,000 texts for children, Larrick's study was one of the first widely published and circulated criticisms of the lack of diversity in children's texts, in

⁷ Instead of using the term *minority* to refer to ethnic groups other than White, I use the phrases "people of color" and "parallel culture groups." In doing so, I acknowledge the fact that people of color are actually a world majority and that White should not be the implicit norm for individuals' appearance and culture. I draw on the scholarship of children's literature scholars such as Virginia Hamilton, award-winning children's author and noted scholar on books for children about the African American experience, who has argued that the term "parallel culture" moves beyond "minority" because it suggests that because "so-called minorities—those blacks, browns, and yellows—make up a vast contingent in the world view, it seems fitting to acknowledge that all people stand as equals side by side. Thus parallel culture is a more apt term than minority, which imposes a barrier and a minority behind it" (1993, p. 372). Rudine Sims Bishop, arguably the leading scholar in African American children's literature today, also argues for the phrase "parallel culture" because it "resists the connotation of 'inferior' or 'lesser than' that sometimes attaches to the term *minority* as it refers to people of color and their literature" (2007, p 198). Because my research and teaching are informed by critical theory, I am not so naïve as to believe that all ethno-cultural groups are afforded the same status, access, and privilege in American society. However, because I believe that individuals and groups construct social worlds and realities through on-going actions, including linguistic ones, and that these actions are ways of reproducing or resisting privileging discourses, I choose to language about ethno-cultural groups in ways that promote equity, hence my use of the term "parallel culture group."

which she argued that diversity in children's literature is as important for White children as it is for children of color:

“Although his light skin makes him one of the world's minorities, the white child learns from his books that he is the kingfish. There seems little chance of developing the humility so urgently needed for world cooperation, instead of world conflict, as long as our children are brought up on gentle doses of racism in their books.” (1995, p. 9)

These gentle doses of racism have been evident in commercial basal readers for decades, even those that have been the most mainstream.

One of the most successful basal programs of the early to mid-20th century was the Elson series, which was usually referred to, by the name of its characters, as the *Dick and Jane* books. These books were written by William S. Gray and first published by Scott Foresman in 1930. Originally, Dick and Jane inhabited an all-White, middle-class world, but in 1965 a sole African American, middle-class family was introduced to their neighborhood. The books were heavily criticized for their formulaic and inane stories, and perhaps more so for their cultural homogeneity (Flesch, 1955); from the very beginning of large-scale commercially produced literacy program materials, concern has been raised in regards to *who* is represented in reading materials, and *how* they are represented.

Following the civil rights movement and shifts in the beliefs of many Americans about social equity, educators and publishers began to consider more closely the need for all children, not just White, middle-class children, to be able to relate to the characters in classroom texts, such as basal readers (Baumann,

1992; Hoffman, McCarthey, Elliot, *et al*, 1998; Martinez & McGee, 2000). Basal readers began to increase the diversity of the stories' characters:

“As criticisms about the quality of selections and lack of diversity in readers were raised in the 1950s and 1960s, publishers responded by portraying somewhat more diverse lifestyles and roles.” (Martinez & McGee, 2000, pp. 157-8).

However, there is a difference between merely increasing the number of faces of color in textbooks and substantial changes in the way people of color are represented and positioned. In a content analysis of basal readers published in the 1970s, a time of greatly shifting representations of ethnicity in children's books, Kyle (1978) found that, although there were more characters of color in texts from the 70s than in those of previous decades, the roles played by people of color were small and largely as background or props for White characters, with virtually no cultural distinction:

“Although children of various races are well represented numerically [as compared to earlier basals] in most series, diverse lifestyles among these children are not apparent. Everyone seems to dress alike and to live in the same neighborhood.” (p. 307).

Children of color were not positioned in ways that were equal to those of White characters in the story. In fact, Kyle found that when the former children were present in basal stories, it was as background characters for stories featuring White main characters:

“Are we to assume that the activities of minority children are usually so lacking in imagination that they merely wait on the sidelines until asked to join their nonminority playmates? And why do only nonminority children have the option of playing alone or in a racially mixed group?” (p. 307).

Extending her analysis to adult characters, Kyle revealed that adults of color appeared in stories far less frequently than their White counterparts; and that,

furthermore, “minority characters are often well-known historical or contemporary figures rather than fictional characters involved in realistic, modern situations” (p. 309).

During the late 1980s, a period in which educators and publishers were again emphasizing multiculturalism in children’s books, Deane (1989) did a content analysis of children’s books from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries and found that African Americans in texts for children were consistently represented in negatively stereotypical ways; she organized her findings in 5 overarching categories:

- “(1) Blacks always spoke in dialect (which seemed to be an aspect of race, not geography, since northern as well as southern Blacks used it).
- (2) Blacks were sources of humor, which was used to denigrate them.
- (3) Blacks were always employed in menial occupational positions, generally as servants.
- (4) Blacks were always granted inferior social status and shown as subservient, lazy, ignorant, and cowardly.
- (5) Perhaps most distasteful of all, Blacks were the targets of certain pejorative terms (“nigger” and “coon” were common ones) that seemed acceptable to both publishers and readers alike.” (p. 154)

Deane found, as did Martinez & McGee (2000) and Kyle (1978), that the civil rights movement was likely an important factor in changes in the depictions of African Americans in books for children, with many series books being revised in content, language, and illustrations in their reprinted versions as a result.

Deane’s analysis of children’s series books re-published from 1968 through the late 1980s revealed that African Americans in these books were in some ways portrayed more realistically and in less stereotyped ways than in previous years, such as with reduction in the occurrence of racist representation

of dialect usage. However, the newer texts, in spite of revisions made to reduce overtly racist language and illustrations, still presented stereotyped characters, such as the Aunt Jemima stereotype of African American women as overweight, happy to attend to the care of Whites, and full of down-home sayings and language. In other stories, African American characters were either removed entirely from stories, or any dialogue they spoke was removed; in the name of reducing stereotypical representations, African Americans were, in large part, silenced in the revised texts.

Another trend identified by Bishop (2007), Deane (1989), and Johnson & Mongo (2004) was related to book illustrations and their representations of African Americans. Pre-civil rights era, the majority of books presented negative caricatures of African Americans with such stereotypical images as grossly exaggerated lips and noses, wide grins, bright red lips, braided hair sticking out all over the head in the style of picaninnies, overweight Aunt Jemimas, and unkempt Stepin Fetchit men.

Post-civil rights era, illustrations in children's books shifted to largely exclude such blatantly racist images; instead, publishers chose to avoid, as much as possible, any markers of ethnicity in the physical representations of people of color. Hence, African American characters came to have "few features that would identify [them] as Black... Perhaps this is meant to reassure White readers who might be uncomfortable with a stereotypical Black image" (Deane, 1989, p. 157). In trying to avoid racist illustrations, publishers began producing books in which the illustrations presented characters of ambiguous ethnicity; the

representations of African American was, in essence, diluted in a way that white-washed ethnic features. What remained were brown faces that stood largely as token people of color without being characters with physical images that reflected their unique, rich ethno-cultural groups (Bishop, 2007; MacCann, 2001). The inclusion of brown faces on the pages of a basal reader does not mean that the book is presenting non-racist discourses. As Deane (1989) cautioned, “The stigma of tokenism cannot be entirely dispelled” (p. 155). While there are certainly more brown faces in the texts, mere increase in frequency is not enough to move beyond stereotyped or tokenized representations of people of color.

Garcia & Sadoski (1986) analyzed nine basal reading series and found that, although those basals included more ethnic diversity than in previous decades, the stories avoided racial conflicts and presented unrealistic representations of parallel culture groups. McDermott, Rothenberg, & Gormely (1997) analyzed basal reading teacher manuals for grades 4-6, and found that basals:

“avoided discussions of racial and cultural differences even when those topics were found in the reading selections. The omission of race and culture from the basal selections and their teacher manuals creates the illusion that race does not matter, when clearly it does to many children and their families” (p. 2).

The authors advised teachers and school districts to look at texts other than basal readers, if providing children with multicultural literature was the goal.

Graves, Juel, & Graves (1999) expressed concern that basal readers had traditionally given “inadequate attention to minority characters and settings and the diversity of modern life” (p. 149).

The research literature I have described above examines ethnic diversity in children's stories and basal readers with the tools of content analysis and frequency counts of characters of color (Banfield, 1985; Berry, 1999; Bishop, 1986; Deane, 1989; Garcia & Sadoski, 1986; Hoffman, McCarthey, Elliott, *et al*, 1998; Johnson & Mongo, 2004; and Larrick, 1995). While such methodologies do provide insight into the nature of explicit racism in children's texts, my study builds on earlier work by providing a line-by-line critical discourse analysis in order to examine *implicit* racism in these texts. Moving beyond content analysis and frequency counts, I provide an in-depth examination of text and illustrations as social language in action that constructs marginalizing discourses. While some, such as Au & Raphael (2000), have argued that literature used in classrooms today is more diverse than in previous years, merely having characters of color in books does not address how those characters are constructed and positioned within the books.

As my research findings in subsequent chapters will show, the treatment of African American children and adults in basal readers has not changed substantially from that of children's texts from 20-plus years ago in Deane's (1989) study, nor from that of 30-plus years ago in Kyle's (1978) study. Overt racism in dialect and physical representation continues to be unacceptable; however, the implicit racism of the representation of African Americans as largely poverty class and working class, uneducated, standing as props for White characters, and disjointed from their distinct cultural traditions continues to be a problem in texts for children, such as the basal readers examined in this study.

In the next section I provide an overview of the use of basal readers for classroom reading instruction in order to ground concerns about racism within the larger context of the history of basal readers.

The History of Basal Readers for Literacy Instruction

Controversy in the methods and materials for the teaching of reading is nothing new, as the pendulum of literacy instruction has been swinging back and forth for over a century: from the mid-century “look-say” sight word method; to the phonics emphasis of the mid- to late-century following the publication of *Why Johnny Can't Read and What You Can Do About It* (Flesch, 1955); to the popularity of the whole language movement later in the century (Goodman, 1967); to the call for balanced literacy instruction following the publication of *Beginning to Read: Thinking and Learning About Print* (Adams, 1990) and *Preventing Reading Difficulties in Children* (Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998); to the emphasis placed on explicit, systematic phonics instruction in the National Reading Panel Report (2000). Educators have long debated over which are the best approaches to use in literacy instruction, and different approaches require different pedagogies and the implementation of different types of literacy curricula and materials.

The use of basal readers for literacy instruction has historically been a contentious issue. In the mid- to late twentieth century, when the great debate raged between phonics-based versus whole language-based literacy education, the use of basal readers was seen by many educators as congruous with a phonics-based approach to teaching reading; tradebooks and other forms of

whole literature were seen as essential to a whole language approach to the teaching of reading. Teachers who took a whole language stance were often unlikely to implement lesson plans provided in the teacher's manual of a basal program, instead choosing to create their own plans. As the whole language movement began to gain popularity among educators in the late 1980's, the use of basals in many school districts, particularly in California, declined and there was criticism of basal readers as being part of programs that afforded teachers few opportunities for creating meaningful instruction in response to their students' specific learning needs. Shannon's (1983) landmark study of teachers' use of basal readers identified concerns that "most teachers thought the materials could teach reading" (p. 80) instead of them having to make thoughtful instructional choices about literacy instruction themselves.

Basals have also been criticized for being comprised of inauthentic texts that were contrived to fit readability formulas or simply to provide opportunities for the practice of specific decoding skills, at the expense of authentic, rich literature experiences for children (Brennan, Bridge, & Winograd, 1986; Davison & Kantor, 1982; Dolch, 1955; Durkin, 1970; Flesch, 1955; Goodman, Shannon, Freeman, & Murphy, 1988). Concern regarding the use of basals was heightened when research showed that many children in the primary grades were spending 60 to 70 percent of their literacy instruction time involved in completing the worksheets that accompanied basals, but only 7 to 8 minutes reading extended text (Anderson, Hiebert, Scott, & Wilkinson, 1985).

In response to these criticisms, as well as the momentum the whole language movement gained, the nature of basals began to change in the late 1980s, with a shift to using excerpts from and adaptations of trade books and stories by well-known children's authors (Martinez & McGee, 2000; Winograd, Wixson, & Lipson, 1989). As basals evolved, they have become known as literature anthologies and comprehensive literacy programs. The characters represented in the stories and texts within them have also changed. In the next section I discuss the intersect of basal readers and Reading First legislation in order to address the ways in which classroom reading materials have become politicized.

Reading First and the Politicization of Basal Readers

The comprehensive literacy programs approved under Reading First included: 1) teacher manuals with extensive daily lesson plans, providing specific language for suggested implementation; 2) student textbooks that contained collections of children's literature, much of it written by popular children's authors, with some stories being winners of awards such as the Caldecott Medal; 3) audio recordings of selected stories; 4) multiple skills workbooks; 5) a library of leveled "little books" provided for guided reading instruction delivered in small groups; 6) peripheral materials such as alphabet cards; and 7) assessments to accompany individual stories.

The publishers of the federally approved basal reading programs are Harcourt Brace, Houghton Mifflin, Open Court, Scholastic, and Scott Foresman. These comprehensive reading programs are comprised of materials that reflect

an emphasis on several key areas of literacy: phonics, phonemic awareness, fluency, comprehension, and vocabulary. These 5 sub-skills of literacy align with the recommendations of the National Reading Panel Report (2000). These sub-skills then played an important role in the federal government's selection and approval of five commercially published comprehensive literacy programs for use in Reading First classrooms. The U.S. Department of Education determined these five programs were based on scientifically based reading research (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). These programs were structured around explicit reading instruction in the five key literacy components identified as essential by the National Reading Panel Report (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2000). Series were judged sound based on their explicit pedagogical components, rather than considerations of whether or not the content marginalized some of the students who would be reading them, students for whom the goal was supposed to be to close the academic achievement gap in order to promote social equity.

Despite Reading First's goal of closing the achievement gap in literacy, debate raged about the soundness of the policy and pedagogy of Reading First since President George W. Bush first signed it into law in 2001 as Title 1 Part B of the No Child Left Behind Act, the latest reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965⁸. Concerns have been raised regarding

⁸ At the time of this dissertation, NCLB is the most current reauthorization of ESEA; however, in a speech given September 4, 2009, U.S. Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan identified the re-evaluation of and reauthorization of ESEA as one of his top priorities (U.S. Department of Education, 2009). Duncan engaged in a national "Listening and Learning" tour of all 50 states, a tour in which he invited stakeholders such as students, classroom teachers, building

potential conflicts of interest in regards to the approval of the comprehensive reading programs for Reading First schools, as indicated by the Justice Department's probe into whether these programs were selected for quality and alignment with the National Reading Panel's report, or whether those charged with approving the programs may have had a conflict of interest with their work as editors of or contributors to the reading programs (Paley, 2007).

Arne Duncan, U.S. Secretary of Education in the Obama administration, acknowledges some of the concerns widely expressed about NCLB: "Many teachers complain bitterly about NCLB's emphasis on testing. Some principals hate being labeled as failures. Superintendents say it wasn't adequately funded. And many parents just view it as a toxic brand that isn't helping their children learn" (U.S. Department of Education, 2009, p. 9). It is highly probable that ESEA will be reauthorized in some form under the Obama administration, and that this will have significant import for literacy policy, assessment, instruction, curriculum, and materials. The federally funded Race to the Top grants, enacted under the Obama administration, will also impact literacy education at local, state, and national levels. However, it is not the purpose of this dissertation to discuss the efficacy, or potential efficacy, of federal literacy policy; the goal of this research is to explore the ways in which curriculum materials that are currently being used in classrooms may serve as tools for the reproduction of social injustice through racist discourses.

These discourses have the potential to be even more far-reaching because basal readers are expensive and many schools invested significant funds in

administrators, parents, and community members to engage in a dialogue about ideas for the reauthorization of ESEA.

Reading First approved basals. Even now that schools are no longer funded through Reading First grants, the basal readers they have purchased and are likely to continue to be used for many years because basal readers and the accompanying teachers' manuals and supplemental materials are some of the most expensive texts in classrooms. During a study of classroom teaching practice in Reading First schools (Scott, van Belle, and Carlisle, 2005), several teachers I interviewed stated that Reading First grant monies allowed their schools to finally be able to purchase new reading books and to have enough texts so that every child in their classroom could have his⁹ own reading book. Prior to the basal readers purchased with Reading First grants, these teachers did not have an adequate number of books for students, or were left to use damaged and/or outdated reading materials. Once purchased, basal reader are seen as a substantial financial investment and, therefore, not likely to be changed easily, particularly given the current challenges to public school funding. Because these books are likely to be used for some time, it becomes even more important to consider how they represent all students, particularly students of color, who are gradually becoming a majority in American schools (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2005).

When disaggregated by ethnicity, the 24,228 children learning to read in Reading First schools in Michigan, and hence using Reading First approved

⁹ I refrain from using "he/she," "his/her," and "himself/herself" in order to provide smoother readability for my audience. Instead, I alternate between feminine and masculine pronouns in order to be sensitive to gender equity. I do realize, however, that languaging thus echoes the traditional view that gender identity is a binary, something which queer theory challenges. Although I do not consider gender a simple binary, an analysis of gender identity is beyond the scope of this research.

basal readers, have been shown to be 47% African American; 12% Hispanic/Latino; 1% Asian American; less than 1% American Indian; less than 1% Native Hawaiian; and 39% White (Carlisle, 2007). Hence, in one state alone approximately 62% of the children using Reading First approved basals were children of color. This underscores the importance of accurate and equitable representations of parallel culture groups within the texts—representations that move beyond tokenism to challenge the marginalization of people of color.

From Explicit to Implicit Racist Representation

The representation of African Americans in children's books has shifted over time from overt racism to subtle discourses reproducing White, middle-class privilege. In children's books, people of color, particularly working-class and poverty-class people of color, have traditionally been positioned as the "other" and constructed as lesser than their White counterparts (Bishop, 2007; Goncalves, 1997; Harris, 1997; Johnson & Mongo, 2004; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, H., 1995; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Varga-Dobai & Wilson, 2008). Children's books, as a form of language-in-action (Gee, 1996, 2002), have tremendous potential as tools of enculturation (Banfield, 1985; Bettelheim, 1989; Bishop, 2007; Cook, 1985; Davies, 2005; Harris, 1993; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, 1995; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Saltmarsh, 2007; Ussery, 2006; Yeoman, 1999; and Zipes, 2001) and as tools of identity formation (Coles, 2000; Erikson 1963, 1968; Jones, 2008; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Purcell & Stewart, 1990; Tatum, 2007).

Furthermore, texts used for classroom instruction are, by nature of their official school use, positioned as “authoritative texts” (Bakhtin, 1982) and “official knowledge” (Apple, 2004, 2000, 1991) that present children with institutionally-sanctioned constructs for how the world is or should be; this means that the ways in which school texts reproduce or resist discourses of ethnicity, power, and positioning normalize these discourses and grants them institutionally-sanctioned authority. These institutionalized discourses may leave children little opportunity to resist potentially racist texts that have the potential to undermine healthy identity formation and psychosocial development (Erikson, 1963, 1968) and identity.

I draw on racial identity development theory (Cross, 1992; Gramsey & Williams, 2002; Hirschfield, 1995; Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993; Tatum, 2003; Quintana, 1998) to argue that children’s books, including texts used for classroom instruction, are tools of enculturation that have the potential to play a role in children’s racial identity formation. This study is an attempt to employ critical theories and methodologies to engage in a systematic and rigorous discourse analysis of texts used for reading instruction; I do this in an attempt to challenge and support fellow educators, teacher educators, and curriculum leaders in making thoughtful, well-reasoned choices about classroom literature and curriculum materials that not only represent diverse students, but do so in ways that indirectly challenge racist paradigms and systems of oppression in order to promote equity and social justice.

Drawing on critical theory, critical race theory, racial identity development theory, and Bourdieuan perspectives, I engage in a critical discourse analysis of classroom basal reading materials. Because I approach this work as a critical researcher and practitioner, my goal is not simply the identification and naming of racist discourses in children's texts; my goal is that my research play a role in emancipatory social change, specifically that it will inform the decisions that educators, teacher educators, and curriculum leaders make regarding the selection and use of texts for classroom instruction. In other words, mere tolerance for diversity is not the goal; my goal is to offer research that supports educators in using children's texts to explore and facilitate social change. The literacy curriculum materials I examine in this study are data for which critical theory, with its attention to language as a means of reproducing and/or resisting oppression, provides both a useful paradigm and set of tools for exploring my research questions.

Evolution of Research Questions

In this study, I work from a critical paradigm and methods to analyze discourses of ethnicity, power, and positioning in literacy curriculum materials. The questions that allowed me to analyze these constructs evolved from an initial overarching question that was quite broad, essentially: *How are African Americans represented in literacy curriculum texts?* However, as I began to analyze the texts with this question in mind, I saw that my question's grain size of analysis was far too large; it didn't provide me with useful entry points into my analysis of the texts. As I immersed myself in the data, I engaged in open and

axial coding and used a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin 1998) to refine my original question so that it could provide a fruitful focus for my analysis. I realized that I needed to look at very specific elements/features of how African Americans are presented and positioned in the texts, so I turned to a line-by-line microanalysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This revised approach allowed me to see that the representation of African Americans in the texts was about much more than physical representations, language use, and other text elements historically problematic in the representation of African Americans in books for children. The recursive processes of microanalysis, coding, and theoretical memo writing helped me to see that Bourdieu's ideas about forms of capital were germane to the larger issues of power and positioning in these texts. Thus, my original research question remains as the larger over-arching question, but a critical race analysis guided by a consideration of Bourdieuan forms of capital provided a much richer research question:

How do different forms of capital (cultural, symbolic, social, economic) in the texts serve as tools for the reproduction or resistance of racist discourses that marginalize African Americans?

From this revised overarching research question, sub-questions emerged during the recursive research process, further guiding my analysis. These revised questions are presented in *Table 1.1: Evolution of Research Questions*. For a complete list of each specific question I asked of the data during my line-by-line microanalysis, see *Appendix B: Microanalysis Coding and Theoretical Memos*.

Table 1.1: Evolution of Research Questions

Original Overarching Research Question: How are African Americans represented in literacy curriculum materials?	
Revised Overarching Research Question That Guided the Larger Critical Analysis: How do forms of capital (cultural, symbolic, social, economic) in the texts serve as tools for the reproduction or resistance of racist discourses that marginalize African Americans?	Examples of Questions That Guided the Recursive Microanalysis: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the academic achievement of African Americans represented? • In what kinds of literacies (print-based, scientific, mathematical, etc.) do African Americans engage? • What kind of jobs do African Americans hold? What kind of education and/or skills are required for these jobs? Who is presented as the boss or person of prestige in work contexts? • What are the financial resources of African Americans in the texts? Who is positioned as gatekeepers to financial success and institutions? • What larger institutions are positioned as authorities in the stories, and how are these positioned in relationship to African Americans? • To what groups and community organizations do African Americans belong? What roles do these memberships play in characters' lives?

Summary

In this chapter I have traced the impetus for my research and contextualized its relevancy to children’s literature, classroom literacy instruction, literacy policy, and the use of basal readers. I have discussed the history of the representation of African Americans in texts for children and situated my research within the relevant research literature. I have provided an overview of the logic of my inquiry, from guiding theoretical frameworks to the evolution of my research methods and guiding questions; each of these will be explicated further in the chapters that follow. In Chapter 2 I discuss the ways in which texts for children move beyond mere entertainment or materials for literacy instruction, to

also serve as tools for identity development, racial identity development, and cultural reproduction.

CHAPTER 2

CHILDREN'S TEXTS AS TOOLS OF REPRODUCTION

“[T]he inclusion and exclusion of particular texts from what comes to be known as ‘the tradition’ has more to do with the hegemonic power relations and interests at work in larger societal ideologies and discourses than it does with intrinsic literary merit or quality. The selective representation of culture is overt in literacy and literature lessons in school.”

-Freebody, Luke, & Gilbert (1991, p. 436)

Overview

In the previous chapter I provided an introduction to my dissertation research by grounding it in literacy instruction that occurs in classrooms today and briefly discussing how an examination of children's texts can, and should, problematize the reproduction of White privilege at the expense of marginalizing African Americans. I explained the evolution of my logic of inquiry. In this chapter, I present a literature review of theoretical perspectives and relevant research that position children's texts as tools of enculturation and identity development; I do so as a means of asserting the importance of the careful analysis of texts for children, particularly texts used for classroom literacy instruction, as well as providing a thorough underpinning for my theories about how children's texts can reproduce systems of domination and oppression.

Texts as Cultural Tools

Child psychologist Bruno Bettelheim (1989) has argued that “gaining a secure understanding of what the meaning of one’s life may or ought to be—this is what constitutes having attained psychological maturity” (p. 3). Bettelheim argues that while parents, teachers, and caregivers are the primary facilitators of a child developing meaning and direction in her life, cultural norms are the second most important influence for the young child, and that children’s literature may be the most powerful tool for the implicit transmission of culture (p. 4).

Written texts for children are used across the elementary school curriculum as tools for conceptual learning. These texts serve as tools for teaching/learning the explicit, intended school curriculum, yet they also have the potential to serve as tools for teaching/learning implicit discourses represented in the texts. In the case of texts used for literacy instruction, the texts, often stories and informational passages, must be *about* something in order for children to have something to read. These stories and passages present to children representations of the world around them, and in doing so have tremendous potential as tools of enculturation. That is to say that the content, both explicit and implicit, in children’s texts can play a role in the understandings and stereotypes that children construct about themselves and others (Banfield, 1985; Bettelheim, 1989; Bishop, 1982, 1983, 1990, 2007; Cook, 1985; Davies, 1989, 2003, 2005; Galda, 2001; Harris, 1993; Jones, 2008; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, H., 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995a, 1995b; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Saltmarsh,

2007; Ussery, 2006; Yeoman, 1999; and Zipes, 1983, 1999, 2001). The question of how the “other” has been represented in children’s texts has a long and troubled past.

African Americans and other parallel culture groups have often been positioned as the “other.” The history of the representation of African Americans in children’s literature is problematic, rife with constructions of African Americans that are stereotypical and derogatory in regards to physical appearance, language, educational level, and power/positioning (Banfield, 1985; Bishop, 1982, 1983, 1990, 2007; Cook, 1985; Harris, 1993; Joshua, 2002; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; and Ussery, 2006). Most of the relevant research has examined picture storybooks and chapter books for children; however, many children from working-class or poverty-class homes do not have access to such books (Neuman & Celano, 2001; Neuman, Greco, & Celano, 2001; and Neuman, 1999). Research has shown there are difference in exposure to and engagement with books for children in middle-class homes and their working-class and poverty-class peers, with the latter two groups of children arriving to school with fewer experiences with books at home and from public libraries (Anderson-Yockel & Haynes, 1994; Krashen, 1998; Neuman & Celano, 2001; Neuman, Greco, & Celano, 2001; Neuman, 1999; Pelligrini, Galda, Jones, & Perlmutter, 1995; Smith, Constantino, & Krashen, 1996; and Sonnenschein, Brody, & Munsterman, 1996). Thus, one of the primary sources of texts with which children from working-class and poverty-class homes engage is school. If

it is important to examine constructions of African Americans in picture storybooks and chapter books used outside of school, as much of the relevant research has done, it is perhaps even more important to examine texts that are used in school because, as school-sanctioned texts, they become representations of “official knowledge” (Apple, 1999). These texts serve not only to teach content, but to enculturate children to society’s dominant discourses about ethnicity.

Many have argued that literature for children is a powerful tool for the enculturation of the youngest members of a society (Banfield, 1985; Bettelheim, 1989; Bishop, 2007, 1982, 1983, 1990; Cook, 1985; Davies, 1989, 2003, 2005; Galda, 2001; Giroux, 1994; Harris, 1993; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, H., 1995; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Saltmarsh, 2007; Ussery, 2006; Yeoman, 1999; Zipes, 1983, 1999, 2001). According to this view, enculturation refers to the processes by which members of a society or cultural group are taught the dominant discourses of the group. MacCann (2001) argues that books for children are powerful social and cultural records of a society because “the simple, transparent images contrived for the young are often an unselfconscious distillation of a national consensus or a national debate” (p. xiii). Children’s literature may serve as a means for building and reconstructing a society’s dominant discourses related to race, ethnicity, and power; however, these books also provide for the possibility of resistance to dominant discourses. Books are not simply written and read as decontextualized forms of media, but are shaped

by and play an active role in shaping individuals' understandings of social realities. As Harris (1993) has summarized, "Literature cannot stand apart from the cultural and historical milieus that nurtured it, the individuals who created it, or the views they hold" (p. 60); picture storybooks for children are cultural tools.

As Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie (1997) explain, books for children are:

"readily available, have rhetorical force, resonate with children and adults, and are retained in institutions. In addition, the intended clarity and moral certainty with which adults provide children with tales of their world offer a fortuitous opportunity to examine social relations and belief systems." (p. 444)

Based on his analysis of Newbery Medal winning children's books, Cook (1985) argues that children's books are hegemonic tools that may perpetuate unquestioned beliefs about how the world operates. "What makes hegemony durable is its pervasiveness. One is constantly re-educated about the standard views of reality by engaging in social interaction, using language, and experiencing works of art" (p. 444). In considering how Cook's point connects with children's literature, it is important to note that these books are often shared in contexts of social interaction, such as classroom reading instruction and teacher read aloud; and through reading, whether silent or aloud, the books use language as their primary medium. Tools of enculturation may be language-based or non-language based (Gee, 2002). Children's storybooks are composed of language-based text and non-language based illustrations, which serve as the modes through which these books act as tools for the enculturation of children. According to Gee (2002), books, as language-in-action, are tools that are embedded within and also used to construct our social worlds and discourses

about the world. Gee sees language-in-action as a crucial tool for the construction and reproduction of realities:

“We continually and actively build and rebuild our worlds not just through language, but through language used in tandem with actions, interactions, non-linguistic symbol and believing... Language-in-action is always and everywhere an active building process. Whenever we speak or write, we always and simultaneously construct or build... ‘reality’” (pp. 11-12).

Following Gee’s theories about language-in-action, children’s literature may be viewed both as a representation of social institutions and language in action.

“We face... a chicken and egg question: Which comes first? The situation or the language? This question reflects an important *reciprocity* between language and ‘reality’: language simultaneously *reflects* reality (‘the way things are’) and *constructs* (*construes*) it to be a certain way. While ‘reciprocity’ would be a good term for this property of language, the more commonly used term is ‘reflexivity’ (in the sense of language and context being like two mirrors facing each other and constantly and endlessly reflecting their own images back and forth between each other). (Gee, 2002, p. 82)

While Gee was not referring to children’s literature, I posit that children’s literature, as form of language-in-action, constructs a possible reality for its readers. Many have expressed concern for the possible realities offered to children in these texts, arguing that most available children’s literature serves as a repository and transmission source for the beliefs and values of a dominant White middle-class culture, and that this serves to maintain current social and class structures, particularly in regards to the positioning of parallel culture groups (Banfield, 1985; Bettelheim, 1989; Cook, 1985; Galda, 2001; Harris, 1993; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, 1995; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodard, 1985; Osa, 1995; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, & Milkie, 1997; Saltmarsh, 2007; Sims, 1982; Sims, 1983; Ussery, 2006; Yeoman, 1999; Zipes, 1983, 1999, 2001).

It is important to note that even though mainstream children's literature offers its young readers a possible reality it does not mean that children necessarily accept this proposed reality without question; to consider the enculturation of new members of a society as a passive, transmission process, oversimplifies the active role played by the new members (Freire, 1993; Gee, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Tatum, 2003). Scholars of children's literature, sociology, and psychology have also argued that the possible realities offered in children's literature also offer opportunities for hegemonic struggle and resistance to dominant discourses that position parallel culture groups in lower social, class, and power status than their White counterparts (Kohl, 1995; Saltmarsh, 2007; Tatum, 2003; Zipes, 1983, 1999, 2001). Zipes (2001) argues that children are not "passive victims" (p. xii):

"They are indeed very active participants, but participants in processes and games that are rarely of their own making. The input they have may bring about limited changes in their socialization, but we adults ultimately shape and determine the children's private and public spheres... It is debatable whether we can draw clear lines between the cultural spheres of children and adults." (p. *xiii*)

Zipes has argued that children's literature *per se* does not exist, that texts for children are in actuality tools that adults in a society use for the enculturation and homogenization of their young (1999). Stephen Kline (1993), in a study of children's toys and television marketing as tools for enculturation, argues that children's realities are largely shaped by the media and objects provided to them by adults:

“Childhood is a condition defined by powerlessness and dependence upon the adult community's directives and guidance. Culture is, after all, as the repository of social learning and socialization, the means by which societies preserve and strengthen their position in the world. The forms of children's cultural expression are therefore intimately bound up with changing alignments that define a community's social beliefs and practices of cultural transmission” (p. 44).

Children's texts, including materials for classroom reading instruction, such as commercial literacy programs, are tools for enculturation and identity formation. Even texts not explicitly intended for instruction, such as picture storybooks, teach children something: these texts teach children about the social worlds around them, the way people behave or are expected to behave, the ways different groups of people relate to one another, the structures of power and positioning in society, ways of being, doing and thinking as a male/female/person of color/White, etc. (Banfield, 1985; Bettelheim, 1989; Cook, 1985; Davies, 2003; Galda, 2001; Giroux, 1994; Harris, 1993; Joshua, 2002; Kohl, 1995; MacCann, 2001; Saltmarsh, 2007; Zipes 2001).

As a form of cultural media, texts do not simply reflect social discourses and structures, they are tools in reproducing or resisting these discourses and structures. For example, every time a little girl reads a fairy tale that constructs

woman as the beautiful, weaker sex in need of being rescued by brave, strong man, the young reader is offered a possible discourse about gender to either accept or challenge. One may argue that a single story about woman as helpless would not have much power, but what if the stories of a society presented this social construct again and again?

From the 1970s onward, a substantial body of literature has been established examining the potential of texts to shape children's reproduction of or resistance to stereotyping discourses of gender (Alpe, 1996; Davies, 1989, 2003, 2005; Engel, 1981; Heintz, 1987; Hurst, 1981; Kingston & Lovelace, 1978; Mendoza & Reese, 2001; Pennycuick, 1999; Safley, 1995; Turner-Bowker, 1998; Wasow, 1989; Yeoman, 1999; Zipes, 1983). This literature reveals that gender biases have historically existed and continue to exist in children's texts, and that engagement with texts that resist sexism has the potential to influence children's beliefs about gender (Copenhaver, 1999; Hefflin, 2003; MacPhee, 1997; Smith, 1995; Zack, 1996). For example, Trepanier-Street and Romatowski's (1999) study of young children's attitudes about gender roles showed that when teachers engaged young children in read alouds of books that presented women as equal to men in the workforce, the children exhibited positive changes in attitudes about gender equity. The authors concluded that, "[A] valuable resource for influencing children's gender attitudes is the reading of carefully selected books" (p. 158).

In an experimental study of elementary school children, Scott & Feldman-Summers (1979) found that children who read books with female characters in

non-traditional roles were significantly more likely to express beliefs that girls have the same abilities as boys than were the two control groups who did not read this literature. Studying preschoolers, Ashton (1983) found that children who had listened to books that presented non-traditional roles from men and women were more likely to play with toys in ways that resisted gender stereotypes. In another study of preschoolers, Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers (1976) found that reading aloud to young children books that resisted gender stereotypes, led to changes in their posttest measures of sex-role judgments, with the children exhibiting less gender stereotyping. Clearly literature can play a role in socializing children to reproduce or resist sexist, marginalizing discourses. This research applies to discourses of ethnicity in children's books as well as gender.

Zack (1996), in her case study using holocaust literature with fifth graders, found that exposure to and engagement with literature that exposes and challenges prejudice and racism can have a powerful impact on children's sensitivity to racism; furthermore, her case studies present examples of ways in which this sensitivity led to children's decisions to become activists for social justice in their local and national communities. Similarly, Pyterek (2008) found that when kindergarten children were engaged in analyzing books for stereotypes about American Indians, they showed less bias themselves toward American Indians as an ethnic and cultural group. Clearly, engaging children with texts that resist marginalizing discourses can play a role in facilitating changes in beliefs and attitudes toward ethnic groups. Texts used in the classroom convey more

than subject or content; they offer children discourses of race, ethnicity, and power.

Research has evidenced the ways in which books have the potential to shape children's beliefs about social constructs such as gender roles or ethnicity, and their reproduction of or resistance to stereotyping and oppressive discourses. Clearly what children read has import and ramifications beyond just serving as text for learning to read. Texts for children convey explicit and implicit discourses about power, positioning, agency, and capital. Therefore, it is important to consider school-sanctioned texts, such as basal readers, in order to examine what representations of the world they make available to young readers.

As public school classrooms are becoming increasingly diverse, it becomes even more important to consider the construction of all ethnicities in classroom texts in order to consider the implicit and explicit discourses that these texts sanction and make available to children. What do these texts explicitly or implicitly teach, reinforce, or resist in terms of discourses related to race and ethnicity? In terms of social justice and injustice? How do these texts serve as tools for all children to develop positive self-identity and cultural identity?

Texts as Identity Tools

Erikson and Identity Development

Erik Erikson (1963, 1968, 1980, 2000) is considered one of the pioneers of life-span psychology that examines identity formation. His eight stages of man model includes the following psychosocial crises, which he called “identity crises” that serve as catalysts and contexts for personality and identity formation: 1) hope—trust vs. mistrust; 2) will—autonomy vs. shame and doubt; 3) purpose—initiative vs. guilt; 4) competence—industry vs. inferiority; 5) fidelity—identity vs. identity diffusion; 6) love—intimacy vs. isolation; 7) care—generativity vs. self-absorption; and 8) wisdom—integrity vs. despair (Erikson, 1980). The fourth stage of this developmental model, competence, applies to school-age children, ages 6-12, and centers around the crisis of identity that every child must resolve successfully in order to have a fully developed, healthy sense of self: industry vs. inferiority. For healthy psychological development, school-age children must construct a sense of competence through appropriately challenging tasks; these tasks expand beyond the home environment to include school and community contexts. According to Erikson, children aged 6-12 are transitioning from play to work, learning not just content knowledge and task mastery, but also social skills and their role in social groups in order to feel successful, competent, and valued.

Erikson understood that identity development for a child of color may differ in many aspects from that of a White child. Rather than viewing the experiences of African Americans through a deficit lens, as did many of his contemporaries in the field of psychology, Erikson saw the challenges for the African American child

in developing of a sense of competence due to negative stereotypes and oppression imposed on her by the dominant group. Erikson expressed concern that the African American child's identity and feelings of self value could be negatively influenced by racism in ways that led to the child internalizing negative beliefs about his own ethnic group.

“Consider, for example, the chances for a continuity of identity in the American Negro¹⁰ child. I know a colored boy who, like our (White) boys, listens every night to Red Rider. Then he sits up in bed, imagining that he is Red Rider. But the moment comes when he sees himself galloping after some masked offenders and suddenly notices that in his fancy Red Rider is a colored man. He stops his fantasy.” (Erikson, 2000, p. 129)

Erikson understood the importance of children having not only nurturing families as key factors in positive identity formation, but also nurturing experiences in school and in the community.

Although Erikson was influenced by Sigmund Freud and engaged in psychoanalysis with Freud's daughter, Anna Freud, Erikson gave greater weight than did either of the Freuds to the role that society and culture played in a child's identity development. In his ethnographic studies of the Sioux, Erikson explored the experiences of Sioux children attending schools run by Whites, experiences that positioned the Sioux as the “other” and unacceptable:

“The first impression the little Indian girl must get on entering a white school is that she is ‘dirty.’ Some teachers confess that they cannot possibly hide their disgust at the Indian child's home smell... During school time the child is taught cleanliness, personal hygiene, and the standardized vanity of cosmetics. While having by no means assimilated

¹⁰ Given that *Child and Society* was originally published in 1963, Erikson's use of the terms “Negro” and “colored” should not be interpreted as derogatory; indeed, his writings do not suggest that he used them to express racist beliefs.

other aspects of white female freedom of motion and of ambition which are presented to her with historically disastrous abruptness, the adolescent girl returns home prettily dressed and clean.” (Erikson, 2000, p. 40)

Erikson observed the tension that students of color felt when presented with a school context and curriculum that either excluded them or positioned them as inferior. Erikson observed that these children often suffered in stoic silence; however, he asserted that the tensions arising from trying to gain acceptance in a school context in which one is positioned as the inferior other, while also striving to maintain the traditional values and practices of one’s home community, are contributing factors to “cultural pathology” (i.e. maladaptive coping mechanisms such as alcoholism) and “general apathy” toward White culture (Erikson, 2000, p. 42). “What was wrong with these children was obvious enough: there were two rights for them, one white and one Indian” (Erikson, 2000, p. 27).

Erikson, drawing on his experiences teaching children, realized that school texts are social and cultural tools that have potential to help children explore the world around them and their places in it. “I once told Anna Freud, during an analytic hour, that I was trying to encourage children to be *sovereigns*, to stake out their personal claim to what their eyes had noticed in books.” (Erikson, 2000, p. 24). When teaching children geography, Erikson engaged his students in learning about the geographic locations of Inuit tribes of North America, whom he called Eskimos. Erikson realized that his students were learning lessons beyond the explicit geography lessons of the text: “Besides

geography, they were learning to spell... and they were learning history and current events—what happened to the Eskimos, and what was happening in the world that could affect them.” (Erikson, 2000, p. 24). His students were engaging in cultural studies through texts, learning about the “other” with whom they did not have personal contact or experiences.

School curricula and required reading materials have long reflected the belief that students’ school-based reading should be drawn from the canon that is thought to represent the culture and values of the larger society and dominant cultural group (Applebee, 1991; Banks, 2001; Bishop, 2007; Cook, 1985; Harris, 1991; MacCann, 2001; Osa, 1995; Tatum, 2003); however, as the cultural and ethnic make-up of American society changes, the question of which group(s) should be represented in children’s literature and *how* these groups should be represented becomes increasingly germane. “Texts mediate understanding of ourselves, but where do children stand when their existence is not acknowledged by the mediator?” (Varga-Dobai & Wilson, 2008, p. 3). Children of parallel culture groups may find that their lives and experiences are not represented in their texts, that White is positioned as the social norm against which they are expected to measure and compare themselves, and this may have negative consequences for the identity development.

Racial Identity Development Theory

Racial¹¹ identity development theory begins from the understanding that

¹¹ As previously addressed, in my own teaching and scholarship I use the terms “ethnicity” and “ethnic” instead of “race” and “racial”; however racial identity development theory uses the term “racial,” so I defer to the term for the theory as it has been used by

identity development does not exist in contexts void of culture; children develop their identities within the ethno-cultural contexts of their families, communities, schools, and society writ large. This means that children growing up in different contexts may very well have different identity development experiences (Cross, 1992; Gramsey & Williams, 2002; Hirschfield, 1995; Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993; Tatum, 1991, 2003; Quintana, 1998). Helms (1990) defines racial identity as “a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (p. 3), and racial identity development theory as one that “concerns the psychological implications of racial-group membership, that is belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership” (p. 3).

According to Tatum (1991, 2003), psychology, research, and education have historically emphasized the development of White children as the normative for all children, which has resulted in positioning parallel culture groups as non-normative:

“What concerns me is how little most people outside my particular specialty know about racial identity development. Even those who have studied child psychology are often uninformed about the role of racial or ethnic identity in young people’s development. Perhaps given the historical emphasis on the experiences of White, middle-class children in psychological research, this fact should not be surprising. Most introductory psychology or developmental psychology textbooks include very little mention, if any, of racial or ethnic identity development. Because racial identity is not seen as salient for White adolescents, it is usually not included in the texts.” (2003, p. xv)

Tatum posits that most parents and adults, regardless of ethnicity, are

those whose work has been instrumental in shaping the theory (Cross, 1971, 1978, 1991; Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991; Tatum, 1991, 2003).

uncomfortable talking with children about racism, often because they assume that children are “colorblind” and they worry that they may cause children to lose this innocence (Tatum, 2003, p. xvi). Tatum emphasizes that we must engage children in dialogue about race in order to help them to develop positive racial identity, and to help make visible the ways that ethnicity impacts our daily lives and institutional racism. In response to the argument that young children are colorblind, Tatum (2003) posits that,

“The impact of racism begins early. Even in our preschool years, we are exposed to misinformation about people different from ourselves... There is still a great deal of social segregation in our communities. Consequently, most of the early information we receive about ‘others’—people racially, religiously, or socioeconomically different from ourselves—does not come as the result of firsthand experience. The secondhand information we do receive has often been distorted, shaped by cultural stereotypes, or left incomplete.” (pp. 3-4)

For example, Tatum (2003) relates an experiment in which a group of mostly White preschoolers were asked to draw pictures of American Indians. Before drawing, the children, ages 3 to 4, were not able to provide much verbal description about what they knew or believed about members of American Indian tribes or their cultures; however, the children’s drawings revealed that every child saw a feather headdress as one of the most salient feature of an American Indian. Each illustration included headdress, feathers, and many also featured tomahawks and knives. When asked how they knew how to draw an American Indian, most of the children cited cartoons as their sources, particularly the Walt Disney cartoon *Peter Pan* (Disney, 1953). Not even in kindergarten yet, the children in this study were already reproducing racist stereotypes of an ethnic group based on discourses presented to them in popular media and

environmental print. As Tatum points out, stereotypes are often based as much on what misinformation is made available as on what accurate information is presented. The children's drawings suggest that more misinformation had been made available to them than culturally accurate information.

MacCann & Woodard (1985) have argued that while children grow to understand the differences between the fictionalized worlds in children's books and the real world outside texts, it is the cultural patterns and use of texts as a tool for enculturation that is more significant for the child than whether or not the story is real. Similarly, Applebee (1978) has argued that,

“It is a long time before children begin to question the truth of stories... And though they will eventually learn that some of this world is only fiction, it is specific characters and specific events which will be rejected; the recurrent patterns of values, the stable expectations about the roles and relationships which are part of their culture, will remain.” (p. 38)

Given the role that texts can play in developing children's ethnic identities and their beliefs about their own and others cultural groups, careful analysis of texts for children is called for.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed theoretical perspectives and research relevant to children's texts as tools of enculturation, identity development, and racial identity development; this discussion has provided a rationale for the careful analysis of children's texts. Thus far, I have laid out an argument for problematizing children's texts as tools for the reproduction of systems of domination and oppression; however, in the next chapter I discuss in detail the critical paradigm and lenses that I employ as tools in problematizing these texts in my dissertation research. In the next chapter I discuss at length the critical paradigms and lenses that comprise my theoretical framework and guide my logic of inquiry.

CHAPTER 3

REPRODUCTION AND RESISTANCE: CRITICAL PARADIGMS AND LENSES

"Being critical means something more than simply fault-finding. It involves understanding the sets of historically contingent circumstances and contradictory power relationships that create the conditions in which we live."

–Apple (2000, p. 5)

"Inquiry that aspires to the name of "critical" must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society. Research thus becomes a transformative endeavor unembarrassed by the label "political" and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness. Whereas traditional researchers cling to the guardrail of neutrality, critical researchers frequently announce their partisanship in the struggle for a better world."

–Kincheloe & McLaren (2005, p. 305)

Overview

In the previous section, I provided a discussion of theoretical perspectives and research relevant to children's texts as tools of enculturation, identity development, and racial identity development; this discussion supports my call for the careful analysis of children's texts with an eye to issues of diversity, equity, access, and social justice. Such an analysis calls for tools, and in this chapter I discuss the critical paradigm and lenses that serve as tools and guiding principles for this research. I begin by positioning my work within the context of

critical theory, and then narrow my focus by discussing critical race theory and Bourdieuan perspectives on forms of capital. In essence, I am taking up the lenses in my scholarly toolkit one by one, even though in the real-time context of my scholarly work I employed them strategically—sometimes one then the other, sometimes simultaneously. Because my lenses are complementary and mutually informing, I believe that I was able to engage in a richer critical analysis than if I had simply selected one lens with which to approach this research.

Critical Theory

Critical theory grew out of the work of post-modern scholars of the Frankfurt School in the early twentieth century, influenced by the work of Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Karl Marx, and then informing the work of such influential and diverse social, political, and economic theorists as Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Paulo Freire, Joe Kincheloe, Peter McLaren, Jim Gee, bell hooks, Gloria Ladson-Billings, Beverly Tatum, and others. Researchers operating from within a critical paradigm are generally not content to merely observe and document oppression. Rather, critical theories call for social action as an integral part of the work of a critical theorist, calling for “research that contributes to the struggle for a better world,” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305). In the social sciences, theories grounded in a critical perspective may include feminist theory, queer theory, postcolonial theory, and critical race theory, among others.

While critical theory “refers to a wider range of scholarship critical of existing economic, social, or political arrangements” (Bredo, 2006, p. 23) and

defies one essentializing definition, foremost among the commonalities most critical theories share is the postmodern, neo-Marxist understanding that, although individuals in societies have largely been enculturated to accept and perpetuate systems of domination and oppression, individuals may emancipate themselves and society through intentional acts of radical social change. Critical theories tends to emphasize research that engages individuals in: 1) identifying and naming systems of inequity and oppression; 2) reflecting critically on these systems and their origins and consequences; and 3) acting to affect change in ways that seek to rectify these inequities (Apple, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986, 1990, 1993, 2007; Edwards & Schmidt, 2006; Foucault, 1972, 1995, 2000; Freire, 2000; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lankshear & McLaren, 1993; McLaren, 2006; and Tatum, 2003).

Essentially, critical theories are concerned with social justice work that identifies, and aims to redress, the multiple “-isms” that serve as names for systems of oppression: sexism, heterosexism, classism, colonialism, racism, ageism, ableism, etc. But how do all of these constructs with their specific foci fit together within a broader critical paradigm? A useful metaphor for framing the social practices with which critical theorists concern themselves is that of a large tapestry comprised of multiple threads woven intricately together. Each thread represents a different -ism, and the threads/-isms are interwoven within larger social systems of power, domination, and oppression; together, these form the larger tapestry of social structures and interactions. While each thread may

problematize a particular -ism addressed from a critical perspective, such as classism, sexism, racism, etc., the threads are interconnected in ways that make it difficult, perhaps impossible, to tease them apart. Indeed, it would be overly simplistic to think that -isms operate independently of one another in social reality. For example, classism and racism are tightly interwoven (Aronson, 2007; Bourdieu, 1986; Delpit, 1995, 2002; Gresson, 2008; Heath, 1983; hooks, 1994, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994; and Tatum, 2003), as are racism and sexism (hooks, 1999, 2003; Solorzano, 1998; and Steele, 1997).

In examining racist discourses in children's texts, I acknowledge that racism does not occur in isolation from classism, sexism, etc.; when one examines the thread of racism, other threads are connected to it, and are tugged upon as well. However, I argue that if one were to examine all of the -isms at once, that is all of the threads of the tapestry, it would prove difficult to determine useful entry points for analysis and action. While I focus my dissertation research primarily on the thread of racism, I also consider issues of classism and relationships between the two. Focusing on these two -isms is with the understanding that in social reality they are connected to other social -isms. While it is beyond the scope of my dissertation research to examine all of the other -isms at work in my data, I analyze textual the intersect of racist and classist discourses as a useful entry point for considering larger issues of power, oppression, and domination in children's texts. Critical race theory provides a useful lens for such an analysis.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory¹² (often written as Critical Race Theory or CRT) draws on and builds upon critical theory to specifically examine and resist racism. The work of critical race theorists is often focused on research and social action that seek to: 1) identify and name racism at multiple levels, specifically the ways in which Whites are systematically privileged, while people of color are disadvantaged; 2) normalize and legitimize the experiences and perspectives of people of color as a means of challenging the White, middle-class perspective that is positioned as the social norm; and 3) emphasize radical, transformative social change as a means of overcoming ethnicity-based oppression and domination (Edwards & Schmidt, 2006). As with critical theories more broadly, critical race theory concerns itself with moving beyond merely identifying and naming inequities, to working for emancipatory social change; critical race theorists typically emphasize that the goal of social research should be transformative social justice work, not simply the documentation of racism (Greene & Abt-Perkins, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Parker, 1998; Solorzano, 1998; Steele, 1997; Tatum, 2003).

Edwards & Schmidt (2006) have argued:

“CRT proposes that we have theorized long enough and we must begin working in our own spheres of influence to bring about change to make race visible and ensure the appreciation of differences. We must legitimate the experiential stories of racism and assist white people in the realization that racism continues to privilege them.” (p. 410)

¹² While I prefer to use in my own work the term “ethnicity” rather than “race,” as discussed in footnote #4, I defer to the widely accepted use of the term “race” in the name Critical Race Theory, sometimes also referred to as CRT.

While critical race theory had its beginnings in the field of law, largely shaped by the work of Bell (1980, 1987, 1995), Delgado (1993, 1995a, 1995b), Delgado & Stefancic (1995), and Freeman (1978), it is Ladson-Billings & Tate who are largely credited with pioneering the application of critical race theory to education. In their landmark article *Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education* (1995), they drew on critical race theory from the field of legal scholarship to argue that far from being post-racial, America is a country in which ethnicity still has daily relevance and consequences. They further argued that the history of the United States was one of property rights instead of basic human rights, and that “the intersection of race and property could serve as a powerful analytic tool for explaining social and educational inequities” (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 265).

This connects to Bourdieu’s (1986, 1990, 1993, 2007) ideas about the relationship among social, cultural, and economic capital, and the ways different forms of capital can be exchanged for one another. Like Bourdieu, Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995) problematized the ways in which White, middle-class cultural practices are normalized in formal education in ways that employ systems of domination and oppression to marginalize students from parallel culture groups. Ladson-Billings & Tate called for educators and education researchers to examine how critical race theory could inform teaching and learning in K-12 classrooms and higher education in ways that could address issues of domination and oppression. Ladson-Billings (2000) has argued that:

“schools, society, and the structure and production of knowledge are designed to create individuals who internalize the dominant worldview and knowledge production and acquisition processes. The hegemony of the

dominant paradigm makes it more than just another way to view the world—it claims to be the only legitimate way to view the world.” (p. 258)

Critical race theory may be interpreted and implemented differently by social researchers; however they generally share a concern for “understanding how a ‘regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America” (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p xiii). Critical race theory is often used as the research paradigm for those whose work addresses how the dominant worldview (i.e. White and middle-class) can move beyond expanding to merely include people of color (a multicultural, inclusive model), to being radically *transformed* through social action in ways that not only value equally the perspectives of people of color, but also actively seek to identify and end racist social practices (an anti-racist model). The latter approach in schools and other social institutions does not position the experience of the dominant group as the normative experience.

In this dissertation research I use critical race theory as a lens that pairs with Bourdieu’s framework for forms of capital as I analyze how children’s texts reproduce or resist discourses that privilege Whites at the expense of African Americans. Because I am interested in how these discourses not only operate in society, but also in how they intersect with social class and how they are reproduced through social action and cultural artifacts, Bourdieu’s theories about power and forms of capital is particularly germane to my work and provides a useful lens for approaching a critical race analysis of my data. In the next section, I describe Bourdieuan perspectives on power and forms of capital, as

well as how these are connected to literacy skills and practices in ways that reproduce White, middle-class privilege.

Bourdieuian Lenses: Power and Forms of Capital

The body of Pierre Bourdieu's work focuses on exploring social stratification and the reproduction of social hierarchies. He argued that each individual is granted certain affordances and faced with certain constraints based upon her membership in social groups, such as university graduates, within social hierarchies, such as socioeconomic class. Bourdieu's theories about the ways in which society and social practices are field for the reproduction of systems of domination were grounded in his empirical sociological research in contexts as diverse as studying the lived experiences of Algerian peasants, French university students and faculty, and members of the Catholic clergy. The body of Bourdieu's prolific research and scholarship explores and sheds light upon the ways in which dominant social groups and classes reproduce social systems that privilege them while marginalizing others. Bourdieu argued that power is inherent in all social relationships and is based on four co-existing and closely related forms of capital: economic (money and material goods), cultural (cultural artifacts such as language, education, and aesthetics), social (group membership, acquaintances, and social networks), and symbolic (validation and credentials accepted by society). I discuss each of these four forms of capital in detail under its own separate sub-heading below.

Forms of capital are exchanged for other forms of capital in ways that reproduce systems of privilege. For example, higher education is a form of social, cultural, and symbolic capital, and as such, it can be exchanged for economic capital. Even though the discourse of meritocracy through education is prevalent in the modern Western world, Bourdieu's work exposes this as a myth that does not fit social realities of the ways in which forms of capital associated with higher education can be translated into economic capital and the reproduction of dominant hierarchies among groups of people with unequal levels of formal education, i.e. power. Similarly, Bourdieu has argued that academic success is not simply the result of differences in aptitude and effort, as has been a traditionally held belief. Bourdieuan perspectives foreground the role that forms of capital play in the academic achievement gap between middle-class students and their peers from lower socioeconomic homes.

Bourdieu's work was not primarily focused on academic disparity along ethnic lines; instead, he focused largely on social class differences. Bourdieu did not see social class as entirely deterministic in regards to individuals' mobility and success in society; however, he argued that forms of capital associated with class greatly narrowed the possibilities available to an individual. While the body of his work is an argument for the ways in which, even within systems of domination and oppression, there is room for social agency, Bourdieu argued that total individual freedom is not possible due to pervasive inequities in forms of social, political, cultural, and economic capital. From a Bourdieuan perspective, it is not simply the affordances granted and constraints imposed on individuals by

society, but also individuals' internalized dispositions, or *habitus*, internalized ways of being/doing/thinking in the world, that impact their social actions and possibilities.

Bourdieu argued that individuals develop *habitus* as they operate in the social world in ways that are adaptive to their social "fields." Fields can be thought of as social contexts in which conflict, domination, and oppression are enacted: they are, in essence, sites for social interaction, culture, and conflicts of power (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990, 1993). One example of a field would be the context of the elementary school classroom. Within this field, cultural tools, such as textbooks, are created and used in ways shaped by actors' *habitus*, and are in turn tools of social production and reproduction.

Habitus is an integral part of how individuals make sense of and engage in the social world, and differences in *habitus* are related to differences in forms of capital; *habitus* is produced by and is a tool for reproducing systems of oppression and domination. For example, in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Bourdieu (2007) examined the ways in which something as seemingly mundane as preferences in food are socialized in class-specific contexts, and how these class-based differences in palate, which are not value-laden in and of themselves, actually become seen as indicators of class status when viewed in relation to others' palates. In turn, these differences become markers of group membership, i.e., social capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital.

In regards to literacy and texts for children, this concept of exchanging forms of capital can be illustrated by the following example: middle-class parents are more likely to teach their preschool children to identify letters of the alphabet, an emergent literacy skill (Clay, 1977) than are working-class parents because this is something that the former group believes to be part of good parenting (Heath, 1983; Neuman, 1999, 2001; Neuman & Celano, 2001; Neuman, Greco, & Celano, 2001); in Bourdieian terms, it is part of their *habitus*. Due to her parents' *habitus*, the middle-class child may enter school with cultural and symbolic capital in the form of an emergent literacy skill, and she may be able to exchange the capital related to this skill for other forms of capital, such as the symbolic and social capital that may result from her being thought of as a bright child by her teacher. Even something as seemingly quotidian as teaching one's child the letters of the alphabet may be the result of *habitus* and forms of capital that transfer to the child various forms of capital.

Relating these concepts to books for children, one may consider the White, middle-class parent who reads to his child. The parent not only supports the text-based literacy (cultural and symbolic capital) of his child, but also gains for himself symbolic and social capital that marks him as a member of the middle-class and can be translated to other forms of capital. For example, in a professional social setting with other middle-class professionals, the White middle-class father who reads to his child can participate in parenting conversations about books and reading in ways that are likely to be synchronous with his middle-class colleagues. Hence, a shared parental *habitus* can help him

establish professional camaraderie with his work colleagues and superiors (a form of social capital), which, in turn, may facilitate his professional upward mobility and thus be translated into economic capital. Something as simple as reading bedtime stories to one's child is part of a complex system of social structures that reproduce White, middle-class privilege through forms of capital.

Challenging traditionally held beliefs about capital as being largely economic, Bourdieu's work addresses the roles that class-based human capital plays in social reproduction. From a Bourdieuan perspective, class distinction is about more than mere differences in income and financial assets: class distinction is largely the result of social discourses of domination that are, often tacitly, internalized from one generation to the next through *habitus*. Culture is one tool for maintaining hierarchies of domination and oppression; culture is, therefore, inherently political (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990, 1993).

Cultural Capital

When exploring the achievement gap between French university students from similar social groups, Bourdieu and Passeron (1979, 1986) found that the differences in scholastic achievement could not be accounted for by social group membership alone. Bourdieu theorized that another social construct was at work in scaffolding some students' success and framed this construct as "cultural capital," non-material sets of knowledge and understandings that become power resources within social groups and larger societal structures and institutions. Cultural capital in a Bourdieuan framework exists in three interconnected forms or states: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized.

Bourdieu (2001) has described the embodied state of cultural capital as, “external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, [that] cannot be transmitted instantaneously, (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest purchase or exchange” (p. 99). Embodied cultural capital represents ways of thinking/being/doing in the world that are socialized, often implicitly and unconsciously, and are embodied within individuals. Bourdieu has argued that when families are socializing their children to accumulate forms of embodied cultural capital, neither the caregivers nor the children may even be aware that they are doing so. For example, a child may be socialized to have the cultural capital of being agentic and a problem-solver, even though his parents may not have intentionally socialized this in their child. Bourdieu (2001) has argued that cultural capital plays a powerful role in systems of social reproduction because it is “no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital” (p. 1000) and that the “direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled” (p. 100).

The second form of cultural capital, the objectified state, is more tangible than the embodied state; it takes the form of “cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 98). In other words, objectified cultural capital is embodied cultural capital that is reified in the form of cultural artifacts. It is not the physical object, such as a science book, itself that is objectified capital; the physical book is a form of material, economic capital. However, the embodied cultural capital (scientific knowledge) that has been

expressed within the book is a form of objectified capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital. In reference to a work of art such as a painting, which is a form of objectified capital, Bourdieu (2001) argues, “[W]hat is transmissible is the legal ownership and not (or not necessarily) what constitutes the precondition for specific appropriation, namely, the possession of the means of ‘consuming’ a painting or using a machine, which being nothing other than embodied capital, are subject to the same laws of transmission,” (p. 101). From a Bourdieuan perspective, while one may come, by various means, to own a book (a form of both objectified cultural capital and economic capital), appreciating the book in a way that is considered appropriate by the dominant social group (literary taste is a form of embodied cultural capital) is socialized among members of the dominant group, perhaps unintentionally and unconsciously, through ways of talking about and engaging with (*habitus*) books. Clearly, forms of capital are interdependent and *habitus* serves as a tool and of transmission, particularly for cultural capital.

Institutionalized cultural capital is derived from an individual’s attainment of institutionally affiliated credentials that are sanctioned by the dominant group, for example, a university degree or a medical license. Institutionalized cultural capital is in close relationship with other forms of capital and *habitus*:

“With the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence that confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital that has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possess at a given moment in time. It institutes cultural capital by collective magic.” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 102)

Applying the forms of cultural capital to children in K-12 public education, one form of cultural capital that many beginning kindergartners bring with them the first day of school is concepts about print (Clay, 1977) that the child has constructed through immersion in print-based literacy at home. This perspective acknowledges that middle-class and upper middle-class students typically bring to formal education contexts, what Bourdieu would call “fields,” extended exposure to and engagement with ways of being, doing, thinking, and viewing the world that are valued and reproduced by institutions of learning. For example, a middle-class child is more likely than her working-class classmate to come from a home in which she has been immersed in print-based literacy experiences—going to the library, hearing books read aloud at bedtime, seeing primary caregivers engage in reading for pleasure or learning, and being engaged by caregivers in literacy activities such as learning letter-sound associations. While these experiences do not exactly translate into material goods, they are nonetheless a form of capital; they are cultural capital that maps onto discourses and practices (*habitus*) about literacy that are sanctioned and reproduced in the classroom. Drawing on this cultural capital, the middle-class child is thus better positioned to be successful in constructing literacy knowledge from classroom instruction and achieving academically, while the working-class or poverty-class child is placed at a disadvantage because her family’s literacy practices are not afforded the same cultural capital within the context of formal schooling.

Social Capital

While Western, capitalist societies maintain that narrative of meritocracy based on hard work and perseverance, an individual's success is not solely the result of an his skills, education, and efforts. While these do play a role in academic, professional, and economic success, social networks also play a critical role. Bourdieu (1986) argued that an individual's professional colleagues, informal and formal group memberships, acquaintances, and social networks provide the larger framework of social capital, in essence a non-financial asset which is: "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised (sic) relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p. 248). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) defined social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p. 119).

This social capital can be exchanged for other forms of capital. For example, I was once asked to serve as a reader/rater for undergraduate applications to a large Midwestern university. Applicants were asked to indicate on their paperwork if members of their family were alumni of the university; applicants were awarded 4 points toward an overall acceptance score if a parent or stepparent was an alumnus, or 1 point if a grandparent, sibling, or spouse was an alumnus; this practice was referred to as "legacy points." Due to the somewhat limited ethnic and socioeconomic diversity of the alumna, White middle-class and upper middle-class applicants were, in general, positioned to

benefit most from the legacy points. Applicants were awarded 1 point if they wrote an outstanding application essay or had exhibited significant leadership at the state level; thus, the social capital of having a parent who was a university alumnus was valued more by the university than an excellent writing sample. This social capital could potentially be exchanged for the cultural capital of engaging in higher education at the university. Graduation from the university, which would carry significant symbolic capital, could then be exchanged for further forms of capital.

Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is closely related to cultural capital and is the term Bourdieu (1986) used to describe symbolic systems of meaning and communication that play a role in the reproduction of systems of privilege. Symbolic systems include language, art, music, science, education, religion, food preferences, etc. An individual who engages in actions that are given high symbolic value by the dominant group, such as reading philosophy or going to modern art exhibits, is doing more than simply expressing taste in books or art; she is aligning herself with the values and *habitus* of the dominant class; she gains symbolic capital that someone who prefers romance novels and black velvet paintings of clowns does not gain. It is not that poetry is inherently *better* than clown paintings, or that modern art is inherently *better* than clown paintings; it is a matter of that which the dominant class expresses as good “taste,” but what is really another way in which the dominant class perpetuates social behaviors that allow them to mark themselves as such and to marginalize others. As Bourdieu (2001) argued:

“[E]very reproduction strategy is at the same time a legitimation strategy aimed at consecrating both an exclusive appropriation and its reproduction. When the subversive critique that aims to weaken the dominant class through the principle of its perpetuation by bringing to the light the arbitrariness of the entitlements transmitted and of their transmission...is incorporated in institutionalized mechanisms (e.g., laws of inheritance) aimed at controlling the official, direct transmission of power and privileges, the holders of capital have an ever-greater interest in resort to reproduction strategies capable of ensuring better-disguised transmission, but at the cost of greater loss of capital, by exploiting the convertibility of the types of capital. Thus, the more the official transmission of capital is prevented or hindered, the more the effects of the clandestine circulation of capital in the form of cultural capital become determinant in the reproduction of social structure. As an instrument of

reproduction capable of disguising its own function, the scope of the educational system tends to increase, and together with this increase is the unification of the market in social qualifications that gives rights to occupy rare positions.” (p. 108)

Economic Capital

Like Marx, Bourdieu saw economic capital derived from human labor as an important force in reproducing social systems of domination and oppression. However, Bourdieu (2001) argued that economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital may be exchanged for one another in ways that are not as rooted in human labor as are traditional frameworks for Marxist productive capital:

“[E]conomic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital, never entirely reducible to that definition, produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal (not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root.” (p. 106)

While Bourdieu understood the role that economic capital in the form of money, financial assets, and property play in social stratification, he also highlighted that the accrual of economic capital was deeply connected to other forms of capital. For example, a university education may be made available to an individual through high school academic achievement (cultural capital), legacy admission points on her application (social capital), high SAT scores (symbolic capital), and money paid in tuition (economic capital). Thus forms of cultural, social, symbolic, and economic capital may be exchanged for academic credentials (symbolic and cultural capital), which then can be exchanged for other forms of capital, such as when the degree helps the individual secure a high-paying job and accrue further economic capital.

This is not to say that Bourdieu did not recognize that economic forms of capital might be more readily available to individuals. For example, establishing social capital through professional colleagues and networks requires an investment of time on the part of the individual; however Bourdieu (2001) has also pointed out that:

“[T]here are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs; others can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships (or social obligations) that cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment, unless they have been established and maintained for a long time...” (p. 106)

Summary

In this chapter I have made explicit the ways in which this research is shaped by critical paradigms that problematize relationships of domination and oppression in society. I have explained how critical theory, critical race theory, and Bourdieuan perspectives on power and forms of capital are the mutually informing lenses that I used to explore literacy curriculum materials for children that serve as tools for identity development and cultural reproduction. My research results, which follow beginning in Chapter 5, will make apparent the ways in which these critical lenses proved to be fruitful guiding constructs in my examination of literacy textbooks for racist discourses, the reproduction White privilege, and the marginalization African.

In much the same way that I crafted the theoretical framework for this research by drawing upon multiple, complementary paradigms and theories, I designed a research methodology that utilizes multiple research methods in

order to provide me with the richest set of tools for analysis and interpretation. In the next chapter I discuss my data and research methods.

CHAPTER 4

BRICOLAGE: DESIGN & METHODS

“Bricolage typically is understood to involve the process of employing... methodological strategies as they are needed in the unfolding context of the research situation.”

-Kincheloe & McLaren (2005, p. 316)

“My role is to raise question in an effective, genuine way, and to raise them with the greatest possible rigor, with the maximum complexity and difficulty so that a solution doesn't spring from the head of some reformist intellectual or suddenly appear in the head of a party's political bureau.”

-Michel Foucault (2000b, p. 288)

Overview

In the previous chapter I made explicit my theoretical framework and the critical paradigms and lenses that inform my work. In this chapter I provide my rationale for the particular texts I chose as my data for this research, both in terms of the grade level and the particular publications. Next, I discuss the evolution of my research questions and methods, providing the logic of my inquiry. I conclude this chapter with a sample of my data and critical discourse analysis.

Data

There are many texts used for classroom instruction. For some schools, decisions about which textbooks they will use are made at the district or building levels, for others it is at the classroom level. In Reading First schools, textbooks must be approved at the district and state levels. In the years 2003-2005 I worked as a graduate student research assistant on a research project that examined literacy instruction in Reading First classrooms. In this capacity, I was able to visit classrooms across the state of Michigan to observe literacy instruction and to speak with teachers about their classroom teaching practices. One thing that struck me was how some of these teachers expressed concern that the textbooks they were required to use for literacy instruction, texts that were sanctioned by the state and federal governments, did not reflect the culture and experiences of their African American students (Scott, van Belle, & Carlisle, 2005). The teachers themselves problematized the texts, which left me wanting to explore further discourses of race, dominance, and oppression in the stories within.

While many have examined and critiqued literacy textbooks, such as basal readers, for their research base, theoretical views of reading, and pedagogical approaches (among them, Flesch, 1955; Ness, 2005 and Otaiba, Kosanovich-Grek, Torgesen, Hassler, & Wahl, 2005), in this dissertation I use critical lenses to examine basal readers used in grades K-3, grades selected because the research that suggests these are essential years for laying the foundation for children to become competent, strategic readers (Adams, 1990; Chall, 2000; Snow, 2000; Stanovich, 1986; Teale & Sulzby, 1986). This is also the grade

range for which I observed basal readers being used in classrooms across the state. Furthermore, grades K-3 also lie within the years identified by Erikson (1963, 2000) as critical for healthy identity formation, and by critical race theorists as important years for supporting children of color in developing positive attitudes about their own and others ethnic groups (Cross, 1992; 1995; Tatum, 1991, 2003).

The texts I examined come from the *Reading Street* series published by Scott Foresman (Pearson Education, Inc., 2007). I chose this series because it is widely used nationally as one of the texts approved for use in Reading First schools. I have also conducted formal observations of classroom teachers using this program across the State of Michigan in early elementary classrooms (Scott, van Belle, & Carlisle, 2005). There are 15 student books in this K-3 series of literature anthologies. The reading program is designed to have children read a common text for whole group lessons and different leveled “little books” for guided reading groups at their instructional reading levels. I chose to study the basal readers because they represent the common stories that *all* children in the class will read or have read to them, regardless of the different little books they may encounter in guided reading groups.

Because I wanted to focus on stories with human characters in order to explore the representations of African Americans, I was interested in stories that focused on human characters, rather than fanciful characters, such as talking animals. In order to determine which stories would fit this criterion and serve as useful data for my dissertation research, I conducted a preliminary content

analysis of the stories in the grade level anthologies in order to determine which ones focused on human characters. The findings of this preliminary content analysis are summarized in the *Table 4.1: Preliminary Content Analysis of Stories by Characters*, below, and suggested to me that there were sufficient stories with human characters to proceed with analysis of the data.

Table 4.1: Preliminary Content Analysis of Stories by Characters

Grade Level of Text	Total Number of Stories	Number of Stories Featuring Human Characters	Percentage of Stories Featuring Human Characters
Kindergarten	36	15	42%
First Grade	60	24	40%
Second Grade	60	39	65%
Third Grade	60	46	77%

It is noteworthy that in kindergarten, only 42% of the stories involve humans, but by third grade the percentage of human centered stories is 77%; this is related to the fact that from kindergarten to grade three there is a shift from heavy emphasis on fantasy to contemporary realistic fiction in the anthologies. Because my research goal is to explore discourses of social domination and oppression in humans, the third grade texts provided the richest set of stories for analysis. With 46 human stories, the third grade stories will provide an appropriately large body of data for my discourse analysis.

In addition to differences in the number of human stories in each grade level anthology, the texts also varied in regards to their themes. The third grade themes, identified explicitly in the textbooks, included: 1) “One of a Kind: What Does It Mean to Be Unique;” 2) “Cultures: What Happens When Two Ways of

Life Come Together?;" and 3) "Freedom: What Does It Mean To Be Free?" In my preliminary content analysis of these stories, I found that these third grade themes and the stories related to them explore personal identity, what counts as normative for member of a community, and what counts as being an American. These themes will provide rich textual contexts for exploring issues of ethnicity, power, and positioning. Thus, I purposefully sampled the third grade texts as the data for this dissertation because they provided me with the richest and most extensive data across a grade level.

Research Methods

Research methods, whether quantitative or qualitative, should serve as useful tools to explore research questions and data, as well as be compatible and interwoven with the study's theoretical paradigm, design, data, and analysis methods (Erickson, 1986; Gee & Green, 1998; Glaser, 1992; Howe, 2001; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; and Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Because I ask critical questions in this dissertation that seek to explore the representation of African Americans in children's texts, approaching the data with the goal of quantifying things would likely provide me with limited information for my purposes. Frequency counts may help me to establish the number of occurrences of a particular instantiation of how African Americans are represented; I could, for example, count how many stories feature only White characters and how many include people of color. While this could provide me with some data, it would provide me with limited data with which to engage in the rich analysis I propose.

Qualitative research paradigms, which seek to explore more the *how* and *why* of things, typically require different research methods.

In deciding what methodology to employ as a tool in this research, I first considered using cultural models as the singular analytic tool. However, as I engaged in my preliminary analysis, I realized that I did not have an adequately nuanced understanding of exactly *what* it was that I was looking for as evidence of systems of domination and oppression that might comprise a larger cultural model. Subsequently, I experimented with using content analysis research methods to explore the data; however, I found that this still did not adequately serve as a tool for me to construct the kinds of understandings I was hoping to construct.

As I read more literature related to the analysis of children's texts, I realized that although many researchers writing in this field did not specifically identify their stance as a critical one, that their research suggested one—that is that they were problematizing various -isms at work in society, identifying and naming systems of oppression, and arguing for an emancipatory children's literature that would radically change the way parallel cultural groups, women, homosexuals, etc. were positioned in society. For example, Kohl (1995) does not identify critical theory as the paradigm from which he is writing when he argues that the classic children's stories of the elephant Barbar (de Brunhoff, 1937) are propaganda that seeks to reinforce colonialism. However, Kohl does write: "I want to plea for the creation of a radical children's literature that projects hope and provides youngsters with the sense that social forms are constructed

by people and therefore that the world can be made into a finer, more caring place” (1995, p. x). Kohl problematizes power relationships represented in children’s stories, and in the case of Barbar, between groups that he argues represent the British (the humans in the story) and the people of color (Babar and his fellow elephants) in African countries colonized by Great Britain. Kohl then engages in a discourse analysis of why/how the relationships between the elephants (African people of color) and humans (British) is one of domination and oppression. Finally, Kohl calls for a radical change in the kinds of stories we present to children, as well as for engaging children in critical readings of texts. Without explicitly stating his stance, Kohl’s work suggests that his stance is compatible with critical theory.

As I read more deeply into the analysis of children’s texts, I realized that many other researchers and theorists in the field of children’s literature seemed to be approaching their work from and within a critical paradigm (Banfield, 1985; Bishop, 2007; Clark & Fink, 2004; Cook, 1985; David & Ayouby, 2005; Holmes, Powell, & Holmes, 2007; MacCann, 2001; Reese, 2008; and Stephense & Lee, 2006), and I began to see how a critical analysis of my data could provide me with both the paradigm and the tools with which to engage in research that would answer my questions about power, positioning, and ethnicity in children’s texts. Instead of approaching my data with pre-determined research methods, I became familiar with the data, or as Strauss & Crobin (1998) would say, I *immersed* myself in the data by engaging in multiple, recursive readings of the stories in the literacy textbook. Once I selected my data and immersed myself in

it, I experimented with different analysis methods, and ultimately found a combination of methods that will allow me to explore discourses of oppression and domination in children's texts. This iterative process allowed me to continually move among my theoretical framework, data, and methodology so that they are not only compatible, but also tightly interwoven.

The evolution of my research methods was not unlike that of the *bricoleur*, a French word that translates to "handyman" or "do-it-yourselfer," essentially someone who uses the materials and tools at hand to problem-solve. Levi-Strauss (1966) first used *bricoleur* and *bricolage*, the work in which a bricoleur engages, as metaphors for social science research in which the researcher is engaged in real time with tools and methods that she must use flexibly and adapt as needed to meet the needs of the task at hand (Erickson, 2004). Kincheloe & McLaren (2005) have called for bricolage in which the bricoleur,

"views research methods actively rather than passively, meaning that we actively construct our research methods from the tools at hand rather than passively receiving the "correct," universally applicable methodologies" (p. 317).

Kincheloe (2001) also uses the term bricolage to refer to the use of multiple research methods, with multiple perspectives, as tools for social science inquiry. It is this openness to flexibility with multiple methods that affords bricoleurs with potentially greater opportunities for creativity in their methodologies:

"Bricolage... can be seen as a source of innovation in that it expropriates and then *makes use* of certain materials to accomplish different purposes from those for which the materials were originally intended" (Erickson, 2004, p. 166).

As a bricoleur, I approached my dissertation work informed by the compatible lenses of critical theory, critical race theory, and racial identity development theory. In constructing my bricolage, I employed tools that are compatible with my theoretical lenses and with one another—preliminary content analysis, grounded theory, critical race analysis, and cultural models analysis. Uniting these lenses within a larger research framework, I turned to grounded theory as an approach that allowed me to engage in qualitative research in rigorous ways that would lead to what John Dewey (1998) and others (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Schwandt, 2007) have called *warranted assertions* about data, that is “beliefs strongly supported enough in argument and evidence to be confidently acted upon” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 321).

Because I didn’t want to impose external categories and assumptions onto the data, I employed the grounded theory tools of open and axial coding (Glaser, 1967, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; and Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in order to develop thematic categories from the data, categories established and supported through constant comparative analysis. I began this process by recursively reading, analyzing, and coding the stories’ text and illustrations for language and/or images that provide possible answers to my research questions. I approached this through what Strauss & Corbin (1998) have called microanalysis, that is:

“The detailed line-by-line analysis necessary at the beginning of a study to generate initial categories (with their properties and dimensions) and to suggest relationships among categories; a combination of open and axial coding” (p. 57).

During microanalysis, the researcher is engaged in mining the data, but “the data are not being forced; they are being allowed to speak” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 65); thus, I engaged in an on-going questioning of the data and relationships among the data, engaged in descriptive coding, classifying, theory building (through theoretical memos), and hypothesis test by delving back into the data. This was a highly recursive process that allowed me to develop codes that were grounded in the data, rather than impose codes on the data. This flexibility and open-endedness to my research process are informed by my work as a critical theorist and a bricoleur. Once I identified themes within the data using these methods, I can then explore how these themes and the relationships among them presented discourses of oppression and/or resistance.

Analysis Sample

One of the informational pieces in the third grade anthology is a brief biography of Harriet Tubman titled *Leading People to Freedom* (Padgett, 2007). Based on my preliminary content analysis of the 46 stories with human characters in this anthology, I determined that of these 46 stories, only 7 feature main characters who are African American. Of these 7 stories, 2 place African Americans as living in rural, village settings in African countries, with only one story identifying the specific African country. 4 of the stories place African Americans living in modern urban contexts in the United States, and 1 story places an African American in the historic context of slavery in the rural United States. The latter is the story of Harriet Tubman. Before proceeding further, it is noteworthy that these representation of African Americans: 1) reinforce

stereotypes that Africa is entirely comprised of rural villages and that African countries are not distinct from one another; 2) reinforce stereotypes that African American is largely synonymous with urban in present day America; and 3) retell the biographies of the limited number of African Americans who have been included in textbooks, i.e. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and Harriet Tubman. The latter stands in stark contrast to the biographies of Whites selected for the *Reading Street* textbook; these feature not only well known historic figures such as Benjamin Franklin, but also lesser known figures such as champion swimmer Gertrude Ederle and Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, designer of the Statue of Liberty. These individuals are likely to be ones about whom third graders will have read little previously; however, the story of Harriet Tubman is one to which children many will have been exposed quite extensively before third grade. It is always interesting to me to note the posters and displays in school hallways, libraries, and classrooms during Black History Month; a great many feature Harriet Tubman. In the last year alone as the editor of a children's book review column, I received from children's book publishers four picture storybook biographies about Harriet Tubman. While hers is indeed an important story to tell, I am wondering why it was the only biography of an African American to include in the anthology.

The biographies of Whites in the textbook have titles that showcase them as individuals: *Ben Franklin's Little Words to Live By* and *America's Champion Swimmer: Gertrude Ederle*. In contrast, the title of Tubman's biography is *Leading People to Freedom*. This should not be overlooked as merely the

textbook company wanting to have a variety in ways of titling biographies because there is a long history in children's texts of Whites being main characters with names and people of color not being main characters and not having names, simply being nameless brown faces in illustrations (Bishop, 2007; MacCann, 2001). Lastly, the recycling of the story of Harriet Tubman, instead of deviating from what is now a very short unspoken list of African Americans considered important enough to include in texts for elementary school children, raises the question of whether or not being presented with retold, recycled biographies of a limited number of African Americans might offer to children the implicit discourse that there simply aren't many African Americans from the past or present whose lives were/are worth learning about today.

After this preliminary content analysis, I immersed myself in a microanalysis of the biography of Harriet Tubman, this time open coding for my research questions related to ethnicity, power, and positioning. I approached the analysis process flexibly and using research tools in real-time as they seemed most appropriate and most salient to the text. While I had my research questions related to power, positioning, and ethnicity in mind, I did not want to be limited by those questions when the text itself might suggest other questions; therefore, I open coded the biography by placing sticky note flags over salient text or illustrations. Essentially, I flagged anything that seemed salient to discourses of ethnicity, power, and positioning; often this took the form of something I noticed or something that made me wonder about something. This open coding revealed that the language used in the text suggested a passive role for Whites in the

system of oppression and domination that was slavery. Although I hadn't originally intended to code for use of the passive voice in the text, my emerging open codes suggested that it was salient. Therefore, I moved recursively between my coding, the theoretical memos I was writing, and the data itself. I began to see patterns among the open codes, and these allowed me to develop axial codes for the data. These axial codes included the ways in which Whites are excused, in essence, for their roles in perpetuating slavery through the text's use of: passive voice, absences of Whites, and word choice. My coding is summarized in the *Table 4.2*, below; note that "HT" stands for Harriet Tubman.

Table 4.2: Sample Recursive Microanalysis Coding and Theoretical Memos

<i>Leading People to Freedom</i> pp. 404-407, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Title p. 2.404	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why isn't Tubman's name in the title when the other Whites features in biographies are named in titles? How does this connect to African Americans being historically tokenized in children's texts?
Artwork of HT p. 2.404	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Realistic representation of an African American woman; facial features don't exhibit the racialized stereotypes historically problematic in children's texts. • Tubman is wearing a do-rag, which has been criticized as the "mammy" costume in children's texts. Does the illustration show the do-rag because Tubman is known to have worn one? How are other African American woman wearing or covering their hair in the anthology? • HT is shown as a light-skinned African American, but she was actually quite dark-skinned. Why did the illustrator choose to represent her like this? Are illustrations of other famous Americans in the anthology true to life?

<p>“Harriet Tubman” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why <i>another</i> biography of HT? Are there other historical/important African Americans featured in the anthology who aren't on the “short list” of African Americans whose stories kids keep being presented with in recycled versions?
<p>“HT was born into slavery.” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the author intentionally avoiding languaging about HT in traditional “Tubman was a slave” kind of ways that superimpose slave over all other identity. • Will the author use “enslaved” language that positions HT as in a system of oppression, but not entirely defined by it?
<p>“HT was sent away from her family to work in the fields.” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why the passive voice? This didn't just <i>happen</i> to HT. • Who sent her away? • Social studies texts related addressing slavery often use passive voice as a way of ignoring the role that Whites played in systemic oppression of African Americans • Will the author address that it was Whites who were responsible for HT's oppression?
<p>“she heard other slaves talking about wanting to be free” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “slaves” not “enslaved people”—How does this text present enslavement as subsuming all other identities an African American had? • How does “slaves” reinforce the passive voice—this is simply what HT was, a slave; “enslaved” would highlight that someone <i>did</i> this to her. • “wanting to be free”—How does this trivialize their struggle for freedom, justice, and basic human rights. The slaves weren't talking about how they <i>deserved</i> to be free as human beings; they merely “wanted” it.
<p>“To keep things as secret as possible, the Underground Railroad even had its own code language.” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this trivialize the need for secrecy because the lives of enslaved people were at risk? • Do the words “secret” and “code” evoke a secret agent thrill to it? • Keep things secret <i>from whom? Why?</i> The author does not mention that it was to be kept secret from the White plantation owners. In fact, words like plantation owner, slave owner, or overseer aren't mentioned in the text at all up to this point. Whites have been whitewashed from their role in the domination and oppression of enslaved people.
<p>“The ‘stations’ were churches, homes, and stores of free African</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The only explicit mention of Whites in the entire text positions them as individuals who worked to help enslaved people escape enslavement. When

<p>Americans and white people who believed that slavery was wrong.” p. 2.405</p>	<p>children read stories about slavery that neglect to explicitly address the roles that Whites played in systematically oppressing African Americans, what construct does this offer to children? How would textbooks be different if African Americans wrote them? Would the passive voice and whitewashing persist?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “believed that slavery was wrong”—slavery as an institution, not the actions of Whites who perpetuated it
<p>“HT used the Underground Railroad to escape from slavery.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this trivialize the hardships and horrors of African Americans who escaped enslavement? “Used” implies something functional, effective, and risk free.
<p>“She did this by walking through the woods at night and getting help from people at the stations.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The people have previously been identified as freed African Americans and helpful Whites. • Absent is the reason she had to walk in the woods at night—bounty hunters, dogs, Whites who would turn her in for reward money. Whites are not mentioned as the <i>reason</i> she is forced to walk in the darkness of the woods, but they are mentioned as people who will help her at stations. • “walking through the woods”—this sounds almost pleasant. How does use of the word “walking” remove the fear and terror of hiding, hoping not to be caught, traveling as stealthily as possible, traveling hungry, etc.?
<p>“When she discovered what it meant to be free, she wanted to lead other slaves to freedom.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this position HT as someone who could not understand the concept of freedom until she had escaped enslavement? If so, why would she risk so much to gain something she couldn’t understand? • How does this position enslaved people as entirely defined by their enslavement, with no cultural memories of what life for them was like when their freedom and basic human rights weren’t systematically denied?
<p>“HT risked her life on 19 trips to help over 300 slaves find freedom.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions HT as the heroic individual that she was. • “find” is a weak word for what enslaved people had to do to escape enslavement
<p>“She showed courage by facing danger without fear.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlights her tremendous courage. • Is it realistic, even reasonable, to think that she experienced no fear?? If the text positions her as experiencing no fear, how does that trivialize what she experienced in escaping enslavement?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What discourse does this present to children for what courage is? Is courage never experiencing fear, or is it acting in spite of fear?
<p>“She used this courage and intelligence to outwit the slave owners.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “slave owners”—the role of Whites is acknowledged, but in a very minimal way. The text explicitly tells us that “whites” wanted to help enslaved people escape via the Underground Railroad, yet the slave owners are not identified as White. Why? • HT’s courage and intelligence are highlighted, but her intelligence is not for academic or financial success, but for self-preservation and survival. Is this the equivalent of “street cred.”?
<p>Activity: “Make a generalization about the Underground Railroad.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What generalizations does this specific text offer to children? What is included in this story? What is missing? From whose perspective is this story actually being framed?
<p>Illustration of HT leading group through the woods at night p. 2.407</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woods are clear and non-treacherous looking. • HT and the other people are <i>peach</i> colored; everyone is the same color. Are African Americans in other stories in the anthology shown as having a variety of skin colors? • No Whites are shown chasing them. No Whites are shown in any illustrations in this biography. How does this absolve Whites?

Microanalysis using open and axial coding revealed that what may be, at first glance, taken as an innocuous retelling of the story of Harriet Tubman is actually a politicized text that frames slavery in ways that absolve Whites of their roles in the systematic domination and oppression of African Americans.

Through text and illustrations, the biography positions enslaved people as simply existing in a state of enslavement, without addressing the fact that it White slave owners who *actively* enslaved African Americans and viewed them as a form of economic capital. Instead, Whites are positioned as individuals who were helpers along the Underground Railroad. Textbooks for children, a form of cultural capital, have a long history of implicitly absolving Whites from their roles

in social injustices (Bishop, 2007; Harris, 1991, 1993; Kohl, 1995; MacCann, 2001; Osa, 1995; Sims, 1982). I would argue that most third graders possess the reasoning skills and emotional maturity to read about slavery in ways that are much more complex, ways that have the potential to engage them in critical conversations about the events and choices in our country's history that have had negative consequences for the social justice of its citizens.

Kohl (1995) has argued that the story of Rosa Parks, another individual on the unspoken short list of African Americans to be studied in elementary school, has been diluted in textbooks for children not to simplify readability, but to deemphasize the active role Ms. Parks had been playing in the civil rights movement prior to refusing to give up her bus seat. Kohl argues that framing Parks' story as one of a tired seamstress who simply decided she'd had enough one day, ignores the historic facts that reveal that Parks' decision to protest that day was neither spontaneous nor isolated from her larger work for social justice. I posit that framing the story of Harriet Tubman as simply that of a woman who "discovered what it meant to be free" and "wanted to lead other slaves to freedom" (p. 406) minimizes her role as someone who fought for social justice in the face of systems of White privilege, oppression, and domination; it also ignores the ways in which Whites were the ones denying enslaved African Americans access to forms of cultural, symbolic, social, and economic capital that would have served as tools for the latter in challenging the reproduction of White privilege.

Summary

In this chapter I have articulated my rationale for the texts that comprise my dissertation data, as well as described the evolution of my guiding questions and research methods. Utilizing an informational text about Harriet Tubman and her role in the Underground Railroad, I detailed a sample data analysis in order to provide a window into the ways in which I applied critical lenses in a recursive microanalysis of my dissertation data, as well as used my microanalysis findings to explore larger issues of ethnicity, power, oppression, and domination linked to Bourdieuan forms of capital and White privilege. In Chapter 5 I present my analysis and findings related to print-based literacy, oral literacy, and forms of capital.

CHAPTER 5

PRINT-BASED LITERACY AND FORMS OF CAPITAL

“When a society lacks both the literacy that would enable it to preserve and accumulate in objectified form the cultural resources inherited from the past, and also the educational system that would give its agents the aptitudes and dispositions required for the symbolic reappropriation of those resources, it can only preserve them in their incorporated state.”

-Bourdieu (1990, p. 125)

Overview

In previous chapters I made explicit my theoretical framework and the evolution of my data selection, research questions, and research methods. Now I turn to presenting my critical analysis of the *Reading Street* texts that comprise my dissertation data—analysis for which I employed critical, Bourdieuan lenses through the microanalysis of written discourse in order to develop grounded theory for my data. In this chapter, I present my analysis and findings in regards to the strong intersect among ethnicity, social class, and school-based forms of print-based literacy capital presented in the *Reading Street* texts. I explore how ethnic differences in literacy practices as forms of capital reproduce racist discourses that marginalize African Americans.

In this chapter I explore school-based forms of capital related to print-based literacy, access to books, and oral literacy; I detail how the *Reading Street* texts position these in relationship to ethnicity and social class in ways that reproduce racist discourses and marginalize African Americans. I begin by contrasting overviews of these discourses for Whites and African Americans in the texts. I then provide specific textual examples and analysis for considering representations of print-based literacy, access to print, and oral literacy. I conclude this chapter by connecting print-based literacies to other forms of school-based literacies that have consequences for forms of capital.

Societal Differences in Print-Based Literacy Skills

Acquiring print-based literacy begins with emergent literacy development from birth through the elementary years (Clay, 1977; Teale & Sulzby, 1986); indeed, the acquisition of print-based literacy is one of the primary goals of kindergarten and early elementary education. Reading is a print-based literacy that children typically acquire fully only through explicit instruction, and which many normally developing children and adults do not acquire beyond very basic levels. While parents of some children, particularly middle-class children, may provide explicit literacy instruction (such as teaching the names of the letters of the alphabet and the most common grapheme-phoneme correspondences, literacy instruction and the accrual of literacy skills beyond these very basic levels is largely school-based in the United States (Adams, 1990; Allington & Johnston, 2002; Chall, 2000; Neuman, 2001; Pressley, Allington, Wharton-

McDonald, Block, & Morrow, 2001; Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 2000; Stanovich, 1986).

While some forms of literacy are transmitted through nativity and childhood upbringing (such as parents' education levels, socioeconomic status, and social capital networks), forms of capital are also accrued with support from and within the context of formal education. For example, as previously discussed, middle-class children typically begin developing emergent understandings of how print-based literacy (a form of symbolic, cultural, and social capital) works well before they enter kindergarten (Adams, 1990; Clay, 1977; Heath, 1983; Teale & Sulzby, 1986). Because they have accrued this symbolic, cultural, and social capital through print-based literacy experiences and emerging skills, these middle-class children may enter kindergarten knowing that the pages of a book in English are read from the top down and left to right; they may know that the words on the page tell the story instead of the pictures; they may know that fairy tales are sites of conflict for good and evil. Formal education builds upon these emergent understandings to help children further develop their print-based literacy skills, and hence accrue further capital. Schools, teachers, and texts used across the curriculum are tools for and mediators of formal education, and thus play a role in conveying forms of capital to children. As bell hooks (1994) has argued, all teaching is inherently political¹³. Schools, teachers,

¹³ I use the term "political" in the critical sense—not in the civic sense related to government, but in the sense of individuals and/or groups in a society acting in ways that may be self-serving at the individual and group levels; in doing so, I draw on the models of critical theorists such as bell hooks (1994) and Giroux (2008). In other words, I discuss the "political" in regards to whether or not one chooses to recreate or resist systems of privilege, domination, and oppression.

and texts play active roles in the transmission of forms of capital to children. The forms of school-based capital I determined to be relevant to my data include: a) print-based literacy skills and access to print; and b) scientific literacy. The knowledge and skills required for, and constructed by, engaging in these school-based literacies are forms of symbolic and cultural capital that may be exchanged for other forms of capital.

Overview of Discourses About Print-Based Literacy and Ethnicity

Whites in the *Reading Street* texts are presented as literate individuals who engage in a rich variety of print-based literacy practices in the contexts of home, community, and school. Whites read and write letters to communicate ideas and share learning. They read books for pleasure and to learn more about the world. Whites not only own books, they borrow them from the public library, as well as write books that others will read. Whites even teach African Americans to read words related to science content. Adult Whites draw on the symbolic and cultural capital they have accrued through print-based literacy in order to accrue further capital and to exchange it for other forms of capital in their professional careers; print-based literacy plays a central role in Whites' professional careers.

In comparison, African Americans in the *Reading Street* texts engage in limited print-based literacy practices. While one story's character does write postcards to his family, most African Americans in the stories do not engage in print-based literacy and have limited access to print-based text. African Americans are presented as engaging in oral literacy; however, they are not

positioned as individuals who engage in reading for purposes of education or pleasure. Some adult African Americans in the texts are presented as illiterate in regards to print-based text and/or science vocabulary. Adult African Americans in the *Reading Street* texts largely hold jobs that do not require extensive print-based literacy skills; they hold blue-collar and manual labor jobs that do not require or provide rich opportunities to accrue the forms of literacy-based symbolic and cultural capital that do professional careers. Without the accrual of these forms of capital, African Americans are constrained in opportunities to build them further and exchange them for economic capital. This presents the potential for a cycle of marginalization. These findings are summarized below in *Table 5.1: Axial Coding for Theme of Print-Based Literacy and Access to Print*. This table¹⁴ represents the axial coding in which I engaged through recursive readings of the texts, following open microanalysis coding and theoretical memo writing that established the axial themes. Following the table, I discuss these findings and my analysis.

¹⁴ In Chapter 4, I provided a sample of my recursive microanalysis coding and theoretical memos for the Harriet Tubman text. I engaged in this recursive analysis, coding, and memo writing for each of the 119 text selections in the *Reading Street* textbook; this scholarly note-taking did not merely serve as a *record* of my scholarly thinking, producing these scholarly notes was one my means of *engaging* in scholarly thinking. I word-processed my notes directly into tables I created in Microsoft Word and used them continually as tools in my recursive research. While these tables are too extensive, at 112 pages, to include directly in the body of my dissertation, I believe they serve an important role as a record of my scholarly thinking, questioning, and analysis, as well as in strengthening the assertions I make in regards to my findings and conclusions. Therefore, I have included these recursive microanalysis coding and theoretical memos tables as Appendix B following this dissertation. I present the entire axial coding themes table as Appendix C; I have also broken it apart by axial theme and inserted it within sections of my findings chapters in order to provide readers with a graphic summary of findings by themes and facilitate reading.

Table 5.1: Axial Coding for Theme of Print-Based Literacy and Access to Print

Print-based literacy and access to print	Texts and Examples for Whites	Texts and Examples for African Americans
	<p><i>Ben Franklin's Little Words to Live By</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ben Franklin presented as author of <i>Poor Richard's Almanac</i>, co-author of the Declaration of Independence, and founder of a library. Franklin also identified as inventor of reading glasses. • Illustration shows Franklin engaged in the act of writing with a quill pen. <p><i>Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudy goes to the library and reads books to learn how to create her own museum. • Prudy has a bookcase full of books in her bedroom. Prudy has a study desk in her room with papers and books on it. <p><i>The Challenges of Collecting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Feinman, the White museum director, is presented engaging in text-based literacy: writing. <p><i>Rocks in His Head</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father is shown reading and writing, for business and for enjoyment in his leisure activities. Father uses his literacy skills to continue educating himself in geology. • Father reads books, writes 	<p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unnamed African American girl is shown reading a book titled <i>Tales of the Jolly Ogre Family</i>. <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emma, an African American woman, learns Latin names of flowers from Lydia Grace, a White child. African American woman is positioned as having gained school-based learning in a non-school context, taught by a White child. African American presented as learning print-based literacy, but White is presented as already possessing this form of capital. <p><i>Me and Uncle Romie</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James, an African American male child, presented as engaging in writing, print-based literacy as a leisure activity and to communicate with his family. • James makes a birthday card for Uncle Romie, drawing on fine arts and print-based literacy in order to create a gift for someone he loves.

	<p>signs & labels, and does research at libraries and museums.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carol Otis Hurst is presented as a school librarian. • James Stevens is presented as the author/illustrator of more than one hundred books, and an award-winner author/illustrator. He engaged in print-based literacies for pleasure from a young age, and mentored his son in doing the same. He and his son wrote a book together <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White child, is presented throughout using the text engaged in the school-based, text-based literacies of reading and writing: letters to and from her family, seed catalogues, and poems she writes. • Uncle Jim, a White male, is presented in text and illustration as reading and appreciating a poem, text-based literacy. • Lydia Grace reads and speaks Latin. She teaches Emma, an African American employee of her uncle, the Latin names of flowers. Lydia Grace reads seed catalogues. <p><i>Night Letters</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lily is shown reading and writing letters. She later uses these letters to create 	
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	her own book.	
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Print-Based Literacy, Access to Print, and Forms of Capital

The *Reading Street* texts present Whites as middle-class and upper-middle-class people who have successfully developed print-based literacy and use it as forms of capital. For example, in *Ben Franklin's Little Words to Live By* (Sokoloff, 2007), Franklin is presented as the author of *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which the textbook says contains proverbs that “teach lessons about money or greed” and “lessons Franklin thought people should learn” (p. 63). In further describing Franklin, Sokoloff writes: “He started a hospital and library. He invented reading glasses. Franklin also helped with ideas for the writing of the Declaration of Independence” (p. 63). The illustration of Franklin that accompanies the text shows him pensively holding a quill pen poised above several sheets of paper, with books piled around him, and one of his proverbs, signed with his name, floating just behind him. Franklin, a White upper-middle-class man, is presented as not only having extensive access to print-based texts (forms of symbolic, cultural, and economic capital), but also actively engaged in creating written texts that allow him to exercise tremendous historical and political influence (through symbolic, cultural, and social capital), as well as provide him the opportunity to teach people lessons that he thinks they should learn; Franklin is afforded the authority to teach people about politics, economics, and even morality through his writing. Furthermore, Franklin is positioned as an individual who had the forms of capital to establish a public library at a time when not only were lending libraries not commonplace, but the average citizen living in

the British colonies that would become the United States of America did have print-based literacy skills beyond very basic levels. In part due to print-based literacy, Franklin is positioned as a gatekeeper to political discourse, morality, and even print-based texts themselves via the library he founded and the reading glasses he invented. The capital accrued through print-based literacy becomes a tool that Franklin uses to accrue further capital and to influence world history.

While Franklin is presented as a grown man and an historic figure, White children and contemporary individuals in the *Reading Street* texts are also presented as having accrued print-based literacy and its related forms of capital. Prudy, in *Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It* (Armstrong-Ellis, 2007), is a White, middle-class child who draws extensively on print-based literacy in order to organize her extensive collections into a museum she opens, for a fee, to the public. Text-based print plays a central key role in Prudy's story, serving as a rich capital resource upon which she draws extensively.

Extensive access to print and ownership of books is largely associated with middle-class group membership (Neuman & Celano, 2001; Neuman, Greco, & Calano, 2001); books represent cultural, symbolic, and economic capital, as well as providing entry points for social capital when individuals discuss and reference print-based texts as part of their social practices. Prudy's bedroom, as shown in the story's illustrations, reveals a bookcase filled with books, as well as more books piled on the floor; the title page shows books floating behind Prudy; the questions at the end of the story show her dog balancing a book on the end of his nose. Clearly Prudy has access to print and extensive book ownership.

As economic capital, books are costly; this suggests that Prudy and her family are middle-class. Further evidence of her family's socioeconomic status is the fact that Prudy's problem is her accrual of too many material possessions, such as "six hundred and fourteen stuffed animals in different unnatural colors" (p. 205). Prudy has so much economic capital that she can no longer contain it in the house; her mother suggests, "Maybe you should take all this to the thrift shop" (p. 208). Prudy has so much excess economic capital that she is presented as someone who can afford to give some of her goods to others who are less fortunate—not sell it for money or try to trade it for other economic capital, but to simply give it away. In contrast, several African American characters are portrayed in *Reading Streets* texts as making due with secondhand goods and being grateful for them.

Prudy and her family are middle-class, and as such have accrued multiple forms of cultural, symbolic, economic, and social capital related to print-based literacy. A series of images portraying Prudy engaged in research for her museum shows her at a library table piled with books, with a light bulb above her head illustrating her flash of insight. She is presented as avid reader who has the capital to access print-based resources and use them to generate creative solutions to problems. Conducting further research, Prudy is shown writing notes on her spiral notepad at the science museum and at Stonehenge; she draws on repositories of school-based knowledge (such as a science museum, which is a repository of scientific literacy) in order to solve her own problem. A White, middle-class child is positioned as someone who has the literacy skills and forms

of capital to engage in research, be a critical reader, and generate new ideas from those presented to her in texts. Prudy is explicitly identified as smart, generating a “brilliant plan” (p. 214) after “many hours of scrutinizing stacks of books” (p. 214). Prudy does not merely read books, but *scrutinizes* them and applies the information to her own purposes.

Evident in Prudy’s story is the cycle of using forms of capital to accrue further capital, and to reproduce White, middle-class privilege when she opens her own museum and generates economic capital through admission fees. It is interesting to note that one African American is shown in the background on p. 216 exploring Prudy’s museum. This character has no name or mention in the story, and is miniscule in scale in relation to Prudy and other White characters; he is presented as background.

Another museum curator whom the textbook presents as drawing on forms of capital associated with print-based literacy and middle-class membership in order to reproduce White, middle-class privilege is Dr. Gary Feinman, a museum curator profiled in the biographical vignette, *Meeting the Challenges of Collecting* (Klobuchar, 2007). Feinman is identified as the head of the anthropology department of the Field Museum of Natural History. As such, he is positioned as a White man with a university education (symbolic and cultural capital) who holds a professional, middle-class job (access to economic capital as well). A photograph on p. 221 shows Feinman writing with a pen and paper while examining anthropological artifacts; thus, another White, middle-class individual is presented as engaging in print-based literacy. Like Prudy,

Feinman uses his literacy skills to engage in his work as a museum director. Furthermore, Feinman is presented as a gatekeeper to school-based science learning, as Benjamin Franklin is positioned as a gatekeeper to various forms of knowledge.

At the end of the interview with Dr. Feinman, the textbox presents “Reading Across Texts” questions in a textbox (p. 223): “How are Prudy’s Museum and the Field Museum of Natural History alike? How are they different?” The textbox also calls for “Writing Across the Curriculum” with the prompt: “Make a chart in which you show how the two museums are alike and different” (p. 223). These questions and tasks present possible opportunities for readers to explore issues of White, middle-class privilege and forms of capital in the two texts; however, examining the teacher’s edition for the *Reading Street* series, I discovered that there is no mention of any issues of racism, classism, or social justice. The emphasis is solely on basic text comprehension.

Benjamin Franklin, Prudy, and Dr. Feinman are not the only Whites presented as engaging in print-based literacy and using it as forms of capital in their role as gatekeepers of knowledge. *Rocks in His Head*, a work of depression-era biographical fiction, tells the story of Father, who educates himself about geology through print-based texts and museums, as well as using his print-based literacy skills to further his understanding of geology in his rock collections: “He carefully labeled each rock to show what kind it was and where it

had come from” (p. 2.67)¹⁵; “He spent a lot of time reading about rocks, too” (p. 2.70); and “He’d take the bus to the science museum. They had a whole room full of glass cases containing many rocks. Sometimes he’d spend the whole day in that room” (p. 2.71). Throughout the story, Father is positioned as someone who engages in reading and writing for business and for enjoyment in his leisure time. While Father was unable to afford a university education due to the financial crisis of the Great Depression, he is presented earlier in the text as school-educated (“When he wasn’t doing chores at home or learning at school...” p. 2.66), and then using his literacy skills to continue educating himself. It is Father’s literacy skills that earn him a promotion from a museum janitor to a curator: he notices one of the rocks is incorrectly labeled in the museum display and corrects the label. The museum director, Grace Johnson, a White woman, is impressed with Father’s attention to detail in the labeling and promotes him to curator; hence, Father’s print-based literacy skills serve as symbolic and cultural capital that allow him to enter into a position as a gatekeeper of scientific learning, a position that is rich with opportunities to build further symbolic, cultural, economic, and social capital.

Grace Johnson is explicitly described in the text as driving a “big Packard touring car” (p. 2.73), which would have represented tremendous economic and social capital during the Great Depression; this and her career suggest that she is a middle-class individual. Hence, a White, middle-class, college-educated

¹⁵ The *Reading Street* textbook for grade three is comprised of two volumes; pagination in the second volume begins at page 1, instead of continuing the pagination where volume 1 left off. In order to avoid ambiguity about the exact location of a text I discuss, I preface page numbers for volume 2 with the numeral 2. Hence page 2.67 represents page 67 of volume 2.

woman is presented as having the authority (symbolic capital) to grant another White individual forms of capital that would be required for a professional job; in short, Grace Johnson perpetuates White privilege. While Father is not middle-class at the beginning of the story, his economic hardship is presented as the result of the historic economic crisis, and by the end of the story, he has been invited into the middle-class.

Another story in the textbook that is set during the Great Depression is *The Gardener* (Stewart, 2007), a work of historical fiction told in the letters of a young, White girl, Lydia Grace, who goes to live with her Uncle Jim in the city due to her family's financial difficulties. While Lydia Grace helps her uncle in the bakery he owns, her very first letter emphasizes the importance of school, "Grandma said to finish all my schoolwork before anything else" (p. 286); this is echoed later in the story when she says that Uncle Jim sees her doing her schoolwork. A White family is presented as greatly valuing school-based learning. Because the story is Lydia Grace's epistle, she is presented as successfully engaging in the school-based, print-based literacies of reading and writing. She values print-based texts, "I adore the seed catalogues you sent for Christmas" (p. 290) and writes a poem to give as gift to her uncle. Uncle Jim, a White male, is presented in text and illustration as reading and appreciating this print-based text; an illustration on p. 290 shows him reading it, "He read it aloud, then put it in his shirt pocket and patted it" (p. 290). Whites are shown as literate individuals who use print-based text to communicate ideas and feelings, learn

about botany, accomplish schoolwork, and stay connected to distant family members.

Print-based literacy is a form of capital that Lydia Grace uses for multiple purposes. She even uses it as a form of symbolic and cultural capital that she exchanges for new knowledge. Lydia Grace wants to learn to knead bread dough, so she exchanges knowledge as capital with Emma, an African American woman who works as a baker in Uncle Jim's bakery, "Emma told me she'd show me how to knead bread if I would teach her the Latin names of all the flowers I know. Now, just half a year later, I'm kneading bread and she's speaking Latin!" (p. 291). Emma, a grown African American woman is presented as possessing knowledge about a form of manual labor, but a White child is presented as possessing school-based, print-based literacy skills. Emma learns Latin names of flowers from Lydia Grace; hence, a White child acts as a gatekeeper to print-based literacy, school-based learning, and scientific knowledge (all three of which are symbolic and cultural capital) for an African American woman.

Lydia Grace acquired Latin in school, but Emma acquires it in a non-school context and must exchange manual labor for this new print-based literacy knowledge, a form of capital. Thus, a White child is presented as being successful in formal schooling, but an African American adult is not presented as doing so. This echoes in the ways in which Prudy (from *Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It*), a White middle-class child, is explicitly presented as smart, Father (from *Rocks in His Head*), a White man, is so smart he can teach himself about geology and secure a job as a museum curator without a college

education, and the emphasis Lydia Grace places on her schoolwork.

Interestingly, Asian and Asian American children in the textbook stories are referred to as “wise” (p. 48) and “smart” (p. 2.314), and praised by their teachers for their school performance (p. 2.162). These children are presented as possessing the symbolic, cultural, and social capital to be successful in school. None of the stories in the *Reading Street* textbook present an African American child engaging successfully in school. In fact, the one mention of an African American child attending school is in the context of *Wings* (Myers, 2007), a contemporary urban retelling of the myth of Icarus (now Ikarus Jackson, an African American boy with wings): “The teacher told Ikarus to leave class until he could figure out what to do with his wings. He left the room quietly, dragging his feathers behind him” (p. 2.21). Ikarus follows the teacher’s orders, leaves the school, and ends up being confronted by the police:

“The policeman passing by blew his whistle. ‘You with the wings, come down from there! Stay yourself on the ground. You’ll get in trouble’... It seemed to me Ikarus was already in trouble and hurt. Could the policeman put him in jail for flying, for being too different?” (p. 2.24)

While African Americans are expelled from school and potentially in trouble with the police, Whites, Asians, and Asian Americans engage successfully in school, which serves to transmit symbolic, cultural, and social capital (all with consequences for economic capital).

It is not simply school-based use of print-based literacy for which there are ethnic-related differences in the textbook; there are ethnic differences in the ways individuals engage in, or do not, print-based literacy as a leisurely activity. In *Night Letters* (LoMonaca, 2007), a White child named Lily is presented in text

and illustration as reading and writing letters about her observations of the natural world. She later uses these letters to create her own book, much like Lydia Grace told her story through letters she wrote to her family. Lily, Lydia Grace, Lydia Grace's family, Uncle Jim, Prudy, Prudy's parents, Father, Grace Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, and Dr. Feinman are among the many Whites in the textbook who use print-based literacy to communicate ideas with others, engage socially with others, and accomplish their goals; print-based literacy represents and is used as multiple forms of capital for Whites in the textbook.

African Americans in the textbook, such as Emma and Ikarus, engage in limited print-based literacy. In *If You Made a Million* (Schwartz, 2007), an unnamed African American girl in the illustrations is shown reading a book titled "Tales of the Jolly Ogre Family" (p. 107). James, an African American boy, in *Me and Uncle Romie* (Hatfield, 2007) is presented engaging in print-based literacy when he writes a postcard to his family and a birthday card for his uncle. However, James and the unnamed girl reading about ogres are exceptions for African Americans in the textbook. The basal presents African Americans as engaging in oral literacy instead.

Oral Literacy and Forms of Capital

Normally developing children across cultures acquire aural and oral literacy without formal instruction¹⁶ (Chomsky, 1965; Halliday; 1975, 1978;

¹⁶ While deaf children, severely hearing impaired children, or hearing children raised by deaf caregivers, may not develop aural/oral language in the same way as do hearing children, they do develop receptive and expressive language without explicit, formal instruction (Freeman & Freeman, 2004; Gallway & Richards, 1994). For example, deaf children who are raised in a home environment where American Sign Language (ASL) is

Vygotsky, 1986); this contrasts with the explicit instruction that is normally required for the acquisition of reading. In fact, some cultures, both historic and contemporary, have not developed extensive print-based literacy, instead utilizing oral literacy traditions. While some scholars (Goody, 1987; Havelock, 1981; Ong, 2002) have argued that print-based literacy is inherently more advanced than oral traditions, and that the acquisition of writing leads to changes in human cognition and culture, others (Scribner & Cole, 1981) have argued that it is not print-based literacy skills in and of themselves that impact human cognition, rather than the experience of formal education, in whatever cultural context it occurs, that leads to shifts in cognition, such as in areas of complex problem solving. In discussing oral literacy I do not take the stand that oral literacy is *lesser* in any way than print-based literacy; however, I do acknowledge that the acquisition of rich print-based literacy skills is associated with academic success in formal schooling contexts that privilege print-based literacy over oral literacy. I have shown in my results thus far the ways in which the *Reading Street* textbook selections position Whites as more successful in academic contexts and engaging in print-based literacy more frequently and more extensively than African Americans. Due to the capital that is afforded print-based literacy and the ways in which it serves as a tool for accruing other forms of capital, these differences in representation reinforce discourses that marginalize African Americans and reproduce White privilege.

used as the means of communication will acquire vocabulary, syntax, and social pragmatics for ASL without explicit, formal instruction, in the much the same way that a hearing child will acquire vocabulary, syntax, and social pragmatics for oral English. While language modality may vary, acquisition without explicit, formal instruction is found across modalities.

From the earliest days of the enslavement in American of individuals from African countries, Whites forbade African Americans from learning to read or write, under penalty of brutal, racist laws. For Whites, this served as an additional means of securing the oppression of the people whom they had enslaved through force and brutality. For African Americans, this provided pervasive constraints on developing print-based literacy and the accrual of the forms of capital afforded this literacy by the White, oppressive cultural group. However, many enslaved people brought with them rich oral traditions from their African homelands; storytelling and song provided a literacy legacy grounded in the spoken word rather than print. Some (Heath, 1986; Delpit & Dowdy, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2000) have argued that this rich oral tradition still plays an important role in African American communities, and presents a rich potential resource upon which African American students and their teachers can draw when these students are acquiring print-based literacies and associated forms of capital through formal education; however, these same scholars have also expressed concern for the ways in which African American oral traditions are marginalized due to discourses that privilege the literacy practices and culture of White, middle-class Americans.

A Bourdieuan perspective would emphasize that neither oral nor print-based literacy is inherently better than the other; it is only through social relationships of domination and oppression, as expressed in the capital the literacy modalities are afforded, that give “value” to the modalities and allow them to serve as tools for the accrual of further capital, therein reproducing their

“value”. This is to say that an oral tradition is not inherently less important or valuable than a print-based tradition, but to say that traditional African American forms of literacy are simply not granted the same symbolic and cultural capital as forms that privilege Whites, who did not have to overcome the legacy of literacy and formal education being punishable by death. Differences in literacy skills along lines of ethnicity, therefore, may largely be to the legacy of inequities in access to forms of symbolic and cultural capital.

Indeed, the stories in the *Reading Street* series present African Americans drawing on oral traditions as cultural resources, but in ways that stand in contrast to the ways in which Whites accrue forms of capital through print-based literacy. These findings are summarized below in *Table 5.2: Axial Coding for Theme of Oral Literacy*; following the table, I discuss these findings and my analysis.

Table 5.2: Axial Coding for Theme of Oral Literacy

Oral literacy	Texts and examples for Whites	Texts and examples for African Americans
		<p><i>Fly, Eagle, Fly!</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A story about Black South Africans is presented as legend. Folk tales are presented as other, representing other “lands.” • “Handed down from one generation to the next” emphasizes the oral tradition of folk tales. <p><i>How We Live in America</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>African American extended family shares stories from their native Senegal over a meal.</i>

		<p><i>Leading People to Freedom</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In finding the path to freedom, Harriet Tubman and the other African Americans who escaped enslavement draw upon secret code words passed along by word of mouth. <p><i>Nathaniel's Rap</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African American boy is presented as rapping, an art form that evolved from African American music and storytelling.
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What one may notice from even a cursory glance of the above table is that the textbook does not present Whites as engaging in oral literacy as it does African Americans. Because the textbook largely presents Whiteness as normative, print-based literacy is privileged over oral literacy; this reflects the social reality of the ways in which print-based literacy can be a tool for Whites in reproducing White privilege (Bourdieu, 1993, 2007). The *Reading Street* textbook goes so far as to suggest that oral literacy and traditional literature are not only un-White, but also un-American: in a textbox on the opening pages of *Fly, Eagle, Fly!* (Gregorowski, 2007) identifies the story's genre, the textbook defines folk tales as "stories or legends from other lands that are handed down from one generation to the next" (p. 2.116). Folk tales are presented as foreign in origin, not American; this stands in contrast to the rich oral literacy cultural heritage of African Americans, and positions those who engage in oral literacy as the other.

In *Fly, Eagle, Fly!*, the land is not explicitly identified in the text, but the illustrator's profile at the end indicates that Niki Dali, a White man, is from South Africa. His illustrations throughout the story show a village with thatch-roof "huts" (p. 2.122), free-range chickens, goats, and cows. The illustration and text present Black South Africans living in rural village communities, with no print-based literacy, no modern conveniences, not even furniture: the farmer and his family sleep on the floor of their kitchen amidst their chickens (their economic capital). Illustrations throughout show Black South Africans in traditional clothing and patterned fabric, barefoot villages, and heavy-set women wearing fabric wrapped around their heads. While this may be an entirely accurate representations of life in some rural South African villages, it is interesting to note that every story the textbook presents as set in an African country takes place in a rural village in which people of color eke out an existence from farming and trading produce and/or handicrafts at market. Essentially, the textbook presents to readers the representation of Africans as people who live in huts, don't go to school, don't have books, and pass legends "down from one generation to the next" (p. 2.116). While these oral literacy traditions are presented as having social capital, they do not serve as tools for the stories' characters to accrue additional forms of capital, and print-based literacy is not required or furthered by African's manual labor means of earning a living. This stands in stark contrast to the ways in which the textbook presents Whites, particularly middle-class Whites, as drawing extensively on print-based literacy for education and professional success.

One story textbook selection that presents an urban, contemporary African American family, *How My Family Lives in America* (Kuklin, 2007), features a father who emigrated from Senegal who “moved to America to go to college” (p. 2.177). While the father is from a West African country, the text suggests that he was not able to obtain an adequate education there; an African country is positioned as lacking opportunities for adequate formal education so an individual must come to a country largely shaped by White privilege in order to obtain an education. Furthermore, the little girl in the story says that her Senegalese grandmother taught her how to say some Senegalese words and gave her little brother a drum, but her “American grandmother” (p. 2.178) teaches her “about good manners, about being neat and clean, about standing straight and tall” (p. 2.178). The American way of being/doing is presented as cleaner and better than the cultural practices of people from African countries, countries which the textbook positions as grounded in oral literacy rather than print-based literacy. While the children in *How My Family Lives in America* enjoy an extended family meal in which their family engages in the oral tradition of sharing “stories about our parents when they were little,” (p. 2.180), the textbook presents individuals who engage in oral literacy as lacking forms of capital that can serve as tools for academic, professional, economic, and social success in America.

In *Leading People to Freedom* (Padgett, 2007), Harriet Tubman is presented as an individual who has successfully escaped enslavement and helps other African Americans in doing the same. Tubman draws not on print-based

literacy as a tool to accomplish her goals, as Whites in the textbook do, but on her ability to draw on her “courage by facing danger without fear” (p. 2.406) and the oral literacy of enslaved people sharing secret “code language” (p. 2.405) that provided directions for routes on the Underground Railroad. Thus, an African American woman’s survival depends on oral literacy, an innate personality trait, and physical survival skills, not forms of capital accrued through school-based learning or print-based literacy. While this may reflect the reality of the harsh and brutal ways that Whites denied enslaved African Americans opportunities to accumulate the cultural, symbolic, social, and economic capital related to formal education and print-based literacy, it is interesting to note that the textbook does not also present a story of an African American woman who has successfully achieved print-based literacy through schooling.

Emma (from *The Gardener*) does learn the names of some flowers in Latin, but she learns this outside of school with a White child as her teacher. Furthermore, Emma is presented as having to exchange manual labor (teaching Lydia Grace how to knead bread dough), her only form of capital, in order to obtain access to print-based literacy skills. An African American woman must pay for print-based literacy with manual labor, but Whites in the textbook are simply granted access to print-based literacy, and all its forms of capital, through schooling: Whites are entitled to print-based literacy; African Americans must earn it.

Print-based literacy is presented as the right and domain of Whites, while oral literacy is presented as that of African Americans. In *Nathaniel’s Rap*

(Greenfield, 2007), a contemporary African American boy is presented as rapping, “I can rap / I can / rap, / rap, / rap / Till your earflaps flap / I can talk that talk / Till you go for a walk” (p. 2.352). Nathaniel’s gift is one rooted in African American oral literacy and music traditions, and he implores his “Friends and kin and neighborhood / Listen now and listen good / Nathaniel’s talking” (p. 2.353). Nathaniel’s oral literacy is a form of social and cultural capital that links him to his “friends and kin and neighborhood,” but like other African Americans in the textbook, Nathaniel does not draw on print-based literacy in order to communicate his ideas to his immediate community or to a larger audience.

Nathaniel’s message can be accessed only by those who can hear his voice; Whites in the textbook use print-based literacy as a tool to communicate their ideas to a larger audience. For example, Benjamin Franklin (in *Benjamin Franklin’s Little Words to Live By*) is presented as a White man who used his print-based literacy skills to craft text that not only influenced his contemporaries, but had a profound impact on American history and democracy. Dr. Feinman (in *Meeting the Challenges of Collecting*), Prudy (in *Prudy’s Problem and How She Solved It*), and Father and Grace Johnson (both from *Rocks In His Head*) are Whites whom the textbook presents as individuals using print-based literacy in order to organize museums and share artifacts/knowledge with a much larger audience. This stands in contrast to the ways in which the textbook presents African Americans using oral literacy to share ideas with their families and immediate communities, but not having the same kinds of opportunities as Whites to share their ideas with a larger audience. Print-based literacy, acquired

through formal education not only provide such opportunities to African Americans, but also serves as a form of capital through which individuals can accrue further capital.

Summary

In this chapter I have shown how the textbook presents pervasive differences in literacy skills and practices along lines of ethnicity. Whites, particularly middle-class Whites, are presented as individuals who not only have access to print-based literacy (a form of symbolic, cultural, and social capital with implications for economic capital), but also use print-based literacy as a strategic tool in their professional and personal lives, a tool that reproduces White privilege. Whites in the textbook are positioned as: a) having access to print-based texts; b) highly skilled in print-based literacy; c) reading and writing extensively; d) being academically successful; e) using print-based resources, such as library books, to accrue symbolic capital in the form of new scientific knowledge about the natural world; f) employing print-based literacy as a tool to communicate their ideas and knowledge with a large audience; and g) acting as gatekeepers of print-based literacy and school-based knowledge.

In contrast, African Americans in the textbook are positioned as: a) having little or no access to print-based texts; b) highly skilled in oral literacy; c) engaging in little or no reading and writing; d) being disruptive in school; e) drawing on folktales and personal experiences, rather than print-based texts and science, to understand the natural world; f) employing oral literacy to

communicate their ideas with their immediate community; and h) dependent on Whites for access to print-based literacy and school-based knowledge.

The textbook presents distinctly different discourses about print-based literacy for African Americans and Whites. Furthermore, it does so in ways that reflect the social reality of literacy skills as forms of capital: individuals who are skilled in print-based literacy have accrued symbolic, cultural, and social capital that they may use to accrue further capital or exchange for other forms of capital. Even young White children presented in the textbook selections are positioned as strategically using capital associated with their print-based literacy to obtain what they desire.

In the next chapter I explore discourses of ethnicity and social class in relationship to scientific literacy, another form of capital-cum-literacy typically accrued through formal education. I will explore the ways in which the textbook's discourses related to this forms of school-based capital marginalize African Americans, while privileging Whites, particularly middle-class Whites.

CHAPTER 6

SCIENTIFIC LITERACY AND FORMS OF CAPITAL

“Just as economic wealth cannot function as capital except in relation to an economic field, so cultural competence in all its forms is not constituted as cultural capital until it is inserted into the objective relations set up between the system of economic production and the system producing the producers (which is itself constituted by the relationship between the educational system and the family).”

-Bourdieu, 1990, p. 124

Overview

In the previous chapter I explored the relationship in the textbook among print-based literacy, oral literacy, forms of capital, and ethnicity. In this chapter, I continue to explore school-based forms of capital and ways the textbook racializes these literacies; I discuss this in regards to scientific literacy. I detail how the *Reading Street* texts position middle-class Whites as those who are scientists, while marginalizing African Americans as those who either lack scientific literacy or choose to rely instead of folk explanations of the natural world.

Scientific Literacy

Print-based literacy is not the only form of literacy that children and adults acquire through formal education and in school contexts, another form of school-based literacy with tremendous currency both in school and larger societal contexts is scientific literacy (Bybee, 1997; DeBoer, 2000; Harris, Kamhi, & Pollock, 2001; Ravitch, 1983). Forms of school-based knowledge are not neutral; they represent symbolic and cultural capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital. For example, if one constructs an understanding of school-based science literacy, she may go on to become a scientist, using symbolic and cultural capital to further accrue these forms of capitals, in addition to exchanging them for economic capital, and the social capital that comes with being part of the community of scientists who are perceived of as learned and respected by the general public. But what would it mean if an individual did not construct scientific understandings? What would it mean if an entire ethnic or cultural group drew exclusively on folk wisdom to explain the natural world?

Foucault (1972) argued that scientific knowledge has come to be considered the highest form of rational thinking in the post-Enlightenment era, and as such, is a form of power. In Bourdieuan terms, formal scientific knowledge is a form of cultural and symbolic capital. While neither Foucault nor Bourdieu argued that rational, scientific explanations for the natural world are inherently better than those that are grounded in mythology, folk wisdom, or individuals' idiosyncratic explanations, both theorists recognized that scientific knowledge is afforded tremendous privilege over other ways of knowing/being/doing. Whites in the *Reading Street* texts are presented as

possessing scientific literacy that affords them White middle-class privilege, while African Americans are presented as lacking scientific understandings and the related forms of capital. Just as there exist racist discourses related to print-based literacy in the textbooks, these texts present scientific literacy as a form of school-based capital that is accrued by Whites and used to reproduce White, middle-class privilege. These findings are summarized below in *Table 6.1: Axial Coding for Theme of Scientific Literacy*; following the table, I discuss these findings and my analysis.

Table 6.1: Axial Coding for Theme of Scientific Literacy

Scientific literacy	Texts and examples for Whites	Texts and examples for African Americans
	<p><i>He Listens to Whales</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are presented as marine scientists: gatekeepers to scientific knowledge. • Joe and the other marine scientists use extensive technology to study whales. <p><i>Volcanoes: Nature's Incredible Fireworks</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White scientists are shown studying an active volcano. <p><i>Back to the Wild: A Talk with a Wildlife Worker</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are presented as engaged in medical decision-making and medical care-giving. Whites presented as resources for information about healthcare and medicine for animals, which draws on biological science. 	<p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White Child, knows the Latin names of flowers and teaches them to Emma, an African American woman <p><i>Worms at Work</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's not clear whether the young girl of color is the narrator who is providing the directions for how to make a compost bin, or if she is a child following the directions. Either way, the piece is framed as a piece about science; therefore, the young girl in the illustrations is presented as engaging in science. • The girl is presented as a gardener; however, she isn't a character and doesn't have a name in this text.

	<p><i>Rocks in His Head</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father researches and teaches himself about rocks and minerals. He becomes so knowledgeable that he corrects the science museum artifact labels and secures a job in the museum. Father now becomes another gatekeeper to scientific knowledge. • Grace Johnson, a White woman, is positioned as the source of scientific knowledge, as the gatekeeper of both knowledge for visitors to the museum and to Father, whom she gives a job as curator, in spite of his lack of a college degree. <p><i>The Challenges of Collecting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Feinman, the director of the Field Museum of Natural History, is a White man who is presented as university educated professional and a source of science knowledge. • A White man is presented as collecting the artifacts of people of color; he is presented as a resource for knowledge about people who are unlike himself, how they live, and how they “fit in” to their surroundings. <p><i>Ben Franklin’s Little Words to Live By</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Franklin, a White male, presented as the founder of a hospital (science). 	<p><i>Fly, Eagle, Fly!</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The farmer’s friend talks to the eagle as if it can understand him; he explains the natural world to the bird in terms of anthropomorphizing the sun, not in terms of scientific understanding.
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	<p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All of the medical workers and doctors are White; this presents Whites as educated in science, as well as gatekeepers to healthcare. <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White child, reads and speaks Latin. She teaches Emma, an African American woman, the Latin names of flowers. 	
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Who Is a Scientist?

The textbook contains biographical vignettes of contemporary scientists and brief informational texts interwoven among the stories in the textbook; scientists presented in these texts are White; some are male and some are female, but scientific literacy and its related forms of capital are presented as synonymous with Whiteness.

Multiple scientists are presented in the selection *Volcanoes: Nature's Incredible Fireworks* (Harrison, 2007), an informational text about geology and geologists: "Scientists are learning what causes volcanoes and why they erupt." (p. 393) The accompanying photograph shows four scientists; only the faces of three scientists can be seen clearly, and of these three, all are White. The White scientists stand on the slope of a dormant volcano and look into it; White scientists do fieldwork to study and understand natural phenomenon.

The author profile page at the end of the selection presents David L. Harrison, a White male, as someone who uses print-based literacy as a tool for

presenting scientific knowledge about the world to others: “*Volcanoes* is one of several books in Harrison’s *Earthwork Series*” (p. 395). Furthermore, the textbook identifies Harrison as a best-selling author, one of whose books “sold two million copies” (p. 395), and shows small cover images of two more of his books, titled *Oceans: The Vast Mysterious Deep* and *Caves: Mysteries Beneath Our Feet*. The cover art for these books feature two White scuba divers and a White man and White child exploring a cave, respectively. Thus, a White author not only is presented by the textbook as a credible resource for understanding multiple topics and phenomenon in natural science (due to his symbolic and cultural capital in the form of scientific literacy and print-based literacy), but the White male author in turn presents other Whites as credible scientists, as well as White adults sharing scientific discovery with White children (transmitting symbolic and cultural capital). Like a mirror held up to face another mirror, this text selection reproduces a discourse that science is something White people do and know, a discourse that marginalizes African Americans.

This marginalizing discourse is further reproduced in a biographical vignette, *He Listens to Whales* (Correa, 2007), about a marine biologist named Joe Mobley who studies marine mammals off the coast of Maui. Photographs of Mobley and his colleagues, a man and a woman, show all of them to be White. Multiple captions to photographs explicitly name them as scientists and identify the scientific work in which Mobley and his colleagues engage: “Joe Mobley, marine biologist” (p. 376); “This scientist is listening for whale calls” (p. 378); and “These scientists are recording humpback whale songs” (p. 379). Mobley and

his colleagues study the songs of humpback whales through the use of recording devices and technology; Whites use technological knowledge (cultural and symbolic capital) and technological equipment (economic capital) to further construct scientific understandings (culture and symbolic capital). In return, the textbook presents these White scientists as credible gatekeepers to scientific literacy, a status which also grants them social and economic capital.

It is interesting to note that the vignette about the scientific study of whales in which Mobley and his fellow scientists engage stands in stark contrast to the story preceding it, *A Symphony of Whales* (Schuch, 2007), which presents an Inuit community trying to save whales who have been trapped in the ice. The Inuit people draw on traditional stories and folklore about human connections to animals as tools in problem solving to no avail; they must signal to a Russian-operated freighter to break the ice and free the whales. Thus, the textbook: a) presents a story in which people of color unsuccessfully draw on their culture's traditional knowledge (a source of capital in their own community) in solving problems in the natural world and rely on Whites with technology as capital to solve the problem; and b) follows this story with a biographical vignette that positions White scientists as those who can use their scientific literacy and technology to provide scientific understandings of the natural world.

This positioning of Whites as those who have accrued scientifically literacy and its related capital in order to intervene in the natural world is continued in the informational selection *Back to the Wild: A Talk with a Wildlife Worker* (Burke, 2007), an interview with Molly Jean Carpenter, a volunteer at the University of

Illinois-Urbana's Wildlife Medical Clinic. Carpenter and her clinic colleagues, presented in photographs, are White women who, "examine the animal from its head to its tail. If the animal can't take care of itself in the wild, we admit it to our clinic... and give them any medicine and care they need" (p. 2.329). Although the text does not explicitly identify Carpenter or her colleagues as doctors of veterinary medicine or scientists, it does present Whites women engaging in medical decision-making and healthcare for animals. Thus, White women are presented as credible resources for scientific literacy and its application to the natural world. Furthermore, Carpenter offers a statement about "why it is so important to return these animals to the wild" (p. 2.329), thus positioning herself as someone who has the symbolic, cultural, and social capital associated with scientific literacy to make judgments about how humans should interact with the natural world. All of this without the text explicitly identifying any veterinary credentials (symbolic capital) held by Carpenter or her colleagues. Carpenter is identified as "a volunteer at the clinic" (p.2.328); volunteerism and possessing time to volunteer one's time are largely associated with middle-class status. Perhaps Carpenter's Whiteness and White middle-class privilege are intended to be capital enough to grant her credibility with readers as a volunteer-cum-scientist.

Another individual who exchanges White privilege for symbolic and cultural capital is Father in *Rocks in His Head* (Hurst, 2007), a work of biographical fiction which is based upon the life of the author's father and how he came to work in a science museum. As discussed in the Chapter 5 section

regarding print-based literacy, Father uses print-based literacy and self-taught scientific literacy as forms of capital to secure a job as a museum curator, despite a lack of formal university education. Grace Johnson, the White director of the museum, is presented as someone who can judge the level of others' scientific literacy and grant them symbolic, cultural, and economic capital (in the form of museum employment) based on her assessment. Father, Grace Johnson, Molly Jean Carpenter, her colleagues, David Mobley, and his colleagues are all presented as individuals who possess scientific literacy; all are White. Grace Johnson herself summarizes the ways in which White middle-class privilege is reproduced:

“Mrs. Johnson smiled, ‘I’ve been talking to the board of directors. They know that I need a person here who knows as much about rocks as you do.’

‘What about the college education?’ he [Father] asked.

She said, ‘I told them I need somebody with rocks in his head and rocks in his pockets.’” (Hurst, 2007, p. 2.74)

When I read the preceding paragraph from the basal reader and interpret it through critical, Bourdieuan lenses, I would argue that the following discourse about the reproduction of White middle-class privilege is implicit in the exchange:

“Mrs. Johnson smiled, ‘I’ve been talking to the board of directors because I, as a White, middle-class, university educated woman with the related extensive symbolic, cultural, and economic capital have access to the members of a museum’s board of directors through my equally extensive social capital. They know that I need a person here who has the scientific literacy about rocks that you possess, and I have the forms of capital to be generally accepted as an individual who has the credibility to make an assessment of your scientific literacy.’

‘What about my lack of symbolic, cultural, and social capital associated with a college education, which itself requires significant symbolic, cultural, social, and economic capital for acceptance and to pay tuition?’ Father asked.

She said, ‘Because I, a White, middle-class, educated, professional woman have considerable forms of capital to grant credibility and urgency to my demands, I told the members of my middle-class and upper-middle-class professional social network that I needed someone with extensive scientific literacy-cum-capital related to geology, as well as firsthand e experiences with geological exploration and discovery.’”

When deconstructed, and reconstructed, through microanalysis, the textbook provides multiple sites for a critical race and Bourdieuan analysis in regards to a school-based form of capital such as scientific literacy, those who have accrued it, and those who are positioned as gatekeepers for others’ scientific literacy.

Dr. Gary Feinman, the anthropologist and Field Museum of Natural History curator interviewed in *Meeting the Challenges of Collecting* (Klobuchar, 2007), is not only an individual who is presented as university educated professional and a source of school-based print-based literacy and scientific literacy; he is also a White man who is, in the role of an anthropologist, presented as a resource for knowledge about people who are unlike himself. The text states, “Anthropology is the study of how people live. Anthropologists look at how people fit in with the places they live. They study how different groups of people are alike and how they are different” (p. 220). A photograph on page 221 shows him examining pieces of pottery and taking notes on a notepad—a White, middle-class, professional man who uses his scientific literacy and print-based literacy (both forms of capital) to analyze the cultural artifacts (forms of capital within that cultural group) of other groups. Captions accompanying photographs of artifacts

throughout the text selection indicate that he studies artifacts created by people of color; the objects he and his museum collect and study are presented as those that come indigenous groups and traditional cultural art forms in South America, Africa, Oceania, and the Wappo Indians of central California. Thus, a White man is presented as collecting the artifacts of people of color, one of them a mask from Cameroon that represents the face of a person of color (p. 223).

These artifacts likely represented very different forms of capital within the cultural groups who created them than they do as assets in a museum's anthropology collection. This raises the question of who has the right to these objects, and who has a right to claim to be an expert about them. What does it mean for a White man to be presented as the expert (holder of substantial symbolic and cultural capital) on an ethnic or cultural group that is not his own? What does it mean when no people of color are presented as experts on those who are different from themselves? The textbook highlights Dr. Feinman's position as a scientist who is privileged with the task of deciding which cultural artifacts will be made available to the public through museum displays:

LK [interviewer]: "With so many interesting and unusual objects, how do you decide which to display?"

Dr. F [Feinman]: "Our permanent displays all have certain themes. If an object fits in with that theme, we try to put it on display." (p. 222)

"Unusual" can be interpreted to mean unusual to those who are not members of the ethnic groups from which the objects originated. Is the mask from Cameroon "unusual" to those whose ethnic group members traditionally created/used such masks? What gets positioned as unusual and exotic, and who has the right to

make this decision? Feinman is charged with determining themes for cultural artifacts, deciding what is and isn't relevant, and hence what is displayed as representative of a cultural group; a White middle-class man is, by virtue of his scientific literacy and related forms of capital, positioned as the gatekeeper to not only scientific understanding, but also representations of the cultural groups of people of color.

Another White middle-class male whom the textbook positions as a gatekeeper to science is Benjamin Franklin (in *Ben Franklin's Little Words to Live By*, Sokoloff, 2007), who is identified as the founder of a hospital (an institution that is highly symbolic of the cultural, symbolic, and economic capital related to science and scientific literacy). Earlier in this chapter I discussed how Molly Jean Carpenter and her fellow White female colleagues at the wildlife hospital (in *Back to the Wild: A Talk with a Wildlife Worker*, Burke, 2007) were presented as individuals who drew on their scientific literacy in the field of medicine. Other medical professionals presented in the textbook are found in *If You Made a Million* (Schwartz, 2007); although it is an informational text about money, monetary equivalencies, and the numerical concept of one million, an illustration on page 105 shows a horse-drawn ambulance tending to injured knights outside a castle. The ambulance sports a banner that reads "Dr. Pam" and all of the medical workers in the illustration are White. The textbook consistently presents medical works as Whites, and thus scientifically literate individuals who serve as gatekeepers to scientific learning are presented as White.

The textbook stories do not present a single example of an African American or other person of color as a doctor or healthcare provider, although a brief biography of the African American track legend Wilma Rudolph, *Women Athletes* (Scott Foresman, 2007), states that Rudolph was born weighing only 4.5 pounds and in need of medical care, but “[b]ecause of racial segregation laws, [Rudolph] and her mother were not permitted into the local hospital” (p. 2.110). When the textbook does mention African Americans and doctors, it does so within the context of the former being victims of racist segregation laws. Interestingly, the textbook does not identify Whites as the perpetrators of these laws; instead Rudolph was denied access to healthcare by “racial segregation laws” (p. 2.110). Much as occurred in the story of Harriet Tubman in the sample text analysis in Chapter 4 of this paper, the textbook absolves Whites of their role in systems of oppression that reproduce White privilege and marginalize African Americans.

The sole representation the textbook provides of an African American, indeed any person of color, drawing on scientific literacy to engage in a scientific investigation is a young girl in one of the illustrations (p. 303) of *Worms at Work* (Scott Foresman, 2007), an informational text that describes the steps one would take to create a composting bin with earthworms. It is not clear from the text whether or not the young girl is supposed to be the text’s narrator, that is the individual providing the directions for how to make a composting bin, or if she is the child in the illustrations who is following the directions. Whether she is the person possessing and disseminating scientific knowledge or the one seeking

this knowledge, she is shown engaged in gardening as a form of natural science, and thus connected to scientific literacy.

The young girl is shown with light brown skin and hair that falls in tight ringlets, but her ethnicity is ambiguous in the text. She is unnamed; this stands in sharp contrast to the ways in which the textbook selections not only explicitly name White scientists, but also: a) name the specific *kinds of science*, i.e. scientific literacy, in which Whites engage—anthropology or marine biology, for example; b) provide job titles for Whites engaging in science—such as curator, museum director, marine biologist; and c) even name specific institutions of formal science learning, i.e. repositories of symbolic, cultural, social, and economic capital associated with scientific literacy, for Whites—for example, Dr. Feinman works at the Field Museum of Natural History and Molly Jean Carpenter at the Wildlife Medical Clinic at the University of Illinois-Urbana.

Even Whites, such as the marine biologist Joe Mobley and Father in *Rocks in His Head*, who aren't linked to an explicitly named formal institution are still presented as engaged in collaborative scientific inquiry and knowledge building with the support of scientific institutions; Whites socially construct scientific literacy and its associated forms of capital. In contrast, the limited number of African Americans who express interest in science do so in much less formal contexts. The unnamed, brown-skinned girl in the *Works at Work* illustrations is gardening in her back yard. Emma, the African American baker from *The Gardener*, is exchanging capital in the form of bread dough kneading instruction for the Latin, i.e. scientific, names of flowers growing at the bakery.

Although Lydia Grace, the White child who teaches Emma the Latin names of flowers, is a gardener, not a scientist, she does possess symbolic and cultural capital in the form of scientific literacy—capital she exchanges for lessons in making bread. Even as a child gardener, Lydia Grace is presented as a gatekeeper to scientific literacy for a grown African American woman.

Emma is so eager to acquire the Latin labels for familiar flowers; she actively seeks out scientific literacy and exchanges her available capital for scientific literacy's capital. However, the textbook largely presents African Americans as either disengaged from science and scientific literacy, dependent on Whites as gatekeepers of scientific understandings, or simply choosing instead to explain the natural world with folklore. In *Fly, Eagle, Fly!* (Gregorowski, 2007), the farmer's friend, a Black South African, talks to the eagle as if it can understand him; he explains the natural world to the bird in terms of anthropomorphizing the sun, not in terms of scientific understanding, "The friend talked on, telling the bird about the sun, how it gives life to the world, how it reigns in the heavens, giving light to each new day" (p. 2.129). The friend teaches an eagle to fly by talking to it about the sun and taking it to a mountaintop to find inspiration. While this folktale presents a person of color drawing on a connection to the natural world through folk wisdom, Whites are presented in the textbook selections as drawing upon scientific literacy.

Summary

The textbook includes multiple informational pieces, biographical vignettes, and works of biographical fiction related to science and scientific literacy; these texts present scientists as White. Whites are positioned as those who: a) engage extensively in scientific inquiry; b) acquire scientific literacy and use it as a tool to further their scientific knowledge; c) are explicitly *named* as scientists and specialists; d) act as gatekeepers of scientific knowledge for others; e) can become gatekeepers of scientific literacy without formal school-based, university training; f) are associated with formal institutions of higher education and scientific learning, such as museums and universities; g) collaborate with other scientists; h) use their print-based literacy skills as a tool in constructing and disseminating scientific literacy; and i) use scientific literacy as capital to accrue further capital and exchange it for other forms of capital, such as economic capital.

In contrast, the textbook provides limited texts that feature African Americans engaged in science. African Americans are positioned as those who: a) rarely engage extensively in scientific inquiry; b) acquire limited scientific literacy; c) are not scientists and specialists; d) rely on Whites gatekeepers of scientific knowledge to teach them about science; e) can accrue basic scientific literacy without formal school-based, but do so within the context of home gardening and/or exchanging manual labor for lessons; f) are not associated with formal institutions of higher education or scientific learning; g) do not even go to museums or attend universities; h) do not collaborate with other scientists; i) use their manual labor skills in order to accrue basic scientific literacy; j) do not

disseminate scientific literacy; and k) sometimes rely on folk explanations for the natural world rather than scientific explanations.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, from Bourdieuan and Foucauldian critical perspectives, everyday theories about and folk explanations for the natural world are not inherently better than scientific ones, but one cannot deny that the latter carry with them significant forms of capital which the scientifically literate individual can use to accrue further capital or exchange for other forms of capital. Scientific literacy is privileged over folk explanation in the same way that print-based literacy is privileged over oral literacy in both school-based and larger societal contexts. The textbook selections marginalize African Americans in both print-based literacy and scientific literacy; in the next chapter I discuss the ways in which the textbook presents mathematical literacy and its relationship to ethnicity in ways that further privilege middle-class Whites.

CHAPTER 7

MATHEMATICAL LITERACY AND FORMS OF CAPITAL

“Truth isn’t outside power... it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint... Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned... the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.”

Foucault, 1980, p. 131

Overview

In the previous chapter I discussed the ways in which the textbook selections construct science as the domain of White, middle-class gatekeepers of scientific literacy, and present African Americans as largely lacking in scientific literacy. I explored the ways in which these differences in scientific literacy are tied to forms of capital and the marginalization of African Americans. In this chapter I turn to another form of literacy that reproduces White middle-class privilege: mathematical literacy. I begin by discussing the relationship among mathematical literacy, culture, and forms of capital. I then present my analysis of the ways mathematical literacy is constructed in the *Reading Street* texts in ways that privilege middle-class Whites, and the ways this is linked to forms of capital and racist discourses.

Mathematics and Culture

It is not uncommon to hear someone say he likes (or doesn't) mathematics because the answer to a mathematics question/problem is either *right* or *wrong*, unlike disciplines such as literature studies, which call for analysis and interpretation. However, the assertion that there is one correct way of approaching mathematics and thinking mathematically about the world is an implicit argument for what Foucault (1980) would call a "regime of truth," that is a way of knowing/doing in the world (or in a content area, such as math) that the privileged group has *decided* is true; this regime of truth is sanctioned and consequently reproduced by the dominant group. Mathematics, much like science, has come to be dominated by European/White ways of thinking, but ethnomathematics theories (Ascher, 1991; D'Amrobisa, 1985; Luitel & Taylor 2007; Powell & Frankenstein, 1997) problematize the privileging of White, middle-class approaches to mathematics and its applications in daily life. Ethnomathematics perspectives argue that culture and mathematics are in relationship with one another; mathematical thinking does not occur independently of cultural contexts and modes for being/doing/thinking mathematically in the world.

Considering the relationship between culture and mathematics through critical lenses, one can consider how dominant, White, middle-class discourses about mathematics may serve to reproduce White, middle-class privilege through forms of capital. If an individual engages in mathematics in ways that have been sanctioned as regimes of truth by the dominant group, she possesses a form of symbolic and cultural capital that can be used as a tool to accrue further capital.

Mathematical literacy is a powerful form of capital that is political in nature.

In *Equity and Mathematics: An Interview with Deborah Ball and Bob*

Moses (Richards, 2009), Moses emphasizes the need for mathematical literacy and its connection to economic capital:

“We've shifted from an industrial technology to information-age technology. Computers have introduced the need for quantitative literacy.... When I was in Mississippi [in the 1960s], I saw very graphically how literacy mattered. Sharecroppers weren't literate, so they were outside the economic arrangement. That's what's happening now in the inner cities. We're growing young people who are outside the economic arrangements for the information-age technologies. It's not that they don't need reading and writing. They need higher levels of reading and writing because they have to communicate. But they also need the ability to encode and decode information, which is partially encoded with quantitative information.”

In the same interview (Richardson, 2009), Ball argues:

“We have a country full of people who aren't particularly mathematically literate, so this is a hard conversation to have. If we were having the conversation about whether everyone should learn to read, that would sound pretty silly. It's a hard conversation to have in this country... But, for many kids, math will be the key thing for their life chances.”

Mathematical Literacy

The National Mathematics Advisory Panel (NMAP), established in 2006 under No Child Left Behind legislation, took up the challenge of reviewing scientifically based research related to mathematics teaching and learning in order to make recommendations for improved mathematics education. NMAP cited the 2003 Programme (sic) for International Student Assessment (PISA) test in mathematics as evidence for the lagging performance of American 15-year olds in relationship to other developed nations. The Organization for Economic

Co-Operation and Development (OECD) is the international organizing body for the PISA, and it states that PISA defines mathematical literacy as:

“an individual’s capacity to identify and understand the role that mathematics plays in the world, to make well-founded judgments and to use and engage with mathematics in ways that meet the needs of that individual’s life as a constructive, concerned and reflective citizen. (OECD, 2006, p. 74)

The emphasis on mathematics not as mere proficiency in providing correct answers on math worksheets and quizzes, but used in authentic contexts and lived experiences for complex purposes is further emphasized:

“The PISA *mathematical literacy* domain is concerned with the capacities of students to analyse (sic), reason and communicate ideas effectively as they pose, formulate, solve and interpret mathematical problems in a variety of situations. The PISA assessment focuses on real-world problems, moving beyond the kinds of situations and problems typically encountered in school classrooms. In real world settings, citizens regularly face situations when shopping, travelling, cooking, dealing with their personal finances, judging political issues, etc., in which the use of quantitative or spatial reasoning or other mathematical competencies would help clarify, formulate or solve a problem.... PISA *mathematical literacy* deals with the extent to which 15-year-old students can be regarded as informed, reflective citizens and intelligent consumers.” (OECD, 2006, p. 74)

Like print-based literacy and scientific literacy, mathematical literacy is inherently political. Differences in mathematical literacy have consequences beyond K-12 academic success; they can impact personal finances, critical consumerism, and access to forms of higher education.

Whites in the *Reading Street* texts are presented as possessing mathematical literacy that affords them White middle-class privilege, while African Americans are presented as largely lacking mathematical literacy and its related forms of capital. Just as there exist racist discourses related to print-

based literacy and scientific literacy in the textbooks, these texts present mathematical literacy as a form of school-based capital that is accrued by Whites and used to reproduce White, middle-class privilege. These findings are summarized below in *Table 7.1: Axial Coding for Theme of Mathematical Literacy*; following the table, I discuss these findings and my analysis.

Table 7.1: Axial Coding for Theme of Mathematical Literacy

Mathematical literacy	Texts and examples for Whites	Texts and examples for African Americans
	<p><i>Boom Town</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amanda, a White child, starts her own baking business and expands to employ her entire family. • Amanda advises other White adult males in the community to begin community businesses and organizations, such as a bank and a school. • Amanda, a White child, is presented as being in a position to give business and profit advice to grown White men. She is presented as the one whose ideas led to businesses, a bank, a school, a church, etc. in the community; therefore, she is, in essence, a gatekeeper to commerce and education. • Amanda saves her bakery profits in the family money jar until the family decides to put it in the bank for safekeeping. <p><i>Ben Franklin's Little Words to</i></p>	<p><i>Mike's Teaching T-Shirts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American male presented as an independent business owner who earns \$2,000 a year. He saves this money to pay for college one day. He employs only himself. <p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genie, who appears to be an African American is presented as someone depositing a \$1,000 check in the bank (to a White teller and White banker). This positions a person of color as possessing the funds to have a bank account; however, Whites are still the gatekeepers to the financial institution. <p><i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni was able to count the number of coins, 355; however, he did not calculate their monetary value, how much a bicycle would cost, nor how much more money he would need. The bicycle

	<p><i>Live By</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Franklin, a White male, presented as a resource for lessons about money through his <i>Poor Richard's Almanack</i>. <p><i>Alexander, Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alexander knows exactly how much money he has with each transaction, even though he may be an impulse buyer. • Alexander's parents advise him to save money that is given to him, not for which he worked. His father advises him to save the dollar for college; his mother advises him to save for the walkie-talkies he wants. Alexander instead spends the money on impulse purchases. • Alexander expresses concern that he needs "to get money to save." David has internalized the White, middle-class, financial discourse related to the importance of saving. <p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three images of bankers shown: 2 are White women are shown as branch tellers; 1 White man is shown at a desk under an edifice that reads "The Bank." A White male is shown as synonymous with the bank. • White male banker is shown shaking hands with the boy who purchased the castle. 	<p>merchant mocks Saruni for miscalculating his savings and the cost.</p> <p><i>Learning About Money</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A brown hand holds the computer mouse in order to use the computer to learn more about money from the White boy in the illustrations. <p><i>Tips for Saving Money</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little boy, no name, has brown skin, black hair, and blue eyes. Positions a person of color as needing to learn about money and math, as well as how to have a bank account.
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Money wizard is a White male.• The ogre, a White male, is presented as facilitating a conversation about managing money. <p><i>Learning About Money</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• An unnamed White boy explains how to save money and set financial goals. <p><i>Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The architectural drawing Trudy creates suggests that she has mathematical funds of knowledge that are school-based.• Prudy creates a museum business that generates profits she saves.• Prudy's museum is a business: it generates income through admission fees and a gift shop. This positions Prudy as a small business owner who employs others, and is hence a gatekeeper to employment and financial security.• The money going into the piggy bank suggests that Prudy can save her money; she does not need to spend it to contribute to her family's income. Prudy's museum work is of her own choosing; it is not a necessity, as is the work of people of color in the textbook. <p><i>Rocks in His Head</i></p>	
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father establishes and runs his own successful small business, although his business ultimately closes due to financial hardships caused by the Great Depression. • Father presented as being financially savvy enough to foresee the implications of the stock market crash. Father actually predicted the consequences of the depression, even though his community didn't listen to his concerns. • Father, a White man, presented as a business owner, hence gatekeeper to employment and financial security for others. He gets help from his own father in doing so; his family has the funds of knowledge to build and establish a business. • Grace Johnson, a White woman, is positioned as the source of scientific knowledge, as the gatekeeper of both knowledge for visitors to the museum and to Father, whom she gives a job as curator, in spite of his lack of a college degree. <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncle Jim owns a bakery and employs two African American bakers. <p><i>Meeting the Challenges of Collecting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is implied that Dr. Feinman, as the head of the anthropology department, is 	
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	<p>in a leadership position in regards to staff; this presents him as a gatekeeper to employment, and hence financial security for others.</p>	
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Who Is an Everyday Mathematician?

For individuals from middle-class homes, the foundations of engaging in mathematics in ways that are congruent with those of the dominant culture begins in childhood, when children are enculturated into the mathematical practices of their caregivers, and continues through formal schooling (Ascher, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979; D’Amrobisa, 1985; Foucault, 1980; Powell & Frankenstein, 1997). The textbook selections present several White children who are mathematically literate, not simply in school contexts, but in the real-world, problem-solving context emphasized by PISA and the NMAP.

Alexander Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday (Viorst, 2007) is a story familiar to many children and adults from its best-selling picture storybook format. Alexander’s grandparents give him money when they come for a visit, for no particular reason other than he and his brothers like money: “They brought a dollar for me and a dollar for Nick and a dollar for Anthony because—Mom says it isn’t nice to say this—we like money. A lot. Especially me” (p. 71). A White child is given economic capital without having to exchange labor or others forms of capital for it. This contrasts with the ways that African Americans in the textbook are presented as having to work for their money, or are given money or

material things, often secondhand, from their family and/or community members in reward for good deeds they've done for others.

Alexander does not have to use his money to meet any particular need, other than purchasing whatever he desires; however, his parents advise him to save the money that is given to him, not for which he worked. His father advises him to save the dollar for college; he is encouraged to save economic capital to later be exchanged for symbolic and cultural capital. Alexander instead spends the money on impulse purchases, and knows exactly how much money he has with each transaction and keeps a running mental tabulation of how much he has spent and how much he has left. Even though Alexander may be an impulse buyer, he is mathematically literate. This contrasts with the one example the textbook presents of an African American child counting money: Saruni, in *My Rows and Piles of Coins*, is able to count that the *number* of coins he has is 355; however, he cannot calculate their monetary value, how much a new bicycle will cost, nor how much more money he still needs to buy a bike. The bicycle merchant mocks Saruni for miscalculating his savings and the cost of the purchase.

Alexander has no such problem. He moves beyond computational competency to express concern that he needs “to get money to save” (p. 80); he has internalized the White, middle-class, financial discourse related to the importance of saving money (accruing economic capital). Beyond computation and symbolic thinking, financial and economic skills are part of mathematical literacy (OECD, 2006).

In an attempt to regain some of his financial losses, Alexander decides to sell things:

“After the gum stopped tasting good, I got more gum. And after that gum stopped tasting good, I got more gum. And even though I told my friend David I’d sell him all the gum in my mouth for a nickel, he still wouldn’t buy it.” (p. 73)

David is African American. He is the only African American in the story and has no voice, nothing beyond a picture of him and his name being mentioned. David is not actually a character in this story, but a prop, much as the African American boy in Prudy’s museum (*Prudy’s Problem and How She Solved It*) is background décor. As the only African American in Alexander’s story, David is offered used food—economic capital that has already been consumed by a White child.

Prudy is another White child whom the textbook presents as trying to get rid of economic capital that is no longer wanted. Prudy’s mother, a White, middle-class woman, encourages Prudy to take some of extra belongings to a thrift shop. A White child is positioned as having so much economic capital that she can give some of it away. The mother stresses that a mushroom amongst Prudy’s hoarded material possessions is “old.” Something old is seen as unacceptable for a White child, while African American children and people of color in the textbook accept and are grateful for used items, such as Saruni in *My Rows and Piles of Coins*, who is happy to make do with a used coat and bicycle, and Abuelo, an Hispanic man in *A Day’s Work* who gratefully accepts a used hat from a White man.

Prudy uses her excess economic capital, in the form of her many

collections of oddities, as items around which to create her own museum; she creates a business that generates profits through admissions fees and a gift shop, profits which she saves. This positions Prudy as a small business owner who employs others, and is hence a gatekeeper (symbolic capital) to employment and financial security for others and herself. The money going into her piggy bank suggests that Prudy can save her money; she does not need to spend it to contribute to her family's income. Prudy's museum work is of her own choosing; it is not a necessity, as is the work of people of color in the textbook. And her business success is supported by her print-based literacy, scientific literacy, and mathematical literacy. An illustration on p. 215 even shows Prudy with an architectural blueprint she has drawn as building plans for her museum; this suggests further mathematical literacy.

Another White child in the textbook selections who draws on her mathematical literacy and financial savvy is Amanda in Boom Town. She starts her own baking business and expands it to employ her entire family; her father even quits his mining job to work for her. Amanda's business provides work and income for her family; she is presented as a gatekeeper to employment and financial security. Furthermore, she advises multiple White adult males in the community to begin community businesses and organizations, such as a bank and a school; a White child, is presented as being in a position to give business and profit advice to grown White men. She is the one whose ideas lead to businesses, a bank, a school, a church, etc. in the community; therefore, she is a gatekeeper to commerce (a means of building economic capital) and education

(symbolic and cultural capital). Amanda possesses not only the mathematical literacy to advise others about sound investments, she also has the social capital to access these White, upper-middle-class men and to be considered by them credible in the areas of finance:

“We’ll use your bank,’ I told Mr. Hooper, ‘but the roads are so poor... We need some sidewalks and better streets.’ ‘You’re a smart little lady,’ said Mr. Hooper, tipping his hat. ‘I’ll see what I can do about that.’ Before we knew it, the bank was built and wooden sidewalks were laid. “ (p. 33)

A White child is told that she is smart by someone who represents economic, symbolic, cultural, and social capital. This contrasts with how Ikarus (from *Wings*) is expelled from school and has an exchange with the police because he is marginalized in school. In regards to the bank, Amanda not only has access to the banker, but she advises him and makes a request on behalf of the city, which he fulfills. A White female child is positioned as an influential figure to a financial institution, and hence a gatekeeper.

Like Alexander, Amanda has a middle-class perspective and privilege about saving money; she saves her bakery profits in the family money jar until the bank opens and she can put it there for safekeeping. The money in the jar isn’t needed to meet the family’s daily needs of life, but can be saved as profits; this positions Amanda as a successful young entrepreneur who has moved her family into the middle-class and has the mathematical literacy to give others financial advice.

Benjamin Franklin is similarly positioned in *Ben Franklin’s Little Words to Live By*. In describing Franklin’s writing, the textbook frames it as: “The proverbs on this page are all alike in two ways. First, they teach lessons about money or

greed. Second, they all come from Ben Franklin” (p. 63). Not only does the textbook offer Franklin as someone who is rich in print-based literacy and scientifically literate, but also as someone who is mathematically literate and in the position to teach others about personal finance.

Another White who teaches about mathematical literacy in the form of personal finance is an unnamed boy in *Learning About Money*, who is illustrated as the narrator throughout this short informational text about how to save money. He explains how to set financial goals to another unnamed child, who we only see in part from her hand on a computer mouse; the hand is brown and in clear contrast to the color of the White narrator. A White child is presented as possessing mathematical literacy (cultural and symbolic capital) about money (economic capital) and teaching this to a brown-skinned child. Perhaps this would not be so noteworthy if not for the fact that every other text selection related to financial advice presents Whiteness as largely synonymous with mathematical literacy and gatekeeper status.

If You Made a Million is an informational piece that presents a White, male “Money Wizard” and a White, male money ogre providing financial advice to a group of children, some of whom are White and one of whom is an African American girl. The text includes a discussion of saving money in a bank (p. 103), and presents three images of individuals associated with this: 2 are White women shown as branch tellers; 1 is a White man shown at a desk under an edifice that reads “The Bank.” A White male is presented as synonymous with the bank and acting in the role of gatekeeper to mathematical literacy and

economic resources. On p. 105 a White male is shown as a bank representative shaking hands with a White boy who has purchased a castle; a White male acts in a role laden with forms of capital as a White male child uses economic capital to invest in home ownership, a form of economic and social capital.

One interesting exception to the way in which the textbook largely presents African Americans as lacking the economic capital and mathematical literacy to invest money in a business, home, or savings is an African American genie who appears on pages 102-103 of *If You Made a Million*. The genie is presented as someone depositing a \$1,000 check in the bank, a deposit he makes to a White teller and White banker. This positions a person of color as possessing the economic capital and mathematical literacy to have a bank account; however, Whites are still the gatekeepers to the financial institution, and this nameless genie who serves as background illustration is the only representation of an African American upper-middle-class in the entire textbook.

Even Whites who have yet to attain middle-class, professional status are presented in the textbook as having accrued mathematical literacy. Father (from *Rocks in His Head*) owns his own gas station before he becomes a museum curator: "When he grew up, my father decided to open a gas station... My grandfather helped him build one" (p. 2.66). A White male wants to open his own business, so he simply builds one with help from his father. The textbook does not present an example of a person of color being able to open his own businesses with such ease. A White male is presented as a business owner, hence gatekeeper to employment and financial security for others. He gets help

from his own father in doing so; his family has the forms of capital to build and establish a business; there is no mention of Father needing to learn about money from others in order to accomplish these things. In fact, he is particularly financially savvy and forward thinking, anticipating the need for automobile repairs, and hence establishing a successful business for himself:

“He thought anyone who had spare parts for the Model T and could repair it so that it drove like new would do a good business. He bought some parts from dealers and found some parts in junkyards... People said, ‘If you think people are going to buy that junk, you’ve got rocks in your head.’ ‘Maybe I have,’ he said, ‘Maybe I have.’ But people did come to buy that junk.” (pp. 2.67-68)

Although Father’s business ultimately closes, the text makes explicit that this is due to the financial hardships caused by the Great Depression. Father is actually presented as being financially savvy enough to foresee the implications of the stock market crash; he predicted the consequences of the depression, even though his community didn’t listen to his concerns:

“Then the stock market fell. At first, people didn’t think it would matter much to my father... ‘I may have rocks in my head,’ he said, ‘but I think bad times are coming.’ And bad times did come.” (p. 2.69)

A White business owner is presented as being financially savvy enough to foresee the implications of a stock market crash unprecedented in American history. Father is an extraordinary man: he uses print-based literacy and scientific literacy to establish himself in a new, professional career when his business fails.

But who are the business owners and the employees in this textbook? Every story that includes discussion of professional, middle-class employment presents a White person in the role of the professional. When bosses or

directors are explicitly mentioned in the text or shown in illustrations they are White. The textbook does not present an example of an adult African American in a professional role. Emma and Ed, the two African Americans in *The Gardener*, work as bakers for Uncle Jim, a White man. The father in *How My Family Lives in America* is shown in a button-down shirt and khaki slacks after work, and the text states that he came to America for a college education. However, there is no mention of a professional job or of any literacies or academic skills he has accrued. A story in which there is the possibility that an African American man is presented as a professional rich in multiple forms of capital does not provide enough information about him or involve him enough in the story to make this possibility available to readers.

An African American child who is explicitly presented as a mathematically literate entrepreneur is Mike, in *Mike's Teaching T-Shirts*:

“Mike makes about \$2,000 each year from his Teaching T-shirts. All of the money goes into his savings for college.” (p. 41)

“To Mike, school comes first. ‘I don’t get too involved in my business when it has any chance of interfering with schoolwork. That’s the most important thing for any kid to be involved in.’” (p. 41)

An African American child is presented as a small business owner who earns \$2,000 a year; Mike is financially literate. Furthermore, he saves this money to pay for college one day, which positions him as someone who has internalized middle-class discourses about the importance of saving money and attending college. It is interesting that only an African American *child* is allowed to be fully mathematically literate and to have middle-class aspirations in this textbook.

Many (Bishop, 2007; MacCann, 2001; MacCann & Woodward, 1985) have argued that the African American male has historically feared by racist Whites, and hence the African American child, or child-like adult, is perceived as less threatening to the reproduction of White, middle-class privilege; this was a large part of the historic appeal of the “pickaninny¹⁷” and “sambo¹⁸” characters in literature and drama post-reconstruction era, and later in other media forms such as radio, film, and television.

Another African American child who works to earn money is Cletus, in *A Gift for Cletus*, who uses his bicycle to deliver packages and run errands for his neighbors. However, because he does not have a basket for his bike, Cletus is actually in danger running errands:

“Sometimes Cletus had so much piled on the front of his bike that he could not keep the bike steady. He wobbled dangerously from side to side, and the bundles would almost fall into the street.” (p. 119)

An African American child is in a dangerous situation in order to earn money.

Similarly, Saruni, the Tanzanian boy in *My Rows and Piles of Coins* rides a bike that is much too large for him and very precarious, in order to take goods to market for his mother: “I strapped the giant pumpkin on the carrier behind me.

When I attempted to pedal, the bicycle wobbled so dangerously that Murete,

¹⁷ I recognize that this term has a long history as a racial slur, much as the n-word does. I use the term here as it is the term that is widely accepted and used in the field of African American children’s literature to describe the derogatory stereotype of African American children as unkempt, illiterate, nonsensical, lazy, and gullible. I use the term in my work to name and problematize the stereotype, not to perpetuate it.

¹⁸ This is another racial slur with a long and troubled past; however, I use the term in this research as the stereotype of a Sambo as an adult, male African American who was childlike, incapable of being independent or thinking rationally, inarticulate, lazy, and ever the buffoon leads me to question why no adult African American males are presented as having fully accrued print-based literacy, scientific literacy, or mathematical literacy. Perhaps it is safer for a child to be mathematically literate than an adult, which may be perceived by some as a threat to the reproduction of White, idle-class privilege.

alongside me, had to grab it” (p. 128). The textbook does not present White children engaging in potentially dangerous activities in order to earn money or help their families. Amanda, the White girl in *Boom Town*, bakes pies to earn extra money and Prudy, from *Prudy’s Problem and How She Solved It*, opens her museum, but they are in no danger. Cletus recognizes the potential hazard of his situation, yet he lacks the economic capital to ensure his safety:

“Cletus wanted to buy a big basket for the back of his bike. He knew that with the bundles arranged behind him, it would be easier and safer to ride back and forth to town. But he hadn’t saved enough money yet.” (p. 119)

When Cletus’ neighbors collectively buy him a bike basket as a thank you gift for all he does for them, Cletus uses it to go back to work: “He thanked his neighbors, and then off he went again with their lists and bundles” (p. 119).

Manual labor is seen as ongoing for an African American child, not just for saving up to buy a desired item.

African American adults in the textbook selections are largely presented as working manual labor, blue collar, or skilled trade jobs. Emma and Ed are bakers. Wilma Rudolph is an athlete. The men in *Fly, Eagle, Fly* are farmers. The family in *My Rows and Piles of Coins* are farmers. Harriet Tubman is someone who has escaped enslavement. Uncle Romie is a painter. The father in *How My Family Lives in America* may be a white collar professional, but this is implied as a very small part of the story’s backdrop and is not salient to the story.

These kinds of jobs for African Americans contrast sharply with the jobs identified in the text for White adults. Dr. Gary Feinmann is a museum curator and anthropologist. Grace Johnson is a museum director and Father is a

museum curator. Animal healthcare workers are White. Benjamin Franklin is a writer, a scientist, a politician, and a financial advisor. White bankers and financial advisors appear in *If You Made a Million*. Uncle Jim is a small business owner and employs African Americans. Joe Mobley and his colleagues are marine biologists. White geologists study a dormant volcano. While African Americans are included in many stories within the textbook, they are not granted middle-class professional status. The racialized discourses related to mathematical literacy, financial skills, and employment largely exclude African Americans and reproduce White, middle-class privilege.

Summary

The textbook presents Whites as: a) mathematically literate; b) financially savvy; c) having enough money to invest and/or save; d) as gatekeepers to financial institutions; e) as gatekeepers to financial knowledge; f) successful in running their own businesses that employ others; and g) drawing extensively on mathematical literacy, and other forms of literacy, in their professional careers.

African American in the textbook are presented as: a) sometimes mathematically literate, but only if children; b) sometimes financially savvy, if children; c) having enough money to meet their needs of life and to save for items they need for work, with the exception of Mike, who is saving for college; d) dependent on White gatekeepers for access to financial institutions; e) dependent on White gatekeepers for access to financial knowledge; f) successful in running their own business that employs only themselves, if a child; and g) not needing to draw extensively on mathematical literacy, and other forms of literacy,

in their professional careers.

The textbook selections present very different possibilities for Whites and African Americans; they are positioned with very different forms of capital.

Professional careers that draw on mathematical literacy, scientific literacy, and print-based literacy are largely the purview of Whites. African Americans adults are largely presented as engaging in work that does not require, or build, these kinds of literacy as forms of capital. African American children may be self-starters who employ themselves, but this is not offered as a possibility for adult African Americans. In the next chapter, I discuss my findings further and explore their relationship to social realities, social possibilities, and social justice.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION: "TEACHING TO TRANSGRESS"

"The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom."

- bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress* (1994, p. 207)

"Tools of Oppression": How Far Have We Really Come?

The basal readers I studied in this dissertation present racist discourses as pervasive threads weaving throughout the stories and informational texts intended for young children. These racist discourses essentialize African Americans as a largely homogenous group who are working-class, with little academic, cultural, symbolic, or social capital related to school-based literacies in the areas of language arts, mathematics, and science. In contrast, Whites are presented as a more heterogeneous group, although largely middle-class and rich in forms of capital related to school-based literacies.

Beryle Banfield, the noted scholar of African American children's literature, argued:

“In a racist society children’s trade books and textbooks must be viewed as one of the most effective tools of oppression employed by a dominant majority against powerless minorities. The effectiveness of the educational institutions in socializing students to accept racist values guarantees that there will be an ever-renewing supply of persons from which the creators, editors and publishers of materials which espouse these ideals will be drawn.” (1985, p. 23)

While I do not agree with Banfield’s assertion that that people of color are “powerless,” I do agree that classroom reading materials, largely selected by those who are granted privilege and forms of capital as educated, professional, middle-class, Whites, are powerful tools of oppression used in socializing children to reproduce larger social systems of oppression related to racism and classism.

Given the inclusion of so many brown faces in the texts and illustrations, and hence a multicultural facade, it was only through the critical discourse analysis of these texts that I was able to uncover the extent to which these marginalizing discourses are present in the basal readers, as well as the ways in which this marginalization was constructed through inequities in forms of social, cultural, political, and economic capital. Clearly, having people of color represented in curriculum materials does not mean that their ethnic or cultural groups are represented adequately, accurately, fairly, or richly within the pages of those materials. Inequities in forms of capital may be subtle and often unwritten; uncovering these requires careful reading and analysis.

Larrick’s (1965) critique of the lack of diversity in children’s books questioned the ways in which African Americans have largely either been absent or presented only as stereotypes in children’s books. These implicit, yet still

highly damaging, “gentle doses of racism” (p. 9) still exist in children’s texts more than four decades after Larrick’s study. There have been positive changes in eliminating stereotypes of physical appearance and dialect for African American characters in books for children, and this is something to celebrate. However, changes in access to and accrual of forms of capital for African Americans is not yet evidenced in substantial ways in the basal readers I examined in this study.

In the 1970s, scholars of children’s literature, such as Zimet and Bloom (1972) and Kyle (1978) were calling for children’s texts to include more people of color, but to also do so in ways that challenged stereotypes and did not reproduce racist discourses. Kyle emphasized that all children would benefit from seeing people of color as strong, positive characters in stories, “The activities of minority and non-minority, male and female characters should convey the fact that aspirations, talents, feelings, and interests are not related to gender or race” (1978, p. 309). However, my research reveals that African Americans in basal readers today are still being typecast as largely uneducated, working class individuals whose talents lie in their willingness to be bit players in a White world. They are presented as lacking the forms of capital to be the social, cultural, political, and economic equals of Whites.

Citing Zimet and Bloom (1972), Kyle (1978) urged that “Characters exemplifying America’s plurality of ethnic, racial, religious, and social class groups offer ‘an excellent opportunity to present stories which acknowledge and depict people who are both alike and different from the reader—alike in feeling anxiety and joy, though different in cultural identity’” (p. 309). This plurality has

not become a reality in some of the texts used for reading instruction. Social class, in particular, is still largely presented as being a function of book characters' ethnicity, as evidenced by the ethnic differences in professional careers and associated forms of capital; this has remain largely unchanged in substantial ways in the more than 35 years since post-civil rights era scholars turned a critical eye to the representation of ethnicity in children's books.

Basal readers have made progress in no longer perpetuating all of the overtly racist stereotypes that Deane (1989) exposed in his review of basal readers from the 1800s through 1950s. None of the texts I examined included racial slurs in reference to people of color. This is progress, but modern basals still echo the pattern Deane found in regards to education level and employment status, forms of social and cultural capital, for African Americans in basals published more than five decades ago. More than fifty years after the publication of the latest basals Deane (1989) studied, basal readers continue to present African Americans as individuals who are "employed in menial occupations" (p. 154) and lacking in forms of capital to move ahead professionally and economically. They are no loner servants to Whites in the strict sense of the word, nevertheless, African Americans are still employed under the direction and at the discretion of Whites; their economic and personal survival are still largely dependent on the whim of Whites who are in positions of business and civic leadership due to their extensive social, cultural, and economic capital. African Americans are no longer presented as racist stereotypes, such as Stepin Fetchit or picaninnies, but they are still presented as being largely illiterate and

dependent upon Whites for access to education and employment. They are still relegated to baking the bread rather than owning the bakery. African Americans are still being presented as homogeneously lacking the forms of capital to have the same kinds of opportunities as Whites. However, as Kyle (1978) argued in her analysis of characters represented in basal readers up to the mid 1970s, and is as relevant of basals from the 2000s:

“The activities of minority and non-minority, male and female characters should convey the fact that aspirations, talents, feelings, and interests are not related to gender or race. The pursuit of this goal, however, should not sacrifice either racial or sexual diversity.” (p. 309)

Unquestioned White and middle-class privilege in texts for children

continues to recreate marginalizing discourses in basal readers. Often “gentle, disguised forms of domination” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 128) can be implicitly, even unintentionally, reproduced. It is unlikely that the textbook editors and publishers were intentionally reproducing “gentle doses of racism” (Larrick, 1994), “gentle, disguised forms of discrimination” (Bourdieu, 1990), and “tools of oppression” (Banfield, 1985). Marginalizing discourses have become so normalized and unexamined in larger society that people may be unable to even recognize racist discourses when they experience or enact them. It may take uncomfortable conversations about racism in order to engage ourselves and others in seeing everyday systems of oppression and thinking about ways to affect change. This is applicable in texts for children, but also in our everyday lived experiences. Classroom teachers are uniquely situated to engage in work for social change through classroom practice, including text choices and implementation.

“Teaching to Transgress”

Many schools and districts mandate the use of textbooks, including basal readers, yet research suggests that a large number of teachers may be stepping into classrooms without adequate understandings of ways in which they can effectively use textbooks as tools for teaching (Ball & Feiman-Nemser, 1988; Grossman, Thompson, & Valencia, 2001; Kauffman, 2002; Kent, 2000; Kaufman, Johnson, Kardos, Liu, & Peske, 2002; and Remillard, 2000). Although this research suggests that teachers’ use of curriculum materials changes throughout their careers, with many teachers becoming more comfortable with adapting and modifying lessons in teachers’ manuals, the question is raised as to what kinds of changes teachers are making.

Studies have found that teachers make choices about basal reader program implementation based on concerns about: a) the literary quality of texts (McCarthy & Hoffman, 1995; and McCarthy, Hoffman, Christian, Corman Elliott, Matherne, Stahle, 1994); b) the quality of comprehension activities suggested in the teachers’ manual (Durkin, 1984; Scott, van Belle, & Carlisle, 2005; Shake & Allington, 1985); and c) potential for differentiated instruction (Hoffman, McCarthy, Elliott, Bayles, Price, Ferree, & Abbott, 1998). While all of these reasons are certainly valid concerns in regards to materials for literacy instruction, they do not reveal teacher emphasis on critical literacy. That is, there is a qualitative difference between teacher-driven changes to a basal reading program implementation motivated by concerns for perceived literary merit, skills emphasis, comprehension strategies, and ease of instructional differentiation, as

compared to changes motivated by concerns for critical issues such as racism, classism, sexism, etc. This study indicates that basal readers can present deeply racist discourses, and as such, should be read by teachers and children with critical perspectives in mind; teachers need support in learning to consider representations of ethnicity, class, gender, etc. when making decisions about how they will use basal readers in their classrooms.

Scott, van Belle, & Carlisle (2005) found that, regardless of years of teaching experience, Reading First teachers using basal readers made choices about the ways in which they use these texts; however, the changes these teachers made were largely related to modality of instruction, grouping, sequencing of activities, etc., rather than substantive changes to the explicit or implicit curriculum of the basals as considered through critical lenses. Similarly, Kauffman (2002) found that “teachers tended to tinker with the details of the curriculum materials, while remaining faithful to the original direction of the materials” (p. 18). Kauffman also found that some teachers do not “critique the materials ahead of time or... try to tailor them for [their] particular needs and purposes” (p. 23) and that this practice “led to a number of missed opportunities for student learning... The limitations of curriculum materials, if not addressed by teachers, thus become limitations in what students are able to learn from the enacted curriculum” (p. 23).

Hoffman, McCarthey, Elliot, Bayles, Price, Ferree, & Abbott (1998) found little support for teachers in the implementation of basal readers; however, Reading First schools were required to provide substantial training for classroom

teachers in regards to children's literacy development, subskills of literacy, assessment of literacy, and even children's linguistic development. Interestingly, Scott, van Belle, & Carlisle (2005) found that many of these teachers felt that the training was not useful, or not individualized enough to help them improve the teaching of reading in their classrooms. Reading First professional development, often provided by the publishers of the basal readers, did not focus on engaging teachers in using critical lenses to consider texts, the unspoken curriculum of these texts, and their use in the classroom. Where then do teachers learn to consider such issues? Navigating curriculum and curriculum materials is one of the professional responsibilities that beginning teachers often find daunting (Ball & Cohen, 1996; Grossman, Thompson, & Valencia, 2001; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Grossman & Thompson, 2004; Kauffman, 2002; Kent, 2000; and Kaufman, Johnson, Kardos, Liu, Peske, 2002).

Ball and Feiman-Nemser (1988) found that pre-service teachers in two teacher education programs received little to no training in regards to ways to approach adapting and implementing textbooks as part of classroom instruction; instead, preservice teachers were more likely to be discouraged in the use of textbooks by their university professors who favored teacher-created materials and authentic texts. From personal experience, I know this condition is not unique to the teacher education programs Ball and Feiman-Nemser studied. In my bachelor's program in elementary education (with a language arts major), my master's program (in reading and language arts), and my required doctoral coursework (in literacy) not one of my classes involved analysis of and

considerations for implementation of commercial reading programs such as basal readers. Lessons I created for my teacher education classes at the bachelor's and master's levels were to be of my own design and materials, with my professors making explicit their disdain for basal readers. Similarly, Kauffman (2002) found that teacher education students "created their own curriculum materials during their teacher education program" (p. 10). Like the teachers in Kauffman's study, my university-trained literacy instruction skills and those of my fellow students were focused on teaching from tradebooks and other teacher-selected materials. Because of such an emphasis, many new teachers enter classrooms without training in how to teach thoughtfully from basal readers or how to consider them through critical lenses in order to consider implications for instruction.

Classroom teachers need support as they use children's texts and basals to: 1) adapt and use these materials in the classroom; 2) analyze how these texts can inform instruction for critical literacy; and 3) facilitate conversations about – isms in the classroom. As Fenimore (2000) has argued, "Successful teacher preparation programs need to be constructed upon commitment to activism as well as to excellence in pedagogical practice" (p. 105), and bell hooks (1994) has called us to action by asserting that one of the larger goals of education is "teaching to transgress," that is teaching resistance to social injustices and recognizing that teaching is deeply political work. Something as seemingly quotidian as teaching a lesson from a basal reader is a political act. But are teachers prepared to see it as such?

Courses in literacy methods and children's literature at the undergraduate and graduate levels should provide opportunities for teachers to engage in hands-on activities with basal readers in ways that allow them to consider the politicization and implicit curriculum of such materials, as well as how these texts do or do not support social justice and equity for learners. Because racism in books and other curriculum materials may be quite implicit, due to the fact that explicit racism in school materials is largely unacceptable today, teachers may need help in even beginning this process by identifying the elements of text and/or illustration that suggest a racist reading. In the undergraduate and graduate courses I have taught in the area children's literature, I have found that educators are likely to see explicit racism in texts, particularly in illustrations such as the grossly offensive *Little Black Sambo* (Bannerman, 1923) images; however, racism that is implicitly reproduced through inequities in characters' forms of capital, power, and positioning requires a different understanding of how racism is perpetuated in ways implicit and insidious. In order to consider the latter, teachers need support and entry points.

Below I have created a series of heuristics with suggested questions that teachers can ask of texts, as well as teach children to ask of texts, in order to consider the potentially unjust –isms, such as racism and classism, at work in texts. These questions provide potentially useful entry points for considering these issues, but could be adapted for use with university pre-service teachers and graduate students as well as practicing teachers during professional development. Furthermore, once teachers have begin to read texts for children

with an eye to such critical questions, they can begin to consider how they can support their own students in asking such questions of texts.

Table 8.1, below, provides a framework for a guided inquiry of the ways in which discourses of representation are constructed across characters within a particular text. The questions have the potential to support teachers in considering the intersect of forms of literacies, educational achievement, and professional success that my research indicates are implicit ways in which texts reproduce marginalizing discourses.

Table 8.1: Suggested Heuristic to Guide the Critical Analysis of Discourses of Representation in a Children's Text

Character	Ethnicity	Print-Based Literacy	Mathematical Literacy	Scientific Literacy	Educational Achievement and Attainment	Professional Success
<p>-Name -Age -Gender</p>	<p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -What is the character's ethnicity? -How do the author and/or illustrator suggest this to the reader? -Are there any physical, linguistic, or behavioral stereotypes in the representation of the character? -Other questions?</p>	<p>Oral Literacy</p> <p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -Does the character engage with print through reading and/or writing? -Does the character own books or borrow them from others? -Does the character engage with print-based texts in non-book formats, such as personal letters, magazines, graphic novels, etc. -Does the character engage with print-based text in electronic formats, such as web blogs? -Does the adult character successfully use print-based texts and skills in his work? -Does the child character successfully use print-based texts and skills in school? -Does the adult character have a literacy-based job, such as a writer, reporter, teacher, etc.? -Does the character need others to</p>	<p>Financial Literacy</p> <p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -Does the character use math to solve problems in everyday life? -Does the adult character successfully use mathematical skills in his work? -Does the character have a math-based career, such as engineering? -Does the child character successfully use mathematical skills in school? -Does the character use math skills to manage her money? -Does the character need or give financial advice? -Does the character have access to and/or membership in financial institutions, such as banks? -Does the adult character earn enough money to save and/or invest, or is he earning enough simply to make ends meet for his family? -Does the character need financial assistance from others in order to make ends meet?</p>	<p>Folk Explanations in Lieu of Scientific Ones</p> <p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -Does the character draw on or provide scientific explanations for the natural world? -Does the character engage in the scientific process? -Does the adult character successfully use scientific literacy and skills in his work? -Does the child character successfully use scientific literacy and skills in school? -Is the character affiliated with an institution of scientific knowledge, such as a science museum or a university's science department? -Does the character draw on folklore, such as myths and legends, as explanations for his world, rather than draw on scientific understandings? -Other questions?</p>	<p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -Does the character successfully engage in classroom learning at K-12 levels? -Does the character successfully engage in post-secondary learning? -Is the character presented as a high school graduate, a college graduate, or someone with an advance degree and accompanying title, such as Dr.? -Is the character affiliated with an institution of higher learning? -Does the character express a desire to attend university, and is this seen as an achievable goal in her eyes and those of other characters? -Does the character receive vocational training for a skilled trade, such as auto mechanic? -Other questions?</p>	<p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -Who are the character's boss and employer? -How much education would be required for the character's job? -Does the adult character work in a professional career, a skilled trade, manual labor, etc.? -Does the child character have to work to contribute to her family's income? -Other questions?</p>

		read and/or write for him? -Does the character engage in oral literacy, such as storytelling? -Other questions?	-Other questions?			
Character 1						
Character 2						
Character 3...						

Once readers have begun to consider how forms of literacies, educational achievement, and professional success may be inequitably constructed across characters within a given text, they can move to considering these concepts across texts within the multiple texts that represent the reading curriculum materials, such as a basal reader. Table 8.2, below, provides guiding questions for mapping these inequities onto Bourdieuan forms of capital in order to see larger discourses of ethnicity, power, and positioning across not just one particular text, but across multiple texts within a reading program.

Table 8.2: Suggested Heuristic to Guide Conclusions Drawn from Critical Analysis of Multiple Children’s Texts

Patterns Across Characters, Within Individual Texts	Forms of Social Capital <u>Guiding Questions:</u> Examining your notes from the critical analysis of each text, what do you notice, across characters in this text, in regards to: -characters’ memberships in social networks -characters moving strategically among social networks -characters’ social networks as access and entry point for other forms of capital	Forms of Symbolic Capital <u>Guiding Questions:</u> Examining your notes from the critical analysis of each text, what do you notice across characters in this text, in regards to: -characters holding titles, such as Dr., and positions that are valued by the dominant group, such as physician, scientist, professor, banker, classical musician, etc.	Forms of Cultural Capital <u>Guiding Questions:</u> Examining your notes from the critical analysis of each text, what do you notice across characters in this text, in regards to: -characters possessing forms of knowledge and skills valued by the dominant group -characters evidencing taste in books, music, clothing, etc. that is valued by the dominant group	Forms of Economic Capital <u>Guiding Questions:</u> Examining your notes from the critical analysis of each text, what do you notice across characters in this text, in regards to: -characters’ positioning in regards to social class and financial success -characters’ access to financial resources and institutions -characters as gatekeepers of financial resources and institutions
Text 1				
Text 2				
Text 3...				
Larger Patterns Across Texts	Forms of Social Capital Across Texts <u>Guiding Question:</u> Looking across texts, and applying the above questions that you asked of each individual text, what patterns do you see across texts?	Forms of Symbolic Capital Across Texts <u>Guiding Question:</u> Looking across texts, and applying the above questions that you asked of each individual text, what patterns do you see across texts?	Forms of Cultural Capital Across Texts <u>Guiding Question:</u> Looking across texts, and applying the above questions that you asked of each individual text, what patterns do you see across texts?	Forms of Economic Capital Across Texts <u>Guiding Question:</u> Looking across texts, and applying the above questions that you asked of each individual text, what patterns do you see across texts?

However, merely problematizing racist texts is only part of the work of teaching to transgress. How do we teach readers, whether teachers or their students, to resist racist texts by choosing ones that are socially just? Mellor (2000) and Wallowitz (2004) found that children’s critical analysis of gender stereotypes in texts can be supported by the use of feminist perspectives, authors, and texts. Similarly, I argue that teachers can use racially just texts to

challenge racist discourses in other texts. The use of such texts may not only enrich the critical analysis of racist texts, but also offer socially just alternatives and possibilities to teachers and children. Teaching readers to problematize texts through the lens of ethnicity and racism is important, but it is also important to teach them how to seek out positive alternatives. Table 8.3, below, provides guiding questions that may serve as a tool in supporting teachers' and children's selection of reading materials that offer socially just alternatives to racist texts.

Table 8.3: Suggested Heuristic to Guide Teaching as Resistance to Racist Discourses in Children's Texts

Racist Discourses Across Texts	Teaching to Resist	Print-Based Texts That Offer Alternative Representations to Readers	Other Forms of Texts That Offer Alternative Representations to Readers
<p><u>Guiding Question:</u> -What stereotypes are presented and reinforced by these texts? -What inequities in power and forms of capital are presented and/or sanctioned as normative in these texts? -Why is this racist discourse problematic and/or potentially damaging for my students?</p>	<p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -Rather than accepting this racist discourse, what socially just understandings do I want my students to construct about people, ethnic groups, cultures, larger society, etc.? -To what other issues of social justice, such as women's rights, might I connect this racist discourse in order to draw on my students' funds of knowledge and personal experiences regarding issues of equity and inequity? -Other questions?</p>	<p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -What books and other print-based texts can I read to or have my students read in order to provide them with entry points for challenging this racist discourse? -How do these print-based texts provide more socially just representations? -What books will challenge this stereotype by providing an example of a person of color who does not fit the confines of this stereotype? -Other questions?</p>	<p><u>Guiding Questions:</u> -With what other texts (digital, web-based, film, musical, etc.) can I engage my students in order to provide them with entry points for challenging this racist discourse? -How do these texts provide more socially just representations? -What other forms of texts will challenge this stereotype by providing an example of a person of color who does not fit the confines of this stereotype? -Other questions?</p>
Racist Discourse 1			
Racist Discourse 2			
Racist Discourse 3...			

These learning opportunities should be sites for frank conversations about ethnicity, social class, and other factors that impact educational equity. This is especially important because conversations about anything that challenges the myth of meritocracy in our country are generally awkward and uncomfortable for

those involved, especially if those involved are beneficiaries of White, middle-class privilege (Aronson, 2007; Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006; Hirschfield, 1995; Lieberman & Kirk, 2004; Luke, 2009; Tatum, 1991, 2003; and Tolentino, 2009). When teachers become more comfortable considering the various –isms of social injustice, they may be acquiring more tools with which to facilitate discussions of these issues with children. Adults sometimes mistakenly believe that children, in their innocence, “don’t see color.” However, research has shown that even young children are aware of ethnicity, that they can engage in productive conversations about ethnicity, and that texts can serve as useful tools in these dialogues (Alley, 2001; Copenhaver, 1999; Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman, & Johnson, 2007; Elliott, 2007; Harris, 1993, 1997; Hefflin, 2003; MacPhee, 1997; and Rochman, 1993). When teachers become more comfortable considering the various –isms of social injustice, they may be acquiring more tools with which to facilitate discussions of these issues with children as they construct meanings from texts.

Teaching Critical Literacy

"Texts are sites for the construction of plural, often conflicting, and contradictory meanings. Texts (and readings) promote interested 'versions of reality.' Texts (and readings) are always partial—in the sense of being always fragmentary and never neutral. Readers are constructed as meaning-makers by the readings of interpretations available to them."

-Mellor & Patterson (2000, p. 510)

Mellor & Patterson emphasize that the meaning in any given text is not singular, rather there is a range of possible meanings made available through the structure of the text, multiple readings and readers. A particular meaning is influenced by a reader's gender, ethnicity, culture, historical perspective, etc., as well as by what the structure of the text allows and how often the text has been read. This perspective differs from the general reader-response (Rosenblatt, 1994) idea of the reader constructing a singular personal meaning from the interaction among reader, text, and context. Reader-response theory emphasizes the right of readers to produce the reading that is most meaningful to them. Whereas Mellor & Patterson's (2004) critical perspective shifts attention to where readings come from and how they are generated so that readers can be taught to responsibly examine the readings they produce. Such teaching is accomplished through scaffolded textual analyses, multiple readings, the exploration of multiple perspectives, and readers engaging in meta-reflection on their own readings and the underlying reasons for these.

In *Gendered Fictions*, Mellor (2000) provides a useful framework for engaging readers in the critical analysis of stereotypes and privilege. Her framework begins with the teacher selecting a text in which she would like to

engage readers in a critical analysis; she then selects excerpts from the texts and removes words/phrases/sentences that identify characters' gender. The readers then read the passages and decide what they believe the characters' gender to be before they discuss with a partner *why* they believe the characters are male or female. Through this activity, the teacher engages the readers in considering and discussing their own beliefs about gendered behavior and roles. After this partnered sharing, the readers come together as a class and the teacher engages them in a dialogue about how the texts supported or challenged the students beliefs and assumptions about gender and gendered roles.

Mellor & Patterson (2001) worked with 8- to 10-year old students in an Australian multi-age classroom to see if encouraging children to read in a way that supports multiple meanings of a text would construct "readers who were critically conscious" (p. 120) to various –isms in texts. In their work with these 24 children, the authors engaged the children in critical analyses of traditional fairy tales, such as *Hansel and Gretel*, in both traditional Brothers Grimm versions and modern versions (Browne, 1981); their overarching questions for their work engaging children in multiple readings of these texts were:

"In what circumstances could this text have this meaning? If it can be argued that both parents do the same thing (i.e., that both father and stepmother leave the children in the forest), how then is a reading produced that evaluates the stepmother as wicked and the father as nice, the victim of a nagging wife? What makes this reading possible? What might make an alternative or resistant reading possible? Our rationale for the reading activities was that by questioning the dominant readings of *Hansel and Gretel* it would be possible to challenge dominant cultural ideas about gender because, we argued, it was these cultural ideas that made such readings possible and preferred by certain powerful groups at particular times." (p. 121).

Mellor & Patterson gave the children a brief overview of the fairy tale, but without indicators of gender. Then they present the readers with a list of statements to discuss prior to reading; this list included such items as “Both parents are very mean.” and “The parent who first had the idea of leaving the children is sensible.” (p. 121). Even though students voiced various perspectives about whether both parents in the story shared guilt, after the readings of the traditional and modern versions of the fairy tale, the children unanimously agreed that the stepmother was the one to blame, not the father. Mellor & Patterson engaged the children in finding details in the text and illustrations to support assertions their that the stepmother was the wicked one: “We worked to make them question just how and why they produced... a particular reading when other readings were more than possible” (p. 122). However, the researchers found that in spite of the critical analysis, the children were not willing to construct meanings of the text that resisted the normative, sexist interpretation. They realized that “The implication for teachers of reading it seems to us is that the critical reading is as positively produced (i.e., taught), as the dominant reading” (pp. 123-124). In other words, while engaging children in readings that are open to multiple interpretations, teachers may also need to teach children how to produce critical readings; this applies as much to critical race readings as to critical gendered readings.

While young readers may construct multiple interpretations of text, they may need guided support in learning to the ways in which some texts present racist discourses. Furthermore, students may need support in understanding

how the texts they create either resist or perpetuate various –isms. Mellor & Patterson went beyond engaging the children in feminist analyses of fairy tales, to writing their own fairy tales with endings that follow the models of the feminist tales. Resisting sexism, or racism, in texts read or written must be taught to children. Mellor & Patterson’s body of work shows that simply presenting children with anti-racist stories may not be enough to overcome the cultural normalization of racism in books and media for children.

In *Them and Us: Reading Shakespeare’s ‘Others’ with All Our Students*, Dankin (2007) worked from Mellor’s (1989) recommendations for engaging readers in open, critical readings of text. Following Mellor’s framework, Dankin taught Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* to high school students by: 1) introducing to readers the text and critical questions related to the text; 2) providing examples of the range of possible readings of one portion of the text; 3) engaging readers in considering what seems likely to be the dominant reading of the text and support this with evidence from the text; 4) engaging readers in discussing whose culture/values/systems of privilege the dominant readings is reinforcing; and 5) engaging the readers in a critical discussion exploring alternate readings of the text, with evidence from the text, and readers’ personal beliefs, values, cultural perspectives, gendered experiences, and societal positioning as lenses for these readings.

Teachers in elementary school classrooms could use a similar model as a framework for engaging children in thinking about representations of ethnicity, power, and privilege in textbooks and children’s books. Mellor & Patterson

(2004) asked high school students to read a non-traditional fairy tale—that is one that resisted gendered stereotypes of women as fair creatures in need of rescue and men as brave protectors who save women by way of might and heroism. After students read the non-traditional fairy tale, they are engaged in an activity in which “they are asked to consider quite explicitly its differences to a traditional fairy tale and what effects these difference might have. The students are then asked how the differences might be read” (Mellor & Patterson, 2004, p. 9).

Similarly, elementary school children can be scaffolded in not just a critical analysis of racist texts, but an analysis of how more socially just texts compare and contrast with the previous; this has the potential to position children as critical readers not just within one text, but *across* multiple texts, and across texts within the framework of their own and societal discourses about ethnicity. This makes relevant to primary school Mellor & Patterson’s (2004) position that taking readings beyond the critical begins from several guiding principles: “The conception of texts and readings as ‘made’ or constructed. The idea that a piece of literature emerges not from a timeless, placeless zone but from a particular social context and that it is read in another context. The argument that texts and readings are never neutral.” (p. 10)

Texts and literacy play important roles in social worlds and constructs; engaging in critical literacies and teaching students to do the same is imperative. The New London Group (1996) and others from a multiliteracies perspective (Freebody & Luke, 1990; Freebody, Luke, & Gilbert, 1991; Leu, Kinzer, Coiro, & Cammack, 2004) have argued that, because societies are becoming increasingly

global, diversity is no longer simply a moral imperative, but an economic and political one as well. Teachers make political moves when they choose whether or not to engage students in critical readings; choosing to teach critical literacy either with the sets of questions and heuristics I provided earlier in this chapter, or with the frameworks suggested by Mellor & Patterson above, is political work.

Basal readers are not the only texts that have the potential to serve as sites for critical readings, but basals carry a different weight than do other non-school texts because the former are used for classroom instruction. This means that basal readers are school-sanctioned texts, and as such they represent “official knowledge” (Apple, 2000). Basals present school-sanctioned discourses about the world and how it should be. While other texts, such as graphic novels or video games, may present children with discourses about ethnicity and/or social class, out-of-school texts are not granted the same symbolic and cultural capital as are school-based texts. However, in the twenty-first century, engaging in new forms of literacy means moving beyond basic comprehension oriented readings of print-based texts to critical readings of multiple forms of texts (Gee, 2003, New London Group, 1996). In the next section I discuss how multiliteracies can inform teaching with traditional classroom literacy materials.

Multiliteracies

A multiliteracies perspective (New London Group, 1996) may provide teachers with a useful paradigm for expanding potential sites for social justice work in the classroom. This perspective emphasizes that print-based texts are

not the only texts with which students engage in and out of classrooms, and which have the potential to reproduce or resist discourses of oppression:

“[L]iteracy pedagogy now must account for the burgeoning variety of text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies. This includes understanding and competent control of representational forms that are becoming increasingly significant in the overall communications environment, such as visual images and their relationship to the written word - for instance, visual design in desktop publishing or the interface of visual and linguistic meaning in multimedia.” (New London Group, 1996)

At the heart of the multiliteracies perspective is the argument that: 1) individuals are immersed in social worlds in which they engage on an on-going and ever-evolving process of constructing meaning from texts; 2) the meaning readers of texts construct should be critical readings, not simply basic comprehension, because our global, diverse world requires viewing meaning from multiple perspectives; and 3) a view of texts as solely print-based is limited and restricting because today meaning is designed/conveyed with multiple modalities, such as print, visual, graphic, electronic, musical, etc. (New London Group, 1996; Freebody & Luke, 1990; Freebody, Luke, & Gilbert, 1991; and Leu, Kinzer, Coiro, & Cammack, 2004).

Currently books, such as basals, are still privileged in classrooms, but this is changing, with even greater emphasis being placed on new literacy forms such as electronic and web-based texts. When teachers recognize the potential for traditional texts to be in dialogue with multiliteracies (including graphic novels, film, television, YouTube videos, video games, music, and even things such as advertising), they can tap into a wealth of textual resources that can be used to engage children in critical readings that challenge racist discourses in texts. The

use of multiliteracies can tap into students' interest (Gee, 2003) and potentially reduce the authority of basals in order to present more socially just representations of ethnicity, culture, and social class.

Teachers who prefer to begin with texts in traditional print-based formats, could begin by including tradebooks that challenge the marginalization of African Americans in classroom materials. For example, *The Groundbreaking, Chance-Taking Life of George Washington Carver and Science & Invention in America* (Harness, 2008), presents Dr. Carver as a scientist, inventor, an award-winning artist, university professor, writer, and mentor to other African American men who wanted to obtain a university degree. Each of these elements of his personal and professional identities provides a powerful antithesis to the racist discourses presented in the basal readers I examined in this study; Dr. Carver is presented as rich in forms of cultural, symbolic, and social capital.

Similarly, in *The Moon Over Star*, Aston (2008) tells the story of a young African American girl who is watching the televised first U.S. landing of the moon in 1969. She and her cousins build a pretend rocket in their grandparents' backyard and she decides she's going to be an astronaut when she grows up. The heroine of this story does not limit her aspirations to those of African American women presented in the basal readers—women who are largely uneducated, lacking in forms of literacy, and working in skilled trades or menial labor.

Making texts such as these available to children and engaging them in critical readings of such texts provides the opportunity for young readers to see

socially just texts in dialogue with those that present racist discourses. To enrich the intertextual dialogue even further, teachers can allow children to bring into classroom discussions textual forms that are often unsanctioned in classrooms. For example, *The Proud Family* cartoon (Disney, 2005) showcases a middle-class African American family in which the father is a small business owner and the mother is a doctor of veterinary medicine. The *Little Bill* (Nickelodeon) series, based on Bill Cosby's beginning readers featuring the title character, present little Bill's mother as an African American woman who is an assistant bank manager, his aunt and uncle as African American small business owners, and his kindergarten teacher, who is also African American, as a professional, educated woman. The professional, educational, and economic achievement of these parents is in stark contrast to the basal readers' portrayal of African Americans as those who work underneath the direction of White bosses, turn to Whites for access to formal education, and struggle for financial security. The African Americans in these television programs possess multiple forms of social, cultural, and economic capital—a representation that can challenge the marginalized representation of people of color in classroom materials. I am not suggesting that teachers spend valuable class time showing cartoons to children for entertainment purposes. I am advocating for the inclusion of multiliteracies and popular culture artifacts in classroom dialogues in order to support students in problematizing and naming marginalizing discourses that appear in their textbooks, books, or other media. Children are immersed in a world of texts, making room for the inclusion of such texts in classroom discussions can provide

opportunities for children to resist racist discourses by countering with more socially just ones they have experienced in other media or literacy forms.

I have discussed children's books and television shows that present socially just representations of people of color not to suggest that they are the specific texts that teachers should use, but to provide examples of the *kinds* of alternative texts that teachers might seek out and/or allow to enter into the dialogue in classroom instruction. Whether a text is print-based, graphic, electronic, audio-visual, or web-based, it still presents for readers a construct of the world and the ways in which people behave and are positioned in the world. By giving careful consideration to multiple forms of texts and the ways they can inform students' critical readings of school-sanctioned texts, teachers not only support their students in challenging marginalizing discourses, but also in constructing more socially just ones that can inform their lives both in and out of the classroom.

Leu, Kinzer, Coiro, & Cammack (2004) have argued:

“Students with teachers who make thoughtful decisions about what needs to be learned and how it should be learned in new literacies will be privileged; those with teachers who have not yet figured these things out will be disadvantaged, perhaps even more so than with foundational literacies.”

Essentially, students who learned to draw upon multiliteracies and to do so in ways that engage them in critical literacy are provided with opportunities to construct literacy skills that are becoming increasingly valued forms of social and cultural capital. Teaching children to trouble the waters of multiple forms of texts in ways that expose marginalizing discourses may scaffold children in their

development of critical thinking and literary analysis skills. These are valued as school-based ways of knowing and doing in the world; therefore, teaching children to problematize inequities in forms of capital and social justice can help them to accrue forms of capital—capital that may help them achieve equity and a more socially just future.

Seeing Color, and Seeing Beyond Color

Texts for children are never neutral objects. As this dissertation research has made evident, texts for children are social, cultural, symbolic, and political artifacts and tools. But how do we want to use these tools? Each of us must ask ourselves whether we want to use them as tools for reproduction or resistance, to reproduce or challenge unearned White middle-class privilege.

One persistent barrier to examining White, middle-class privilege in classroom materials and texts is that it can be uncomfortable for Whites because this dominant group has largely been socialized to believe that conversations about ethnicity and racism are taboo, with many from this group claiming to be color-blind when it comes to people (Tatum, 1991, 2003). In part, this is because it is never easy to examine the ways our own forms of privilege are granted at the expense of others; however, social realities such as oppression and marginalization never just exist. Social injustices are produced and reproduced through systems involving cultural, social, symbolic, and economic capital, as evidenced in basal readers; every time a teacher uses these materials in the classroom he is making these discourses available to children. The question

arises as to whether the teacher will say nothing and leave the children to try to make sense of the inequitable treatment of cultural groups on their own, or if the teacher will engage readers in critical analyses of multiliteracies and provide more socially just possibilities.

This dissertation research has made imperative bell hooks' (1994) call for teacher to see "education as the practice of freedom" (p. 207). Teaching is political work, and classroom texts, as tools of teaching, become political tools. With every choice of text we include or exclude as part of school- or classroom-sanctioned curriculum, we are enacting a political stance. With each choice of a book we read to and with children, we are either reproducing or resisting oppression and marginalization.

This marginalization is not limited to ethnicity; among the other –isms relevant to children's curriculum materials is sexism. The basal readers in this study exhibited differences in forms of capital and positioning not only according to ethnicity, but also according to gender. Males in the stories were more likely than females to be professionals, business owners, and highly educated. Future research into the intersect of ethnicity and gender in basal readers could provide useful entry points for teachers and children to consider how various –isms operate in relationship to one another and how social justice involves equity and access for all, regardless of ethnicity, regardless of gender.

Further research into ways in which teachers learn to critically analyze texts for children and to engage their students in doing the same would provide important information about how teachers may navigate curriculum materials that

present oppressive discourses. This is important because many teachers find themselves required to use materials selected at the building and district levels. Not using the books is not an option for them, but they can be supported in learning to find ways of critically approaching the texts and positioning them in dialogue with various socially just texts and multiliteracies. Further research into how to support teachers in doing so will benefit them, their students, and society as a diverse whole.

APPENDIX A: POSITIONING MYSELF AS A CRITICAL RESEARCHER

“As soon as you start writing, even if it is under your real name, you start to function as somebody slightly different, as a ‘writer.’ You establish from yourself to yourself continuities and a level of coherence which is not quite the same as your real life... All this ends up constituting a kind of neo-identity which is not identical to your identity as a citizen or your social identity.”

-Michel Foucault (2004, p. 106)

In a drawing titled *Möbius Strip II*, the Dutch graphic artist M.C. Escher places a line of ants endlessly circling a lattice twisted in the shape of a Möbius strip. The insects wind around and around the shape, always peeking through the lattice to see their counterparts on the other side; however, they are themselves a part of the very thing they look at, for the unique quality of the Möbius strip is that it creates one, uninterrupted contact surface. This seems to me an appropriate metaphor for the social science researcher who studies systems of domination that are produced and reproduced through social interactions: she is an actor in the very thing she is studying. As she is engaged in conducting research, writing, publishing, teaching, and earning professional status through the creating and dissemination of social science research, she is an actor in the field of institutions of higher learning, which create and recreate social and cultural capital that serve to marginalize those who do not have

access to such institutions. A Bourdieuan perspective recognizes that because the social scientist studying culture is herself an actor in producing and reproducing dominating discourses, she is obligated to engage in research with reflexivity, that is with analysis of one's own *habitus* and subjectivity. Bourdieu has argued that, "the scientific project and the very progress of science presuppose a reflective return to the foundations of science and the making explicit of the hypotheses and operations which make it possible" (1971, p. 181).

Furthermore, he asserts:

"[I]t may be that the objectification of the generic relationship of the observer to the observed which I endeavored to perform... is the most significant product of my whole undertaking, not for its own sake, as a theoretical contribution to the theory of practice, but as the principle of a more rigorous definition, less dependent on individual dispositions, of the proper relation to the object which is one of the most decisive conditions of truly scientific practice in the social sciences." (1990, p. 15)

Ladson-Billings (2000) and Strauss & Corbin (1998) have also emphasized that in conducting research it is not entirely possible to remove ones biases; therefore it is essential to make transparent these biases to the reader.

Critical Perspectives on the Researcher and the Researched

Traditional research paradigms position the social science researcher as neutral, apolitical, and largely disengaged from social action that seeks to change relationships of oppression and domination; critical perspectives on the nature and role of the researcher himself¹⁹ are typically seen as standing in stark

¹⁹ I refrain from using "himself/herself," "he/she" and "his/her" in order to provide smoother readability for my audience. Instead, I alternate between feminine and masculine pronouns in order to be sensitive to gender equity. I do realize, however, that languaging thus echoes the traditional view that gender identity is a binary, something

contrast to traditional paradigms (Bourdieu, 1990; Bredo, 2006; Freire, 2000; Grinberg, 2003; Horn, 2000; Howe, 2001; Kincheloe, 2001; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998; and Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Moving beyond description, analysis, and documentation, critical theorists seek to enact political²⁰ action in the real world contexts of social inequities along lines of social class, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, etc. Kincheloe & McLaren (2005) define a critical theorist as a researcher who uses her work as a tool for social, cultural, and political criticisms. Howe (2001) uses the term “transformationist” to refer to those whose work “is continuous with the emancipatory project of modernity” (p. 202) and whose research goals problematize inequity: “Neither transformationists nor postmodernists believe present social arrangements are just and democratic, and both seek to identify social structures and norms that serve to oppress people” (p. 204).

When seen through a critical lens, every society is comprised of groups that are granted privilege, while others are oppressed, and the latter often accept their oppression as deserved or inevitable. This view echoes throughout Freire’s (2000) ideas about the hegemonic nature of the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor, much of Bourdieu’s (1986, 1990, 1993, 2007) work examining forms of capital and their role in perpetuation systems of

which queer theory challenges. Although I do not consider gender a simple binary, an analysis of gender identity is beyond the scope of this research.

²⁰ I use the term “political” in the critical sense—not in the civic sense related to government, but in the sense of individuals and/or groups in a society acting in ways that may be self-serving at the individual and group levels; in doing so, I draw on the models of critical theorists such as bell hooks (1994) and Giroux (2008). In other words, I discuss the “political” in regards to whether or not one chooses to recreate or resist systems of privilege, domination, and oppression.

domination and oppression, and Foucault's analyses of the relationship among power, knowledge, control, and discourse (1972, 1995, 2000).

Social relationships shaped by power involve those who dominate and those who are oppressed. As an educator who approaches society and social constructs through a critical lens, I view individuals as agentic, yet impacted by various affordances and constraints associated with social structures and systems of oppression that are oriented along lines of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, etc. Critical theorists are not inclined to position those who suffer oppression under various -isms as helpless people who need direction from the dominant group to save them from oppression. Instead, critical theorists generally operate from the perspective that those who are oppressed should be actors in their emancipation toward their own goals, and that empowerment is not something that the dominant group "gives" to the oppressed. Critical research perspectives generally position oppressed peoples as active participants in critical research, rather than as "subjects" in a traditional research paradigm (Apple, 2000; Freire, 2000; Greene & Abt-Perkins, 2003; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lankshear & McLaren, 1993; McLaren, 2006; Tatum, 2003; Wink, 2000). As Freire has argued in his seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "It is absolutely essential that the oppressed participate in the revolutionary process with an increasingly critical awareness of their role as Subjects of the transformation" (p. 127).

The Researcher and Cultural Authenticity

Even though my research does not involve human research participants, I acknowledge that I, as a White woman who is granted various forms of unearned privilege and capital due to my ethnicity, am engaging in the anthropological practice of making the strange familiar and the familiar strange as I study textual representations of people of color. Bourdieu (1990) has drawn attention to the inherently problematic nature of the relationship between the academic researcher and the researched. Because the researcher is a member of a system of higher education that grants him privilege and forms of capital to which researched often does not have access, the researcher is, by simply engaging in conducting and disseminating research, poised to perpetuate relationships of domination and oppression. However, this does not mean that the researcher is paralyzed from acting in ways that may serve to challenge social inequities. Critical theory is often understood to demand that the researcher engage in rigorous self-examination in regards to her own privileged position, as well as her racism, classism, sexism, etc. “Research in the critical tradition takes the form of self-conscious criticism... Thus, critical researchers enter into an investigation with their assumptions on the table, so no one is confused concerning the epistemological and political baggage they bring with them to the research site” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, pp. 305-306). For these reasons, I explore my own privilege, perspectives, and assumptions as a researcher, a White, college-educated woman, and someone from a working-class background.

Because I view the social scientist and action researcher as an actor in cultural production and reproduction, I feel a sense of responsibility to consider

my research process itself and to position myself as a researcher in ways that acknowledge my *habitus*, both professional and personal. As I conducted my dissertation research, I found myself giving consideration to the fact that I, as a White woman, do not have cultural authenticity or member status when studying the representation of African Americans in children's texts. This is something that I consider seriously—in terms of what it means for my work, the claims I can make in regards to my findings, and the way I position myself. Cultural authenticity in the field of children's literature is a topic of debate (Mikkelsen, 1998; McNair, 2003; Mo & Shen, 1997; Rochman, 1993; and Stewart, 2002). Many in the field of children's literature, such as McNair (2003) and Mikkelsen (1998) express concerns about what McNair calls the "little things" in the representation of African Americans in children's literature when the literature is written by Whites.

"Actually, the 'little things' are not so little after all and they shouldn't be ignored within the contexts of children's literature... My ultimate hope is that European American authors and scholars of children's literature will begin to 'think about being White' and critically reflect upon how their writing is shaped, informed, and influenced by their 'Whiteness,' which shields them from experiencing the innumerable 'little things' that virtually all people of color face daily." (McNair, p. 136).

Some, like Lester (1999) have raised concerns about whether or not it is problematic for Whites to even read aloud to children books that are grounded in a African American experience, as some topics such as combing out "nappy hair" (Herron, 1997), may be interpreted with a very different connotation when read by a White teacher than by an African American teacher. However, Rochman (1993) argues that, "every time an artist or writer does something, it doesn't have

to be about her race” (p. 137), positing Caldecott Medalist Ed Young as an example. While Young was born in Shanghai and has written and illustrated books such as *Lon Po Po* (1996a) and *Yeh Shen* (1996b) that reflect his Chinese heritage, he has also illustrated stories that cover topics ranging from the work of the English poet Coleridge to a collection of Gullah folktales.

“Of course accuracy matters. You can get a lot of things wrong as a writer, an artist, or a reviewer when you don’t know a place or a culture... but what about those who say that an American can never write about Japan, that men can’t write about women, that Chinese Ed Young cannot illustrate African-American folklore? In fact, some take it further. Only Indians can really judge books about Indians, Jews about Jews. And further still, you get the extreme, whites should read about whites, Latinos about Latinos, locking us into smaller and tighter boxes.” (Rochman, 1993, p. 138)

Rochman believes that this is a politically correct argument, which can lead to ignoring the “real issues of prejudice and hatred that keep people apart” (p. 133), and that this level of challenging an author’s right to write about a given group amounts to censorship. I share Rochman’s view of greater inclusion in terms of who has the right to write about a given group, whether that of the dominant culture or a parallel culture group.

As someone who is White, I must consider my own privilege and role in systems of domination and oppression, yet I also draw on my experiences as a woman and a person who grew up in a working-class home with a single mother who did not complete her high school education due to a teenage pregnancy. While I am granted certain privileges as a White individual, I have also suffered the effects of classism due to my background, and sexism due to my gender: I have been granted affordances, while also experiencing constraints against

which I resist. In speaking about people of color, Ladson-Billings (2002) has said that their marginalized position in society:

“is not unlike the view from the bottom that poor and working-class people have on the middle-class. The poor and working classes have a perspective on their own experiences while simultaneously grasping the fundamentals of the workings of the dominant class. Because most poor and working-class people rely on the dominant class for food, clothing, shelter, and work, they are forced to learn dominant practices, at least minimally.” (p. 263)

Luke (2009) has pointed out that there can be a tendency in critical work to engage in the “hierarchical ranking of claims about who has been the most aggrieved, contending essentialist claims about ordinary exploitation—a comparative victimology” (p. 6).

Rather than seeking to engage in a written discussion about comparative suffering, I raise this point to self-disclose that, as someone who grew up in a family that subsisted for a time on food stamps and monthly welfare checks, who lived with extended family when our mother could not afford housing, and for whom immediate family members work service industry jobs, live in mobile homes, and subsist on paycheck-to-paycheck budgets, I have experienced first-hand what it means to be positioned as the “other” and as less socially esteemed than the middle-class. In the conversation about diversity and equity, working-class and poverty-class perspectives are often overlooked, yet Delgado (1995b) has argued that “Many members of minority groups speak two languages, grow up in two cultures...And so,...who has the advantage in mastering and applying critical social thought? Who tends to think of everything in two or more ways at the same time? Who is a postmodernist virtually as a condition of his or her

being?” (p. 8). I believe that my experiences as a woman from a working-class background, combined with the middle-class associated experiences I have acquired through higher education and engagement with middle-class colleagues, allow me to be, in essence, bi-cultural. I believe that this bi-cultural perspective, this experience working from a liminal position within the dominant culture, supports me in considering social research questions from multiple perspectives and within a critical paradigm. I believe it is my responsibility to self-disclose these things in order to most honestly position my research and myself as a researcher and actor in social fields.

APPENDIX B: RECURSIVE MICROANALYSIS CODING
AND THEORETICAL MEMOS

Book One Unit One: Dollars and Sense
-When Is Money Important, and When Does It Affect Our Lives?

Skills Text: <i>Pecos Bill</i> pp. 13-14	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Only character is Pecos Bill, who appears White in the illustration on p. 13.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tall tales are a uniquely American genre of folktales; most tall tales feature White males.

Skills Text: <i>Gold Rush</i> pp. 15-16	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Vintage photos of men on storefront porch p. 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men appear White, but historic photograph is slightly grainy.
"Thousands of people from all over the world rushed there to look for gold." p. 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where are the "people from all over the world"? The photos show miners who appear White only. Where is representation of the large number of Chinese who immigrated to California in the mid-nineteenth century to work in gold mines and mining towns?
"Many miners turned to business. They found they could make more money doing laundry or mending clothes." p. 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This was particularly the case for Chinese Americans. Why is ethnicity not mentioned at all in this piece? Why is White presented as the default for the miners?

<i>Boom Town</i> pp. 16-37	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustrations of Amanda, her family, and the townspeople pp. 16-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Every person appears to be White Why is there no diversity in this town, given that boom towns historically drew immigrants and people of color?
"I hankered for some pie. I loved to bake pie." p. 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amanda, a White girl, decides to bake pies because she enjoys eating them, not because she is hungry or needs to earn an income.

<p>"I decided to make a pie crust and pick gooseberries to fill it." p. 22</p>	
<p>"I sold Amanda's pie. The miners loved it. They paid me twenty-five cents a slice!" p. 26</p> <p>"I figured I could sell pies to the miners and fill up our money jar." p. 27</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pa sells Amanda's pies because other miners want to eat them, not because the family needs money. • Amanda decides to put the money in the family money jar; however, the story makes no mention of the family needing money. How does this contrast to the way the textbook shows people of color, like Francisco and his grandfather in <i>A Hard Day's Work</i>, needing to work in order to have basic necessities like food and clothing?
<p>"I needed help. I rounded up my brothers and told them, 'If you want to eat pie, you've got to work.'" p. 27</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amanda's brothers help her in order to be able to eat pie, not because the family is counting on their labor. How does this contrast with how people of color, like Francisco (above) and Saruni, in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i>, must work in order to contribute to the family income?
<p>"My pie business blossomed... Baby Betsy entertained the people while they waited. Billy added another shelf. Joe and Ted made a bench. We all picked berries and apples. Even Ma came to help. We had to get a bigger jar for all the money coming in." p. 31</p> <p>"I needed more pans and another bucket. One day Peddler Pete came by, and with the money I'd made I bought them." p. 28</p> <p>"The money jar in our kitchen looked ready to bust. Where could we safely keep all that cash? Lucky us, one day Mr. Hooper, the banker, appeared." p. 32</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amanda's business provides work and income for her family; she is presented as a gatekeeper to employment and financial security. • The jar is filling up, but the money isn't needed to meet basic needs of life for the family. The purchases the text mentions are made to further the business. • The White family is presented as having a surplus of money and in need of a safe place to keep it. How does this contrast with the ways people of color in the textbook are lacking or have a surplus of money?
<p>Each time Amanda meets a male adult in the story, she convinces him to set up an establishment and expand the town: Peddler Pete—trading post Prospector—laundry service Cowboy Charlie—livery stable</p> <p>"We needed a school and a good schoolmarm." p. 33</p> <p>"And to think it all started with me, Amanda, baking pies!" p. 35</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White female child is presented as being in a position to give business advice to grown White men. What does it mean that a White child is positioned thus? While Amanda is not the gatekeeper to the various businesses and financial institutions she suggests, she is presented as the one whose ideas led to businesses, a bank, a school, a church, etc. in the community; therefore, she is, in essence, a gatekeeper to commerce and education.
<p>"We'll use your bank," I told Mr. Hooper, 'but the roads are so poor... We need some sidewalks and better streets.' 'You're a smart little lady,' said Mr. Hooper, tipping his hat. 'I'll see what I can do about that.' Before we knew it, the bank was built and wooden sidewalks were laid. p. 33</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In regards to the bank, she not only has access to the banker, but she advises him and makes a request on behalf of the city, which he fulfills. A White female child is positioned as an influence to a financial institution, and hence a gatekeeper. • A White child is told that she is smart. The textbook also presents Asian children being told they are smart or engaged in schoolwork, but what about African Americans?

<p>“One day Pa said to me, “Amanda, I’m through panning for gold. Will you let me be in business with you?” ‘Sure!’ I said happily. ‘I’d love to work with you, Pa, and I’d also like to go to school.” p. 34</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A female White child is positioned as a gatekeeper to employment and financial security for her own father. • Education is emphasized for a White child.
<p>Reader Response questions following the text</p> <p>“If Amanda were older, she might be elected Mayor of Boom Town. Write some sentences that tell why she would be good at this job.” p. 36</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White female child is presented as someone with leadership qualities and the potential to have even greater impact on her community. Does the textbook present people of color similarly?
<p>Author profile p. 37</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sonia Levitin, a German American Jewish White female, is presented as an author. (http://www.sonialevitin.com/bio.html) • Levitin states that her favorite author is Laura Ingalls Wilder and that she wrote to the latter and received a reply. Wilder wrote about pioneers and settlers from a Euro-centric perspective, as does Levitin. Furthermore, Wilder’s books are deeply racist in regards to American Indians. Levitin does not problematize this or address it in mentioning Wilder’s work. • White female presented as author, reader, letter writer, and a resource for history.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Mike’s Teaching T-Shirts</i> pp. 38-41</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>2 photos of Mike suggest he is African American (skin tone, hair texture, facial features) pp. 38-39</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American character in a modern setting
<p>“I love social studies and learning about my roots,’ he says. ‘So when my grandmother visited Africa, her photographs and stories about the trip fascinated me.” p. 38</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What <i>countries</i> did she visit? • Establishes Mike as African American who is not only aware of where his ancestors came from, but also interested in his cultural/ethnic heritage
<p>“Wearing a Teaching T-shirt is like wearing a geography lesson. The map shows all the African countries with names and boundaries, plus the continent’s major rivers.” P. 39</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Isn’t that what all maps do? • Emphasizes that Africa is comprised of multiple countries; however, it doesn’t name any of the countries
<p>Photo of Mike holding up T-shirt on p. 38</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Map details can’t be made out, but one can see the continent divided into countries
<p>Photo of Mike wearing T-shirt on p. 39</p> <p>“Africa” or “African” used seven times in the brief text; however not one African country is named in the text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solid green shape of African continent • What about misunderstandings related to African as country, rather than as continent? • The shape of the African continent is often seen in children’s texts; however, how often are other continent outlines shown? Why is Africa so often misunderstood as one large country, or as a continent with non-specified countries? How

	does this position the importance (or lack thereof) of African countries?
Map on p. 40 labels individual African countries; Europe and Asia shown as continent outlines and labeled as such	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is the map labeled, but specific countries are identified in the text? • Text does not explicitly state that Africa is a continent. Is the assumption that 3rd graders will know this? Many adults do not know this.
<p>“Mike makes about \$2,000 each year from his Teaching T-shirts. All of the money goes into his savings for college.” P. 41</p> <p>“To Mike, school comes first. ‘I don’t get too involved in my business when it has any chance of interfering with schoolwork. That’s the most important thing for any kid to be involved in.” p. 41</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicitly identifies an African American boy as college bound; implies he will be accepted into and attend college. • Emphasizes Mike placing education as a priority in his life. This challenges the idea that achieving academically is “acting White.” (Ladson-Billings) • African American male presented as an independent business owner. • Child saving his money to pay for his own education.
<p>“Both Mike in this article and Amanda in <i>Boom Town</i> are ‘go-getters.’ Explain why.” P. 41</p> <p>“Mike sells the shirts to teachers’ supply stores. ‘Social studies teachers like to buy the shirts when they teach classes on Africa,’ Mike says” p. 39</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Question positions Mike’s focus as an economic one; however, Mike was inspired by a love of social studies and wanting to connect with his African roots. • Is Mike’s emphasis more one of teaching rather than profit?

Skills Text: <i>Chores</i> p. 43	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No ethnicity suggested in text or illustrations, which have no people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Skills Text: <i>At the Market</i> p. 45	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“Imagine a small town in Europe three hundred years ago.” p. 45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text describes a traditional village market, but specifically situates this in the historic past. Given that this market is set in Europe 300 years ago, the market-goers are very likely White. Why does the textbook situate White market-goers in the historic past, but people of color at markets in rural, traditional village settings without situating them in the past? Are White people of color presented as living traditional lives in ways that Whites are not?

<i>What About Me?</i> pp. 47-61	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Genre explicitly identified as “fable” on p. 46 By Ed Young	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young, who is Chinese American, is known for his retellings of and illustrations of traditional Chinese tales • Are Chinese Americans represented in genres other than traditional literature in this anthology?
“Once there was a boy who wanted to gain knowledge, but he did not know how to gain it.” “When he arrived, he bowed and said, ‘Grand Master, you are wise. How many I gain a little bit of your knowledge?’” p. 48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asians presented as seeking wisdom and as wise.
Boy barter with each person to eventually present the Grand Master with a carpet in exchange for wisdom.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented using a barter system to obtain material goods they need in a traditional village life.
Author/illustrator profile of Ed Young p. 61	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifies Young as Chinese American

<i>Ben Franklin’s Little Words to Live By</i> pp. 62-63	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
In describing <i>Poor Richard’s Almanack</i> : “The proverbs on this page are all alike in two ways. First, they teach lessons about money or greed. Second, they all come from Ben Franklin.” p. 63 “He started a hospital and library. He invented reading glasses. Franklin also helped with ideas for the writing of the Declaration of Independence.” p. 63	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Franklin, a White male, presented as the author book of proverbs, resource for lessons about money (math), founder of a hospital (science) and a library (literacy), inventor of glasses for reading, co-author of the Declaration of Independence.
Illustration of Franklin writing with a quill pen, p. 62	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Franklin is presented as engaging in print-based literacy.

Skills Text: <i>Inez’s Birthday Gift</i> pp. 64-65	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Inez is a traditional Hispanic or Latina name, but text does not explicitly indicate ethnicity Illustration shows Inez’s skin tone as a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One could reasonably infer that Inez is Hispanic or Latina. • An Hispanic/Latina girl is presented as making financial choices with her birthday money. Like

golden peach; she has brown hair and brown eyes.	<p>Alexander, from <i>Alexander Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i>, Inez is given money as a gift, not in exchange for work/services she provides. Are there other children of color who are positioned similarly with regards to money?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does the literature have to say about simply browning faces in children’s stories without actually providing markers of culture and/or ethnicity?
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Skills Text: <i>Saving Money</i> pp. 66-67	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustration of hand with nickel, p. 67; peach colored hand putting coin in bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnicity can’t be determined.
No mention of ethnicity in text	

<i>Alexander, Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i> pp. 68-83	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“They brought a dollar for me and a dollar for Nick and a dollar for Anthony because—Mom says it isn’t nice to say this—we like money. A lot. Especially me.” p. 71	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alexander’s grandparents give him money when they come for a visit, for no particular reason other than he and his brothers like money. This contrasts with the ways that African Americans and Africans in the textbook are presented as having to work for their money, or are given with money or material things (often secondhand) from their family and/or community members in reward for good deeds they’ve done for family and/or community. Why do people of color have to work for money in this textbook, but Whites are often simply given money?
“My father told me to put the dollar away for college.” p. 72	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White male is presented as college-bound.
“Mom said if I really want to buy a walkie-talkie, save my money. Saving money is hard.” p. 72	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White male is told to save money that is given to him, not to work for money.
“After the gum stopped tasting good, I got more gum. And after that gum stopped tasting good, I got more gum. And even though I told my friend David I’d sell him all the gum in my mouth for a nickel, he still wouldn’t buy it.” p. 73	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • David appears to be African American—skin tone, hair texture, facial features. All other characters and illustrations in the story are White. • David has no voice, nothing beyond a picture of him and his name being mentioned. David is not actually a character in this story, but a prop. • Alexander tries to sell used chewing gum to the only African American in the story. While David declines, this echoes the way in which the textbook presents people of color making do with used goods and being happy with less.
Illustration of David on p. 73	

<p>“I looked at that half-melted candle. I needed that candle. I looked at a bear with one eye. I needed that bear. I looked at a deck of cards that was perfect except for no seven of clubs and now two of diamonds. I didn’t need that seven or two.” p. 79</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alexander, a White male, is shown buying used items from a friend’s garage sale. Does this offer a balance to people of color making due with used items? Alexander is a child making impulse purchases for entertainment items. Are the African Americans who make due with used items in this textbook children or adults? Are the used items the African Americans make do with for pleasure or necessity?
<p>“I absolutely positively was saving the rest of my money. Except I needed to get some money to save. I tried to make a tooth fall out—I could put it under my pillow and get a quarter. No loose teeth. I looked in Pearson’s telephone booths for nickels and dimes that people sometimes forget. No one forgot. I brought some non-returnable bottles down to Friendly’s Market. Friendly’s Market wasn’t very friendly. I told my grandma and grandpa to come back soon.” pp. 80-81</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alexander expresses concern that he needs “to get money to save.” Alexander, a White child, has internalized the White, middle-class, financial discourse related to the importance of saving. Are African Americans or other people of color in the textbook concerned with saving money, or simply having enough money to make ends meet? What does this imply about who is middle-class and who is working-class? • White child is trying to obtain money not through legitimate work, or providing goods/services to others, but by being given something for nothing, in essence: money for a tooth, lost in phone booths, for bottles that he knew weren’t returnable, and again as a gift from his grandparents. How does this contrast with the ways in which African Americans in the textbook obtain money by providing goods/services; i.e. real work?
<p>Author profile p. 83</p> <p>“Judith Viorst based the character of Alexander on the youngest of her three children.” p. 83</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judith Viorst, a White female, is presented as an author. • Does the fact that this story is based on one of Viorst’s sons reinforce the fact that Whites are given money and focus on saving, rather than working for it in the ways that people of color do?
<p>Illustrator profile p. 83</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ray Cruz, an Hispanic male, is presented as a professional illustrator of books.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Tips for Saving Money</i> pp. 84-85</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Illustrations throughout</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little boy, no name, has brown skin, black hair, and blue eyes. Positions a person of color as learning about money and math, as well as having a bank account. • No ethnicity given for the author who is providing the advice about money.

Skills Text: <i>How Many Pennies?</i> pp. 86-87	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>Money</i> pp. 88-89	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>If You Made a Million</i> pp. 90-111	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustrations of children throughout	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little girls appears to be African American based on skin color and hair texture • All children have same facial features • None of the children have names; there aren't actually characters in the traditional sense in this text. • Children learning about money are ethnically diverse.
Illustration of banking system on p. 103 Illustration of money-lending system on p. 105 Illustrations of money wizard throughout Images of U.S. currency—bills and coins Illustration of genie on pp. 102-103; genie appears to be African American	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three images of bankers shown: 2 are White women are shown as branch tellers; 1 White man is shown at a desk under an edifice that reads "The Bank." A White male is shown as synonymous with the bank. • White male banker is shown shaking hands with the boy who purchased the castle. • Money wizard is a White male. • Faces on bills and coins are all those of White men. • Whites are shown as being the gatekeepers to understanding finance, financial institutions, and financial resources • Genie, who appears to be an African American is presented as someone depositing a \$1,000 check in the bank (to a White teller and White banker). This positions a person of color as possessing the funds to have a bank account; however, Whites are still the gatekeepers to the financial institution.
Illustration of ambulance and medical workers on p. 105, with sign reading "Doctor Pam"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All of the medical workers and doctors are White; this presents Whites as educated in science, as well as gatekeepers to healthcare.

<p>African American girl on p. 107 is reading a book titled “<i>Tales of the Jolly Ogre Family</i>,” p. 107</p> <p>White boy on p. 108 painting words on a sign: “<i>Positively no poaching</i>.”</p> <p>White ogre on p. 109 shown writing on blackboard, taking suggestions for “what we should do with out million dollars,” p. 109.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African American female and two White males are presented as engaging in reading and literacy. • A White male is presented as facilitating a conversation about managing money.
<p>Author profile Illustrator profile p. 111</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • David M. Schwartz, a White male, is presented as an author and a reader. • Steven Kellogg, a White male, is presented as a professional illustrator of over 100 books. • Two White men presented as reliable sources for advice about managing money.
<p>“As a child Mr. Kellogg’s dream was to work for <i>National Geographic</i> and draw wild animals in Africa.” p. 111</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africa presented as monolithic continent, without differentiation of countries • “Wild animals” positions the African continent as untamed.

<p><i>Money Long Ago</i> pp. 112-115</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>“Cowries are small snails that live in the ocean. In ancient times, their shiny shells were used as money in China, India, and parts of Africa.” P. 113</p> <p>“Hundreds of years ago, people from African and China used salt as money.” P. 114</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other countries are named, but countries in the African continent are only identified as “parts of Africa.” How are children supposed to learn about the names of African countries, and the idea of Africa as continent rather than country, if African countries are never identified? • Ethnic groups mentioned, but no individuals identified-- Pacific Islanders; Chinese; American Indians (no tribe specified); and Africans (no country specified)
<p>“In ancient times, people did not use paper money or coins. They traded to get things they needed.” p. 112</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions bartering as an historic practice, supplanted by currency-based systems of economy. How does this fit with the fact this textbook shows people of color engaging in barter to obtain goods/services? (For example, the Chinese boy in <i>What About Me?</i>)
<p>Illustrations of Pacific Islanders on p. 114 shows them barefoot and dressed in loin cloths.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While this may indeed be historically accurate, what other modern representations of Pacific Islanders are made available to children in this textbook? What about modern representations of other indigenous peoples, like American Indian tribes?
<p>“Centuries ago, Native Americans used a belt of beads for trading.” P. 115</p> <p>“Wampum belts were also traded during peace agreements.” p. 115</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American Indian tribes are represented as monolithic “Native Americans.” • American Indians positioned as warring tribes who needed to make peace agreements and

	have artifacts to symbolize these agreements. Does this textbook present other cultural groups as warring?
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<i>Saturday Is Market Day</i> pp. 117	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“My family lives in a little village in Africa.” P. 117	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African country is not identified; reinforces the idea that Africa is monolithic in culture. • Village setting reinforces idea that African countries are all small, rural villages. What representations of modern, urban cities in African countries does this textbook present to readers?
“At ten, drummers set up near us. As they played, Papa and Fusi danced. Mama and I clapped along.” p. 117	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this reinforce the stereotype of the singing, dancing, happy “native” that has been so problematic in the representation of African Americans in children’s texts? Who dances and who is musical in this textbook? In what contexts?
Family makes scarves and sells them at the market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While artisanal craft as a source of income is certainly applicable for many citizens of African countries, what representations of other forms of income are made available in this textbook?
Comparing this text to the <i>At the Market</i> text, which starts with “Imagine a small town in Europe three hundred years ago.” P. 45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interesting that the anthology explicitly situates a European market in a setting three hundred years in the past (p. 45); however, the African market is positioned in the present. • What does this say about the perception that African countries are all rural? • Does this position African countries as behind those in Europe? Don’t markets still exist in Europe today?

<i>Skills Text: A Gift for Cletus</i> p. 118-119	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustration on p. 119 shows a boy with brown skin and black, textured hair	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is reasonable to infer that Cletus is an African American boy.
“Every Saturday Cletus ran errands for his neighbors to earn money.” p. 119	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this reflect the African American emphasis on neighborhood, community, and collaboration beyond the immediate nuclear family? • Interesting that Cletus has to work to earn his money, but Alexander, the White boy in <i>Alexander Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i> is simply given his money, as is Inez, the Hispanic girl in <i>Inez’s Birthday Gift</i>. Are there ethnic differences in the ways characters get money in

	<p>the textbook stories? In <i>How to Make a Million</i>, the locus of financial control is shown with Whites, represented by the White tellers, bankers, and financial wizard. Does this textbook provide a representation of an African American as a source of financial resources, security, or advice?</p>
<p>“Sometimes Cletus had so much piled on the front of his bike that he could not keep the bike steady. He wobbled dangerously from side to side, and the bundles would almost fall into the street.” p. 119</p> <p>“Cletus wanted to buy a big basket for the back of his bike. He knew that with the bundles arranged behind him, it would be easier and safer to ride back and forth to town. But he hadn’t saved enough money yet.” p. 119</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African American child is in a dangerous situation in order to earn money. Similarly, Saruni, the Tanzanian boy in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> rides a bike that is unsafe in order to take goods to market for his mother. Does the textbook present White children engaging in potentially dangerous activities in order to earn money or help their family? The White girl in <i>Boom Town</i> bakes pies to earn extra money, but she is in no danger. • Does this reflect the African American emphasis on neighborhood, community, and collaboration beyond the immediate nuclear family? • Cletus wants to buy something to make his work safer and easier, not simply for entertainment. How does this compare to how Whites in the textbooks spend their money?
<p>“The neighbors appreciated what Cletus did for them. They wanted a way to say <i>thank you</i>. So they all got together and bought Cletus a basket for his bike.” p. 119</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The neighborhood works together to buy a bike basket for Cletus, a community member who is contributing to its greater good; they purchase him something useful, not something solely for entertainment. How does this compare to how Whites in the textbooks spend their money? • The neighbors contribute collectively; one individual does not pay out the full sum for the basket. Do Whites purchase things collectively in this textbook?
<p>“He thanked his neighbors, and then off he went again with their lists and bundles.” p. 119</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After receiving the basket for his bike, Cletus uses it to go back to work. Work is seen as ongoing, not just for saving up to buy a desired item. In fact, the text makes no mention of Cletus buying anything with his money. How does this compare to how Whites in the textbooks spend their money? • Riding a bicycle is generally thought of as recreation for American children. However, the text doesn’t mention Cletus deriving any enjoyment from riding his bicycle; it is positioned as a work tool for him. Are there ethnic differences in the ways the textbook’s characters engage in work and/or play?

<p><i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> pp. 120-137</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>

<p>Illustration on p 121 Saruni has dark brown skin with lighter palms and black hair that is textured. He appears African American or African. The coins he's holding are not American coins and there are large market baskets piled behind him.</p> <p>Meet the Author page, p. 136</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While the story itself never names Tanzania as the setting, or Africa as the continent, illustrations throughout show landscape, clothing, homes, and basketry that would likely be found in an African country. Tanzania is identified as the setting on the Meet the Author page, p. 136, as the author is Tanzanian. • The characters' names (Yeyo, Saruni, Murete, etc.) further indicate that this story represents a cultural group other than White American. • How does this story reinforce stereotypes about African countries as comprised solely of small, rural villages?
<p>"After a good day at the market, my mother, Yeyo, gave me five whole ten-cent coins." p. 122</p> <p>"That night, I dropped the five ten-cent coins into my secret money box. It held other ten-cent coins Yeyo had given me for helping with market work on Saturdays." p. 124</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African boy earns money by helping his grandmother sell goods on market days. How does this contrast with how other characters earn or are given money in the textbook?
<p>"For some time now, Murete, my father had been teaching me to ride his big, heavy bicycle." p. 122</p> <p>"He held the bicycle steady while I rode around, my toes barely touching the pedals. Whenever Murete let go, I wobbled, fell off, or crashed into things and among coffee trees... Go on, laugh, I thought, sore but determined. Soon I would be like a cheetah on wheels, racing on errands with my very own bicycle!" p. 125</p> <p>"...I strapped the giant pumpkin on the carrier behind me. When I attempted to pedal, the bicycle wobbled so dangerously that Murete, alongside me, had to grab it." p. 128</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like Cletus, the African American boy in <i>A Gift for Cletus</i>, Saruni, an African boy, rides a bicycle that is not entirely safe for him, but he is doing so in order to engage in work: in Cletus' case errands for his neighbors; in Saruni's case, taking his family's farm produce to market and bringing purchases home. • Like Cletus, Saruni, uses his bicycle for work, not for entertainment. How do White children in the textbook use recreational items such as bicycles?
<p>"We took goods to market, piled high on Yeyo's head and on my squeaky old wooden wheelbarrow." p. 127</p> <p>"I wore an old coat Murete had handed down to me for chilly July days like today." p. 130</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is the wheelbarrow old? Why is the coat old? • What stories in this textbook offer representations of Africans, African Americans, and/or people of color as people who are not poor, struggling to eke out an existence through artisanal crafts or manual labor? • What stories in this textbook offer representations of people of color who do not have to make do with secondhand or faulty goods, and are happy to do so? What does the literature say about African Americans being represented as grateful for used goods?
<p>"It stopped raining in June. Not long after,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School is mentioned, but only in the context of

<p>school closed. Our harvest—fresh maize and peas, sweet potatoes, vegetables, and fruits—was so big, we went to market on Saturdays and Wednesdays. My money box grew heavier and heavier.” p. 128</p>	<p>closing. The story does not present Saruni engaging in any forms of school-based literacy; instead, he is presented engaging in the manual labor of farming and selling produce at market. Are there ethnic differences in how the textbook shows characters engaging in school and school-based literacies?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni does engage in math activities by counting his money as he saves it. Saruni does not take his money to the bank; instead he saves it at home. Are there ethnic differences in the ways characters in the textbook access financial institutions as resources for saving, investment, and loans?
<p>“Mounting the bicycle to ride back to the house, he sighed wearily. ‘And hard on my bones, which are getting too old for pedaling.’” p. 129</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical labor is hard on Saruni’s father. What other characters does the textbook present as feeling the effects of a life of physical labor?
<p>“How many coins have you got there?’ Proudly, I told him, “Three hundred and five.”</p> <p>Three hundred and five,’ he muttered. ‘Mmh, that’s...thirty shillings and fifty cents.’ He exploded with laughter. ‘A whole bicycle... for thirty shillings... and fifty cents?’</p> <p>His laugh followed me as I walked away with my bundles of coins, deeply disappointed.” p. 131</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni was able to count the number of coins, 355; however, he did not calculate their monetary value, how much a bicycle would cost, nor how much more money he would need. How do other children in the textbook save and budget their money? Alexander, in <i>Alexander Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i>, knows exactly how much money he has with each transaction, even though he may be an impulse buyer. Inez, from <i>Inez’s Birthday Present</i>, knows how much money she has and is able to do mental math in the store to make decisions about which photo equipment to purchase.
<p>“‘You saved all your money for a bicycle to help me?’ she asked. I could tell she was amazed and touched.” p. 132</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni, an African child, saves his money to help his mother take goods to market; he is motivated to work and earn money to help his mother and family. Similarly, Cletus, from <i>A Gift for Cletus</i>, works to serve his community and Francisco, from <i>A Hard Day’s Work</i>, labors to help his family put food on the table and buy a coat for his grandfather. The textbook positions children of color as laboring for basic needs of life and the good of their family/community. How does this contrast with how the textbook presents White children who work or earn money?
<p>“The sound of a pikipiki filled the air, tuk-tuk-tuk-tuk-tuk. I came out the house and stared in astonishment. Murete was perched on an orange motorbike.” p.132</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni is amazed by a motorbike. The only modes of transportation presented in this story are walking on foot and bicycle. How does this reinforce stereotypes about African countries being rural, villages? Does the textbook present an use of technologies, such as electricity, gasoline powered engines, computers, etc. in African countries? Are these technologies presented in non-African countries?
<p>“I realized the wonderful thing that had just happened. ‘My bicycle, I have my very own</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African child is happy being given something that is less than he actually wanted, something

<p>bicycle! It didn't matter at all that it wasn't decorated with red and blue." p. 132</p> <p>Illustration on p. 132 shows Saruni in his father's old coat; the coat is so oversized that it reaches all the way to the ground when Saruni wears it.</p>	<p>that is used and old, like his coat and wagon. The coat and bicycle are both too big for him. What does the literature say about African Americans being presented as grateful for used goods? Cletus got a new basket for his bike. Alexander bought used things at a garage sale, and his African American friend wouldn't buy his used bubble gum.</p>
<p>"Within moments I had brought Murete my money box... 'You're giving it...back to me?' Yeyo smiled. 'It's a reward for all your help to us.' 'Thank you, thank you!' I cried gleefully." p. 132-133</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni immediately gives his father money to pay for the bicycle. • The money is given back to him because the bicycle is a reward from his parents for all of his hard work every week. An African child is rewarded for work, hard physical work, not simply given money or a bicycle.
<p>Illustration on p. 134 shows Saruni pushing a bike that is much too big for him, a bike that is heavily laden with bananas piled high on the back and a full basket strapped to the front. His mother has a large basket filled with produce on her head.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni is shown working, specifically, engaging in physical labor with his mother. Francisco and his Hispanic grandfather, in <i>A Hard Day's Work</i>, are also shown engaged in physical labor. Does the textbook present ethnic differences in physical labor? Cletus, who is African American is shown laboring.
<p>"Looking at Yeyo, I wished she didn't have to carry such a big load on her head. If only I had a cart to pull behind my bicycle, I thought, I could lighten her load! That night I emptied the box, arranged all the coins in piles and the piles in rows. Then I counted the coins and thought about the cart I would buy..." p. 134</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruni is thinking again of how he can use his money to make work easier for his family. His goals for his money are not self-centered.
<p>In the "Reader Response" set of questions following the text: "The author and the artist give you information about life in Tanzania. Look back at the selection and find this information. Which parts will you remember for a long time?" p. 135</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author, illustrator, or textbook did not explicitly let the reader know that this story is set in Tanzania at the beginning or during the story; this information doesn't come until the Meet the Author profile following the story. • Will the reader be able to pick out all the cultural elements (language, dress, market customs, coins, food) that are indicators of Tanzania?
<p>Author profile p. 136</p> <p>"Tololwa Mollel grew up in a small village in Tanzania, Africa. Like the boy... Mr. Mollel often went to the market with his grandmother." P. 136</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Author is African American, immigrant from Tanzania. • Story he's telling is historical fiction if it's from his childhood, but will readers see his story as contemporary realistic fiction? The text identifies the genre as "realistic fiction" (p. 120), but it may be important for readers to know that the traditional life that Mollel describes may be different from life in present day Tanzania. • While Mollel grew up in a small village, are Africans from urban areas also presented in the textbook?
<p>"Mr. Mollel hopes that children in the U.S. learn that 'family life is valued everywhere.' He says the boy in the story doesn't want the bicycle just for himself. He wants to use it to help his mother. 'Children in</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook is emphasizing how Saruni labored to help his family and the traditional family values of Tanzania. This emphasis on family and helping one another has been identified as an important part of African American life

Tanzania help the family earn a living,' he says." p. 136.	(citationsXXXX). Does the textbook emphasize working for the family in stories with White children?
Author profile p. 136	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africa American man is presented as author who writes about his own life.
Illustrator profile p. 137 "For the illustrations in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> , E.B. Lewis won a Coretta Scott King Award." p. 137	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • E.B. Lewis, an African American male, is presented as a professional illustrator of books. • Coretta Scott King Award is given to an African American for work representing African American life.
"About painting in his studio, Mr. Lewis says, '...The music is blasting—everything from rap to classical to jazz.'" p. 137	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American man presented as someone who enjoys not just rap and jazz, often stereotyped as music for and by African Americans, but also enjoys classical music, often stereotyped as White music.
"He grew up poor, so he tries to tell kids that 'the future is full of hope'." p. 137	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American male presented as growing up in poverty, but overcoming this. Emphasis on "hope" echoes the mural about hope in <i>Talking Walls: Art for the People</i>: the mural, featuring an African American girl, is meant to symbolize the way that education can help children achieve their dreams. • Are authors of other ethnicities identified as having been "poor"?

Skills Text: <i>Learning About Money</i> pp. 138-141	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>Illustration on p. 138 shows a brown hand holding the mouse to learn about money.</p> <p>Also shown on this page, and throughout the text, is a White boy who is explaining how to save money and set financial goals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are positioned as the gatekeepers to financial resources, security, and advice, while people of color are positioned as needing that advice. Are there texts contained within this textbook that make possible other roles for African Americans in regards to finances? • Amanda in <i>Boom Town</i>, pp. 16-37, is a White girl who establishes a business for herself as a baker of pies. Mike, who is African American, does make and sell his own t-shirts in <i>Mike's Teaching T-Shirts</i>, pp. 38-41. Interestingly, his business, t-shirts of Africa, is related to his African American heritage. Alexander, in <i>Alexander, Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i>, pp. 68-83, who is White is given money from his grandparents for no reason other than they came to visit; he did not have to work to earn the money. He does try to sell used gum to his African American friend, who does not take him up on the offer. The young boy is <i>Tips for Saving Money</i>, pp. 84-85, is brown-skinned and

	learning how to save money. The children in <i>If You Made a Million</i> are ethnically diverse; however, the gatekeepers to finance and financial institutions are White.
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Book One Unit Two: Smart Solutions
-What Are Smart Ways That Problems Are Solved?

Unit 2 Table of Contents pp. 148-149	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>Illustration shows Indian architecture and a brown skinned man, dressed in white and a turban, sitting cross-legged on a mat on the ground. The man is blowing a long instrument in the face of a cobra. The cobra's hood is puffed out as it is coming out of a basket on the ground.</p> <p>Inset of the snake charmer is also on p. 6 table of contents</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The snake charmer is a stereotypical presentation of someone from India. Does this textbook present other representations of Indian people? Inuit people in <i>A Symphony of Whales</i> are presented in a frozen wither setting with traditional fur-lined parkas and sled dogs. Members of the Snohomish American Indian tribe in <i>Holding Up the Sky</i> are shown in traditional dress, illustrating a traditional pourquoi myth. Joseph Bruchac, the author of <i>Holding Up the Sky</i> is shown wearing some traditional dress elements and some modern clothing; however, his tribe, the Abenaki, is not even identified. A teepee is shown in the illustrations for <i>Catch It and Run</i>, an American Indian pourquoi myth not attributed to any tribe. Francisco and his grandfather in <i>A Hard Day's Work</i> are presented as poor immigrants who are dirtier than Whites. The Chinese boy in <i>What About Me</i> is presented in traditional dress, running barefoot around the village. Asian and Asian American children are specifically identified as working hard at school and being smart. Africans from Tanzania, <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i>, South Africa, <i>Fly, Eagle, Fly!</i>, are presented living in rural villages. The Africans in the latter story are presented in traditional clothing, barefoot, and living in thatched-roof huts. Yap Islanders in <i>Money from Long Ago</i> are presented in traditional loincloths. How does this textbook reinforce stereotypes about the people of color? How does the textbook position people of color as sources of traditional beliefs, such as myths, but not of modern, school-based learning?

Skills Text: <i>The Coldest Climate</i> pp. 150-151	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i>

	<i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>Penguins Are Birds</i> pp. 152-153	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>Penguin Chick</i> pp. 154-169	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text itself	•
Meet the Author page, p. 169 “I write mostly about things I like, and I love animals.’ When she researched penguins, she read about all seventeen species of penguins.” p. 169	• Betty Tatham, a White female, is presented as a reader, an author, a researcher, and a credible source for science information, specifically biology, animal behavior, and animal life cycles. Are people of color also shown to be arbiters of school-based knowledge in this textbook? Folktales in the collection position Asians and African Americans as sources of folk wisdom, but do they also show people of color as sources of school-based knowledge? This was not the case with the money-related unit in the textbook.
“Ms. Tathan has never seen real emperor penguins.” p. 169	• A White woman writing about something she has not experienced first-hand. Are people of color in the textbook similarly writing about experiences other than their own?

Skills Text: <i>Plants: Fitting Into Their World</i> pp. 170-175	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>The Grasshopper and the Ant: A Retelling of an Aesop Fable</i> p. 175	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>

No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•
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Skills Text: <i>A Gardening Adventure</i> pp. 176-177	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>A Day's Work</i> pp. 178-193	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
"The driver held up three fingers. 'Bricklaying. I need three men,' he called. Five men jumped in the back. 'Only three,' the driver said, and two had to get out. The workers left in the parking lot grumbled and shuffled around." p. 180	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented as competing for manual labor jobs, without steady employment. Hispanics and immigrants are shown as low-wage, unskilled, low-status "workers." Does this textbook include representations of Hispanics and/or immigrants as educated, financially successful individuals as well? • Is the author implying that the men don't understand the word "three," or that they simply choose to ignore it? Either way, how does this position them in a negative light?
"Francisco's grandfather shivered. 'Hace frio,' he said. 'It is cold because it is still early. It will be hot later, you will see,' Francisco said in Spanish." pp. 180-181.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is Francisco, a child, explaining this to his grandfather, an adult that the day becomes warmer? It seems unlikely that a child would understand better than an adult would that the day becomes warmer as the earth rotates and receives more direct rays of the sun. This positions Abuelo, a Spanish-speaking immigrant who has recently come to the United States from Mexico, as less educated than his grandson, who is American born.
Throughout the story, Francisco speaks to his grandfather in Spanish, but to others in English and narrates the story in English.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This reflects the reality that many children act as <i>de facto</i> translators for parents who have limited English proficiency. However, do other ethnic immigrants need to have children translate for them in the textbook?
"'Why did you bring a kid?' one of the men asked. 'No one will hire you with a kid. He belongs in school.' 'It's Saturday,' Francisco said. 'My <i>abuelo</i> , my grandfather, does not speak English yet... I am going to help my <i>abuelo</i> get work.'" p. 181	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An immigrant Hispanic man is presented as needing a child's help to find employment. The child, a non-immigrant, is positioned as a gatekeeper to employment. • Although Francisco is not missing school to help his grandfather work is emphasized over education. The story makes multiple references to earning money for the family, but never about Francisco working hard in or succeeding at school.

<p>“We have been alone—since my father died.” P. 181</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Hispanic family is shown as being no longer intact and lacking an adult male in the household, until the grandfather arrives to help. This emphasizes extended family helping one another beyond the nuclear family, which has been similarly noted as part of the African American experience (MacCann, 2001). Do Whites in the textbook need to draw on extended family for financial survival?
<p>“When there was money to spare they’d get him a jacket like Francisco’s with sleeves long enough to cover his hands. And an L.A. Lakers cap like Francisco’s too.” p. 181</p> <p><i>Abuelo</i> doesn’t have a jacket, but Francisco wants to buy him one when they have enough money. p. 180</p> <p>Francisco is excited that the gardener will pay <i>Abuelo</i> and him \$60 for a day’s labor: “Mama would be so happy. Her job didn’t pay much. There’d be extra food tonight, maybe <i>chorizos</i>.” p. 182</p> <p>The White gardener gives <i>Abuelo</i> a straw hat because he doesn’t have one to keep him from getting too hot working in the sun, p. 184.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hispanic and immigrant family presented as lacking money for basic needs, like adequately warm clothing. How does this contrast with the White family in <i>Boom Town</i> who have so much extra money they need a safe place to keep it, or <i>Alexander</i>, in <i>Alexander Who Used to Be Rich Last Sunday</i>, who is given pocket money to make impulse purchases of unnecessary items? Who does the textbook present as struggling financially? • What does the Lakers cap represent in the story, to Francisco? How does this text and textbook address issues of immigration? Is assimilation presented as the goal?
<p>The driver of the gardening truck is “wearing an L.A. Lakers cap, like Francisco’s. Maybe cleaner.” p. 182</p> <p>“They sat on the curb to wait for the van, and when it came they stood and brushed the loose dirt from their clothes.” p. 187</p> <p>“The parking lot was empty. The trash can overflowed with used paper cups and sandwich wrappings.” p. 190</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The White man’s hat is presented as cleaner than Francisco’s, an Hispanic. Similarly, a mural titled “Immigrant” in <i>Talking Walls: Art for the People</i> shows a immigrant climbing into a dirty dumpster to collect discarded beer cans, another with a hole in the knees of his jeans, a third man with his shirt half un-buttoned, and people walking barefoot. Does this textbook conflate poverty or immigrant status with a lack of cleanliness? • When Francisco and his abuelo were working for the White man, they could hear the sound of splashing from pools in “new backyards,” but when they are done working, they are brought back to a dirty parking lot.
<p>“Take us, Mr. Benjamin. <i>Us</i>.’ Francisco pointed back at his grandfather. He tilted his own cap over his eyes. ‘Look! We love the Lakers, too.’” p. 182</p> <p>“Francisco gave a little jump and pretended to slam dunk a ball. ‘Like the Lakers. We work hard.’” p. 187</p> <p>“Ben pointed. ‘Those flowers are chickweed. Chickweed! You took out my young ice plants!’ He yanked off his</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Francisco’s draws on the L.A. Lakers in his appeal for work; he positions his grandfather and himself as people who admire American sports/cultural icons. • While Francisco draws on the Lakers cap as a symbol of America and his assimilation to it, the White gardener is violent with the hat as he expresses that Francisco and his grandfather have not understood the American (implied correct) way to do things.

<p>Lakers cap and slammed it against the van.” p. 187</p> <p>“When there was money to spare they’d get him a jacket like Francisco’s with sleeves long enough to cover his hands. And an L.A. Lakers cap like Francisco’s too.” p. 181</p>	
<p>“Also, you will get two for one,’ he said. ‘I don’t charge for my work.’ The man grinned. ‘OK. I’m convinced.” p. 182</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hispanics and immigrants and presented as being willingly exploited by White business owners, specifically not being fully compensated for their manual labor.
<p>“A big, tough guy tried to get in too. Francisco pushed him back. <i>He</i> was tough. He was a worker.” P. 183</p> <p>Illustration on p. 182 shows Francisco pushing a grown man away from the back of the van.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggression and violence are positioned as necessary skills for manual laborers, who are Hispanic and immigrants in this story. Does this textbook position other characters are needing to be aggressive or violent in order to survive financially?
<p>“My grandfather is a fine gardener, though he doesn’t know English yet. The gardens are the same, right? Mexican and American?’ ... ‘It is gardening,’ he told Abuelo as the van pulled away. ‘But I don’t know gardening. I am a carpenter. I have always lived in the city.’ ‘It is easy.’ Francisco waved through the window at the passing cars.” p. 183</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hispanics and immigrants are represented as dishonest, perhaps driven to it by harsh financial circumstances. Although Abuelo does chastise Francisco for lying to the gardener later in the story, at this point he does not raise further objects about his lack of qualifications.
<p>“Now,’ he said, ‘I will show you.’ He pulled up one of the spiky clumps and shook the dirt from its roots. ‘These are weeds. Do not touch the flowers.’ His grandfather smiled. ‘<i>Bueno</i>” pp. 185-186</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A non-immigrant Hispanic child is shown providing directions for his grandfather, an Hispanic immigrant, on how to do work. What funds of knowledge does the textbook present immigrants as possessing?
<p>“There was a pool in one of the new backyards. Francisco heard splashing and voices. The water sounds made him hotter. His shoulders and arms hurt. He thought about how proud Mama would be tonight.” p. 186</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaged in manual labor under the hot sun, an Hispanic child is physically miserable, while hearing the sounds of recreation from middle-class families in “new backyards.” Saruni, the Tanzanian boy in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> is also shown engaged in labor and being physically uncomfortable, as is Cletus, the African American boy in <i>A Gift for Cletus</i>. Are White children shown in physical discomfort due to manual labor? Amanda, the White pie baker in <i>Boom Town</i>, is not presented as uncomfortable, nor is Lydia Grace, the White girl who helps in her uncle’s bakery in <i>The Gardener</i>, or Pablo, the bi-racial (Hispanic mother and Jewish White father) who helps in his parents’ baker. How does the textbook position people of color and/or immigrants as those who are meant to suffer physically due to manual labor?
<p>“He thought we knew about gardening,’ Abuelo said. His Spanish was fast and angry. ‘You lied to him. Isn’t that so?’</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Hispanic, immigrant grandfather is presented as teaching his grandson a lesson about honesty, as well as having a strong work ethic.

<p>'We needed a day's work...' 'We do not lie for work.'... 'Ask him what we can do. Tell him we will come back tomorrow, if he agrees. We will pull out the weeds and put the good plants back.'" p. 189</p>	
<p>"But... but Abuelo, that will be twice the work." p. 189</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It will actually be four times the work, because the White business owner was already getting twice the work for the price of one.
<p>"Look,' he said. 'If you need money I'll give you half now.' He began to pull his wallet from his pocket but Abuelo held up his hand." p. 190</p> <p>"I can always use a good man—for more than just a day's work." p. 191</p> <p>"The important things your grandfather knows already. And I can teach him gardening." p. 191</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The White man is positioned as a source of financial security, while the ethnic minorities and immigrants are positioned as one who needs the White man's money. • The White gardener is positioned as the judge of right and wrong, as well as the source of employment. • The White man possesses knowledge, a skilled trade, that he can teach the parallel culture group; while the person of color is shown having folk wisdom. Earlier in the story, Abuelo says that he was a carpenter in Mexico, but he is not given the opportunity to use his tradesman's skills in the U.S.
<p>Meet the Author page, p. 193</p> <p>"We had it pretty hard at the beginning,' Bunting says. <i>A Day's Work</i> shows her understanding of some of the difficulties that immigrants face." p. 193</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eve Bunting is a White woman who grew up in Ireland and emigrated to the United States in 1958.. • A White female is presented as a lifelong reader and an author of more than 150 children's books. • Can Bunting, as a White woman who arrived in the U.S. speaking English, really understand the experiences of an Hispanic man who is an English language learner? How do Bunting's experiences as a White woman provide affordances and limitations in understanding the experiences of a cultural group who are subjected to systematic prejudice and oppression in the United States?

<p>Skills Text: <i>What Is a Weed?</i> pp. 194-197</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Peach colored hand shown holding the mouse to access information about plants; the hand is supposed to be Francisco's, but he is shown as brown skinned in the story illustrations.</p> <p>"Tomorrow,' Francisco told himself, 'I will be smarter! I will know a weed from a flower!' That night, Francisco went to his computer and used e-mail to help him learn about plants." p. 194</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why doesn't the hand using the computer mouse match more closely Francisco's skin tone, as illustrated in the story? • Francisco, an Hispanic, is presented as technology-savvy and curious about science; he uses technology as a tool to learn about science. • Is it realistic to think that Francisco, whose family didn't have enough money for a jacket for <i>Abuelo</i> and for whom money was just enough for food, would have a computer with Internet access?
<p>"I got in trouble today. I had a job to weed</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The questions that follow the text and the skill

<p>a garden but I pulled out all the flowers and left all the weeds!" p. 195</p> <p>Reader Response questions on p. 192 and Reading Across Texts question: "Now that Francisco has this information, what advice would you give him about his next job as a gardener?" p. 197</p>	<p>section that come after it do not address the fact that Francisco, an Hispanic child, had to engage in physical labor, while other children (presumably those splashing in the unseen pools) did not. The questions do not address the challenges faced by immigrants or issues of poverty. The questions place the locus of the problem on Francisco's lie and lack of gardening skills, not the larger social issues of immigration, poverty, social justice, and equity. Does the textbook position 3rd grade readers as incapable of answering critical questions?</p>
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<p>Skills Text: <i>The Stamp Collector</i> pp. 198-199</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Illustration shows Carlos with brown skin; Carlos and Rosa are traditional Hispanic or Latino name; Carlos' sister's name is Rosa</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text and illustration imply that the characters are either Hispanic or Latino(a) • This story presents people of color, implied Hispanic or Latino from names and skin tone, in a more positive light than <i>A Day's Work</i>.
<p>"That evening Carlos cut a stamp from a postcard he had bought at a yard sale. It was a 12¢ stamp with a picture of George Washington on it." p. 199</p> <p>"One of my stamps is worth between 100 and 300 dollars!" p. 199</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What stories in this textbook offer representations of people of color who do not have to make do with secondhand or faulty goods, and are happy to do so. What does the literature say about people of color being represented as grateful for used goods? Although in this case, the used goods turn out to be valuable. • The image of a White president is a source of an unexpected financial gains for Carlos. In essence, a White image is associated with money.
<p>"He looked it up in a stamp catalog." p. 199</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Hispanic boy is presented as using a text-based resource for research

<p>Skills Text: <i>Get Organized</i> pp. 200-201</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p><i>Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It</i> pp. 202-219</p>

<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
All of the characters in this story's illustration are White; however, on page 216, there does appear a person of color in the background, facing away from the reader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In how many stories in this textbook have the illustrations “brownd” the faces in the stories in an attempt to be multicultural?
“Maybe you could take all this to the thrift shop,’ she said. ‘Surely someone could use this old mushroom...’” p. 208	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudy’s mother, a White woman, encourages Prudy, a White girl to take some of her extra belongings to a thrift shop. A White child is positioned as having so many things that she can give some of them away. How does this contrast with the way several children of color in the textbook are presented as struggling to have adequate basic necessities? • The mother stresses that the mushroom is “old.” Something old is seen as unacceptable for a White child, while African American children and people of color in the textbook accept and are grateful for used items, such as Saruni in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coin</i> (used coat and bike) and Abuelo in <i>A Day’s Work</i> (used hat), and immigrants in <i>Talking Walls: Art for the People?</i>
<p>Illustration on p. 208 shows a bookcase filled with books in Prudy’s room, as well as more books piled on the floor.</p> <p>“She could barely get to her desk to feed her mice.” P. 209</p> <p>“Prudy looked around for inspiration. She visited an art collection. She visited a fish collection. She visited a rock collection. She went to the library to find ideas. At last, after many hours of scrutinizing stacks of books, she came up with a brilliant plan!” p. 214</p> <p>Illustrations on p. 214 show Prudy reading, at museums, and standing in the middle of Stonehenge.</p> <p>Illustration on p. 215 shows Prudy with an architectural blueprint she has drawn.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudy, a White child, is presented as literate and a reader. Additionally, the possession of numerous books suggests that Prudy and her family are middle-class. • A desk is in Prudy’s room, which implies school-based skills, such as reader, writing, homework, etc. • Prudy draws on multiple sources and repositories of school-based knowledge (museum, science museum, Stonehenge, library, books) in order to solve her own problem. A White child is positioned as someone who has the skills and access to resources to generate creative solutions. She is positioned as smart; i.e. “brilliant plan.” • The architectural drawing Prudy creates suggests that she has additional funds of school-based knowledge that are mathematical.
<p>“With saws whirring and hammers pounding, everyone set to work.” p. 215</p> <p>Illustration on p. 215 shows Prudy showing her father an architectural bluepring she has created, while her mother uses a circular saw, her brother nets butterflies, and various animals are building.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudy, a White middle-class child, is presented as someone with the authority to engage her family and others in a large-scale construction project. This is similar to how Amanda in <i>Boom Town</i>, a White child, organized her community’s development, and Lydia Grace, another White child, united her community around gardening. Does this textbook show people of color as community organizers/developers or those who orchestrate large-scale plans?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While the text suggests that Prudy's family is engaging in physical labor, the illustration shows her brother chasing butterflies, her father sitting with her, her sister drawing, and only her mother using a tool, a circular saw. The animals are carrying lumber and hammering, with comical looks on their faces. This contrasts sharply with the way Francisco, the Hispanic child in <i>A Day's Work</i>, and Saruni, the Tanzanian child in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i>, experience physical labor. How does the textbook position people of color and/or immigrants as those who are meant to suffer physically due to manual labor?
<p>"The Prudy Museum of Indescribalbe Wonderment was an amazing sight to behold. Everyone wanted to visit!" p. 216</p> <p>Illustration on p. 216 shows a ticket booth, with mice worker inside charging a 25-cent admission fee to visitors. The mice are putting the coins in a large piggy bank. Prudy's is shown in an "Information Booth," holding up a document titled "Museum Map."</p> <p>"Can I go to the gift shop?" p. 216</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudy is presented as someone who has organized a museum and is now a museum curator, a gatekeeper to learning. Furthermore, her position in the information booth with the map in hand, suggests that she is a resource of knowledge. • Prudy's museum is a business: it generates income through admission fees and a gift shop. This positions Prudy as a small business owner who employs others, and is hence a gatekeeper to employment and financial security. • The money going into the piggy bank suggests that Prudy can save her money; she does not need to spend it to contribute to her family's income. Prudy's museum work is of her own choosing; it is not a necessity, as is the work of people of color in the textbook.
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator page, p. 219</p> <p>"She first had to take a special class. The class was on how to make art for children's books. It taught her the skills she needed." p. 219</p> <p>"She uses her sewing machine to make animals, vegetables, and people. She sold her fi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carey Armstrong-Ellis, a White woman, is presented as an author, a professional illustrator, and someone who has sought out additional education to help her meet her professional goals. She is also presented as a small businesswoman who uses traditional domestic skills to produce and sell goods.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Meeting the Challenge of Collecting</i> pp. 220-223</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Photo of Dr. Gary Feinman examining a bowl and writing, p. 221</p> <p>"Anthropology is the study of how people live. Anthropologists look at how people fit in with the places they live. They study how different groups of people are alike and how</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Feinman, the director of the Field Museum of Natural History, is a White man. (I confirmed this via personal e-mail communication with him.) • A White man is presented as university educated professional and a source of school-based knowledge: science.

<p>they are different.” p. 220</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White man is presented as engaging in text-based literacy: writing. • A White man is presented as a resource for knowledge about people who are unlike himself, how they live, and how they “fit in” to their surroundings. • Does this textbook also position people of color as sources of school-based knowledge or knowledge about ethnic groups other than their own? Does this textbook position school-based knowledge as superior to the lived experiences of ethnic minorities?
<p>Title: “Meeting the Challenges of Collecting” p. 220</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The objects collected are presented as those that come from the cultures of people of color, specifically traditional groups in South America, Africa, Oceania, and Wappo Indians of central California. A White man is presented as collecting the artifacts of people of color. This raises the question of who has the right to these objects, and who has a right to claim to be an expert about them.
<p>Photos of artifacts show objects from Peru, pp. 220-221, Papua New Guinea, p. 222, the Wappo Indians, p. 222, and Cameroon, p. 223.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White man is presented as the source of knowledge about objects created by people of color, and one of those objects, the mask from Cameroon, represents the face of a person of color. What does it mean for a White man to be presented as the expert on an ethnic group that is not his own? • The Cameroonian mask is an example of traditional tribal art. Is this an example of how Black Africans are presented as more “primitive” than Americans or Whites in general? The Tapa bark from Papua New Guinea and the woven basket from the Wappoo Indians are also examples of traditional tribal crafts. What other representations of the work and/or art of people of color does this textbook present to readers?
<p>“With so many interesting and unusual objects, how do you decide which to display?” p. 222</p> <p>“Our permanent displays all have certain themes. If an object fits in with that theme, we try to put it on display.” p. 222</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White man is charged with determining themes for objects, deciding what is and isn’t relevant, and hence what is displayed as representative of a cultural group. • “Unusual” implicitly means unusual to those who are not members of the ethnic groups from which the objects originated. Is the mask from Cameroon “unusual” to those whose ethnic group members traditionally created/used such masks? What gets positioned as unusual and exotic, and who decides?
<p>“We have a full-time staff to care for our collection.” p. 223</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is implied that Dr. Feinman, as the head of the anthropology department, is in a leadership position in regards to staff; this presents him as a gatekeeper to employment, and hence financial security for others.
<p>Reading Across Texts question on p. 223:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An interesting question. Would the expectation

<p>“How are Prudy’s Museum and the Field Museum of Natural History alike? How are they different?”</p>	<p>be that children would discuss how in both museums Whites are positioned as resources for school-based learning and gate-keepers to learning (through museums) and financial security (through employment)? Would the expectation be that students would discuss the positioning of people of color as either background props (in <i>Prudy’s Problem</i>) or as the object of study (in <i>Meeting the Challenges of Collecting</i>)?</p>
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<p>Skills Text: <i>Salsa Garden</i> pp. 224-225</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>Farming</i> pp. 226-227</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p><i>Tops & Bottoms</i> pp. 228-247</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator page, p. 247</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Janet Stevens, a White woman, is presented as an author and professional illustrator of children’s books. Stevens discusses her writing process, positioning her as someone who is a resources for understanding text-based literacy.

<p>Skills Text: <i>The Hare and the Tortoise</i> pp. 248-249</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>How to Build an Adobe House</i> pp. 250-251</p>	
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<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>Photo on p. 251 shows multiple ethnicities making adobe bricks.</p> <p>“Adobe bricks have been used to build desert homes for many years. You can see adobe houses in the desert Southwest of our country.” p. 251</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who has used the adobe bricks to build homes? Why doesn't the text tell the reader that adobe is a construction technique that originated with people of color whose origin is not European? • Most of the people in the photo appear to be White. What does it mean for Whites to be shown as experts in a skilled craft that was created by people of color? How does this connect to the way that a White man is shown as an expert on the traditional crafts of people of color (in <i>Meeting the Challenges of Collecting</i>)?

Skills Text: <i>Like the Good Old Days</i> pp. 252-253	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>“Look at the photograph. These people are pretending to be colonists in the 1600s.” p. 253</p> <p>“They want to do things the way the colonists did.” p. 253</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Text specifically situates the story in an historical context; makes clear that this is an historic way of doing things for European Americans. How does this compare with the way the textbook shows people of color living in traditional ways or in traditional villages, but does not explicitly situate them in an historic context? • Photo shows only Whites building a long and plank home. “The good old days” didn't include people of color? • The White, European way of doing this, in this case building, is presented as the desirable “good old days” way to do things. • Whites are presented as sources of an understanding of historically accurate architecture.

<i>William's House</i> pp. 254-267	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>Every character in the story and illustrations is White, European American.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this textbook include an American Indian perspective? Perspectives of settlers/colonists are shown in <i>Like the God Old Days</i> and <i>William's House</i>. Does the textbook avoid addressing issues of cultural, ethnic conflict in American history by simply ignoring them? What do the social studies GLCEs and national standards include about understanding cultural and ethnic conflicts in American history?
<p>Heading “New England, 1637” p. 256</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Text makes clear that this is an historical text, representing historical ways of doing things.

<p>Reader Response questions following the text: “This story happened more than 300 years ago.” p. 266</p>	<p>Does the textbook clearly contextualize the traditional ways of non-European ethnic groups in the historic past?</p>
<p>“William cleared an area 20 feet square.” p. 256</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Text doesn’t address ownership of the land; William simply clears it, and in doing so, claims it as his own. Where is the mention of the American Indians who may have already been in the area?
<p>“It would be like the house he grew up in, his father’s house, in England.” p. 256</p> <p>“It was just like the one he grew up in, his father’s house, in England.” p. 258</p> <p>“The house did not look like his father’s house in England.” p. 265</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • William, a White European immigrant, is presented as bringing traditional European ways to America and trying to make his life in a new place just like his life in his homeland. However, due to the different climate and environment, he must adapt his house in order to meet the needs of his family. How does this speak to the way that immigrants’ cultures are resources that they draw upon when arriving in a new country, but that their cultural practices are sometimes adapted to fit their contexts? How is this similar to the ways immigrants’ cultural traditions are shown to change as they assimilate to American life in <i>How My Family Lives in America</i>?
<p>“‘Something must be done,’ said his wife, ‘or we’ll have no food!’ So William dug a hole deep in the earth behind the house.” p. 259</p> <p>“‘Something must be done,’ said his wife, ‘or we’ll be crushed!’ So William cut away the trees and left a large clearing all around the house.” p. 260-261</p> <p>“‘Something must be done,’ said his wife, ‘or the house will burn!’ So William split shingles of cedar and replaced thatch on the roof.” p. 261</p> <p>“‘Something must be done,’ said his wife, ‘or the roof will cave in!’ So William cleared the snow and removed the shingles.” p. 262</p> <p>“‘Something must be done,’ said his wife, ‘or we’ll freeze in our sleep!’ So William built a new fireplace, wider and taller, in the center of the wall.” p. 263</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • William’s wife is presented as needing her husband, a White male, to solve all of the family’s problems. The use of an exclamation point is in sharp contrast to the lack of such punctuation elsewhere in the story; she is presented as panicked and helpless. Are women of color presented as problem solvers in the textbook? There is a long history in the African American community of strong women; does the textbook reflect this?
<p>Meet the Author page, p. 267</p> <p>“The early American settlers were brave to leave the comfort of their homes for an unknown land.” p. 267</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ginger Howard, a White woman, is presented as an author of historical fiction. She is presented as a researcher and someone who is a resource for historical information. • Howard states that the area that would become New England was an “unknown land,” but was the land really unknown? The land was certainly known to the American Indians who lived there at the time. Why doesn’t this story include an

	American Indian perspective? Does this textbook include an American Indian perspective in other pieces? Does the textbook avoid addressing issues of cultural, ethnic conflict in American history by simply ignoring them? What do the social studies GLCEs and national standards include about understanding cultural and ethnic conflicts in American history?
“When Ms. Howard writes a book, she writes each part on an index card. ‘I lay the cards out on the floor and move them around until I am happy with the sequence of events.’” p. 267	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White woman is presented as engaging in text-based literacy, writing, and as a resource for learning about the writing process of drafting and revising.
Photo of Howard shows her in a kayak, p. 267	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The photo shows Howard in a Kayak, which is a mode of transportation originated by people of color, among them the Yapuk, Inuit, and Aleut. Interesting that a White woman is shown appropriating a modern version of an artifact of the cultures of people of color, yet her story does not include the perspective of indigenous people of America.

Skills Text: <i>Log Cabins</i> pp. 268-271	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“When people moved west in the 1800s, there were no houses or towns or shops.” p. 268	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is being counted as a “house” or “town” here? The text implies here is that there were no houses, towns, or shops built/owned by European settlers. What about American Indian tribes that were living in the west at this time? Why doesn’t this piece include an American Indian perspective? Does this textbook include an American Indian perspective in other pieces? Does the textbook avoid addressing issues of cultural, ethnic conflict in American history by simply ignoring them? What do the social studies GLCEs and national standards include about understanding cultural and ethnic conflicts in American history?
“They journeyed into the wild.” p. 269	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook positions land that is not populated by European Americans as “wild.” How does this connect to the way the textbook presents African countries largely inhabited by Blacks as places where people live in traditional, rural villages?
“Settlers from Europe built the first log cabins in the United States.” p. 269	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While this is technically true, does it imply that there were no homes in the United States until the European settlers arrived to build them?
Illustrations on pp. 268-269 show a family of White European American settlers This expository text is prefaced with the heading “Social Studies in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook is presenting texts as integrating social studies into literacy. The White perspective is privileged throughout this textbook in presenting the history of European immigration and settlements in what would become the United States. Does the textbook avoid addressing issues of cultural, ethnic

Reading.”	conflict in American history by simply ignoring them? What do the social studies GLCEs and national standards include about understanding cultural and ethnic conflicts in American history?
“In 1862, a law was passed that gave settlers a piece of land for free if they would build a house, live there, and farm the land for five years.” p. 270	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook presents the Homestead Act of 1862 as entirely positive. However, of the land given to European settlers, much of it had previously belonged to American Indians whose land had been essentially stolen by the Supreme Court decision of 1823 that ruled that Indians’ “right of occupancy” was subordinate to the United States’ “right of discovery.” (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2959.html, and by the forced migration of American Indians through policies such as the Trail of Tears. Interesting that 1862 was also the year of the Great Sioux Uprising that left hundreds of settlers dead and nearly forty thousand as refugees due to conflicts over European Americans settling Sioux land, Sioux starvation, and the United States government’s deception in treaties. (Schultz, D., 1993, http://books.google.com/books?id=MWZBRUA4FsEC&source=gbs_navlinks_s)
<p>Timeline on p. 271: Lewis & Clark, 1804; railroads begin, 1830; pioneers travel Oregon Trail, 1842; Homestead Act, 1862; and transcontinental railroad completion, 1869</p> <p>Illustration on timeline for 1804 Lewis & Clark expedition shows a traditional wooden canoe, p. 271</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This timeline makes no mention of conflicts between European settlers and American Indians as a result of Whites encroaching upon and claiming the territory and access to needs of life of people of color. • The illustration shows a wooden canoe, which is a traditional American Indian mode of transportation, but in the context of it being appropriated by European, Whites whose exploration of the Rocky Mountains would not have been possible without positive relationships with and assistance from American Indians, specifically Sacagawea, a member of the Shoshone tribe, who acted as their guide. • The White perspective is privileged throughout this textbook in presenting the history of European immigration and settlements in what would become the United States. Does the textbook avoid addressing issues of cultural, ethnic conflict in American history by simply ignoring them? What do the social studies GLCEs and national standards include about understanding cultural and ethnic conflicts in American history?
“Over the years, American homes changed from one-room cabins to larger, sturdier buildings.” p. 271	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What counts as “American” here are the homes of European settlers’, the homes of Whites. What about the homes of the American Indians who were already living in the land that would become the United States, and continued to live in the U.S. and were eventually recognized as Americans?
Draw Conclusions question: “What happened to log cabins after the railroad came?” p. 271	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While this question has the potential to engage readers in drawing conclusions and summarizing texts, it does not go beyond basic comprehension to engage readers in critical thinking about the issues of ethnicity, culture, power, and social justice that are missing from this expository text. Why does this

	textbook repeatedly ignore opportunities to engage readers in thinking about critical issues? What do the various third grade curriculum present as the kinds of issues with which children this age are capable of grappling? What kinds of issues are raised in the books that children read on their own, non-school-sanctioned texts?
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*Book One Unit Three: People and Nature
-How Are People and Nature Connected?*

Skills Text: <i>Winter Blooms</i> pp. 280-281	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>Bulbs to Blooms</i> pp. 282-283	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>The Gardener</i> pp. 284-299	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
"August 27, 1935" p. 286	• First letter establishes the setting as an historical one.
Train passengers include brown-skinned railway porter, 4 White passengers, and a brown-skinned mother with a sleeping child.	• Brown-skinned people are presented as fellow passengers; however, the Jim Crow Laws of the time would not have permitted African Americans to travel in the same car as White passengers in 1935. Railway travel would not be de-segregated until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The story's illustrations not only ignore this historic inequality based on ethnic prejudice, but go beyond lack of representation to historically inaccurate misrepresentation. The history of White privilege in America is ignored not only in this story, but throughout this textbook. Does the textbook avoid addressing issues of racism, inequality, and the struggle for civil rights in American history by simply ignoring them? What do the social studies GLCEs and national standards include about understanding issues of social justice in American history?

<p>“Grandma said to finish all my schoolwork before anything else.” p. 286</p> <p>Story told as Lydia Grace’s letters to her family.</p> <p>Illustration on p. 290 shows Uncle Jim reading a letter. “He read it aloud, then put it in his shirt pocket and patted it.” p. 290</p> <p>“I adore the seed catalogues you sent for Christmas.” p. 290</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White family emphasize education. • Lydia Grace, a White child, is presented throughout using the school-based, text-based literacies of reading and writing: letters to and from her family, seed catalogues, and poems she writes. • Uncle Jim, a White male, is presented in text and illustration as reading and appreciating a poem, text-based literacy. • African Americans in the story are not presented as engaged in reading or writing; in fact, Emma, an African American woman, wants to learn Latin, a school-based and text-based literacy, from the White child, Lydia Grace.
<p>“I really like Ed and Emma Beech, Uncle Jim’s friends who work here.” p. 291</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ed and Emma, who are African American, are presented as the friends of a White man; however, the text and illustrations only present Ed and Emma as working in Uncle Jim’s bakery, until the end of the story when they join Lydia Grace in showing him the rooftop garden she has created, p. 296.
<p>Uncle Jim, White, owns bakery; Ed and Emma, African American, are bakers</p> <p>Illustration of produce vendor on p. 294 shows what appears to be a White man.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White man presented as a business owner, and hence a gatekeeper to employment and financial security for African Americans. Produce vendor, the other business owner in the story, is presented as a White male. Does the textbook present any texts in which African Americans, or other people of color, are presented as business owners and gatekeepers in this way? Or do African Americans in the textbook either work for Whites, employ only themselves, or work in a family business, such as a farm? • African Americans presented as skilled tradesmen, laborers; baking does not require school-based knowledge.
<p>“Emma told me she’d show me how to knead bread if I would teach her the Latin names of all the flowers I know. Now, just half a year later, I’m kneading bread and she’s speaking Latin!” p. 291</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White child possesses school-based knowledge that the African American woman does not. African American woman possesses skilled trade that the White child does not. • African American woman is positioned as having learned Latin, i.e., gained school-based learning in a non-school context, taught by a White child. African Americans are presented as learning in this textbook, but Whites are presented as already possessing school-based learning.
<p>Illustration of train ride, brown-skinned railway porter, mother, and sleeping child, p. 288</p> <p>Illustrations of people in the city throughout—a are White</p> <p>Illustrations of bakery customers and produce vendor on pp. 294-295—all are White</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although three nameless people of color are shown in the train illustrations on p. 288 as a railway porter and a mother and sleeping child, Emma and Ed are the only African American characters shown in the city illustrations throughout, as well as the only named people of color in the story. • Bakery customers and produce vendor are presented as White; they are nameless in the story.

<p>"I'll try to write more, but I'm really busy planting all your seeds in cracked teacups and bent cake pans! And, Grandma, you should smell the good dirt I'm bringing home from the vacant lot down the street." p. 292</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White child, is presented as happily making do with used, damaged goods for planters. Is this the only time a White character is seen as being content with used, damaged goods? This story is explicitly set in the years immediately following the Great Depression, what does this mean for the presentation of a White character with substandard goods, since it was a time of financial difficulty for the nation?
<p>"He sees me reading my mail... going to school, doing my homework," p. 293</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White child, is presented as engaging in school-based literacies and homework. • Uncle Jim is her caregiver due to her family's financial hardship following the Great Depression; this highlights the way extended family can serve as a support network to one another. Similarly, other children in the textbook are cared for by their extended family—James is cared for by his uncle and aunt (in <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i>) and Francisco and his grandfather (in <i>A Day's Work</i>) care for one another.
<p>"I've given all of my plants to Emma." p. 297</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace gives Emma her rooftop garden flowers and vegetables. What does it mean that a White child presents a Black woman with a gift of food? That the former does not have to sell the vegetables or flowers for money, but can, in essence, afford to give them as a gift? Who are positioned as gift-givers and gift-receivers in this textbook?
<p>Meet the Author and the Illustrator</p> <p>"As a child, Sarah Stewart's favorite places were the library and her grandmother's garden.... At the library she would daydream with a book." p. 299</p> <p>"Then she reads and writes all winter in the library in her home." p. 299</p> <p>"He won a Caldecott Honor for his pictures in this book." p. 299</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sarah Stewart and David Small, a White husband and wife, are presented as the author and professional illustrator, respectively, of books for children. • Stewart is presented as someone who has engaged in and valued school-based and text-based literacy since childhood, and who used the public library as a resource for books. • Stewart is presented as owning her own "library" at home; this positions her as valuing books and literacy, as well as suggesting that she is middle-class and can afford numerous books. • Small is presented as an award-winning illustrator; this gives him further authority as a professional in the field of books for children.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Worms at Work</i> pp. 300-301</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>

<p>Heading on p. 300 “Science in Reading”</p> <p>Illustrations throughout show girl with light brown skin and spiral curls</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The piece is framed as a piece about science; therefore, the young girl in the illustrations is presented as engaging in science. • The girl is presented as a gardener; however, she isn’t a character and doesn’t have a name in this text. How does this contrast with the ways that Whites are presented as named sources of knowledge? • It’s not clear whether the young girl of color is the narrator who is providing the directions for how to make a compost bin, or if she is a child following the directions.
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<p>Skills Text: <i>An Up and Down Story</i> pp. 304-305</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Illustration shows an American Indian carving a story pole. His hair is cut short, and he is wearing glasses and a sweater.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While this is indeed a cultural practice for his tribe, does the textbook present American Indians engaged in a variety of activities and in modern contexts? Are they shown in urban contexts? • The dress and appearance of this story pole carver provides an opportunity for readers to understand that American Indian tribes may dress very differently from one another and that their dress has changed over time, as has that of White people. This provides readers with an opportunity to consider the stereotypical ways American Indians are often presented.
<p>“A story pole is different from a totem pole. A story pole uses animal stories to teach children about their culture and responsibility.” p. 305</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook is clarifying that all poles carved by American Indians are not alike. This provides an opportunity for readers to understand that American Indian cultures are more complex and nuanced than the stereotypes often presented.
<p>“The story pole was made by Snohomish Chief William Shelton. It was carved from a great cedar tree. Chief Shelton worked on the pole for five years. When he died in 1938, other people in his tribe finished the carving.” p. 305</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A person of color, an American Indian, is named specifically. Furthermore, his tribe is identified. This provides readers with the opportunity to understand that American Indian culture is not monolithic. How explicit is the textbook about identifying specific tribes in the various texts? • Chief Shelton died in 1938; this is a biography of a person who is not contemporary. Does the textbook provide other representations of American Indians, of any tribes, in modern contexts? • The tribe collaborated to complete the story pole; this is another example of the textbook showing communities of people of color collaborating for the greater good, as they did in <i>A Gift for Cletus</i>.
<p>“In 1940 the pole was done, but there was no money to put it up. Children from</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented as lacking money and relying on the donations of others, beyond their

around the state each gave one cent. Together, they raised enough money.” p. 305	<p>community, for donations. How does this connect with the ways which the textbook presents African Americans in multiple texts as lacking money and needing hand-me-downs or acts of charity?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “They raised enough money” positions the tribe as involved in gaining the money, not simply being given a handout.
“If you are ever in Olympia, be sure to visit the story pole. You will learn about the Snohomish culture. And you will see a beautiful work of art.” p. 305	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What will readers have learned about the Snohomish culture from this brief informational text? That they are a tribe without enough money? That they have received donations from others? That they carve(d) story poles, had a chief named William Shelton, and are from Olympia? • The story pole is presented as both a teaching tool and a work of art.

Skills Text: <i>The Class Play</i> pp. 306-307	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustration on p. 306 shows a girl with brown skin, long black hair, and brown eyes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The illustration suggests that at least some of the children in the class play are children of color.
The teacher’s name is Ms. Chavez	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chavez is a traditional Hispanic and/or Latino surname; this suggests that the teacher may be a person of color, even though there is no illustration of her. This implies a possibility that a person of color is presented as a college-educated professional and a gatekeeper to education. This is a one-page, skills text for developing “Vocabulary Strategy for Unfamiliar Words” (p. 306); it is not a primary text and Ms. Chavez is not a developed character. What might it mean if the only college-educated Hispanic or Latino in the textbook is given such cursory treatment?
“I have counted the votes,’ declared Ms. Chavez... ‘Our play for Parents Night will be <i>Pushing Up the Sky</i> .’” p. 307	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children are presented as capable of making choices about their schoolwork. Teachers are presented as valuing students’ choices. The act of voting emphasizes the democratic approach to determining the subject of the class play.
The play parts mentioned include “First Chief” and “Seventh Chief,” p. 307.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seven chiefs? In the preceding piece, <i>An Up and Down Story</i>, readers were presented with a Snohomish Chief, William Shelton. What roles for American Indians, other than chief and tribe, does the textbook present to readers?

<i>Pushing Up the Sky</i> pp. 308-321	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i>

	<i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>Illustrations throughout show Snohomish Indians in traditional clothing and barefoot, as well as collaborating with animals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color are presented as living in traditional ways. What modern representations of people of color, specifically American Indians of any tribe, does the textbook present to readers? • American Indians are presented as keenly in-tuned with the natural world. While this may indeed be a part of their cultural heritage, what other representations of American Indians does the textbook make available?
<p>“Genre: A play uses a cast of characters. Look at the characters in <i>Pushing Up the Sky</i> and think about which role you would like to play.” p. 308</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The genre is identified as a play, but it also a traditional folktale. The textbook does not identify that this is unlikely to be something that Snohomish Indians believe to be true about the natural world today. Does the textbook present people of color as superstitious, or lacking in scientific understandings of the natural world? The literature has shown this to be problematic with the representations of African Americans (citations). • Is the thinking about which character one wants to play really a meaningful question to ask of readers? Does the textbook engage readers in thinking about the representation of American Indian culture, including stereotypes?
<p>“The Snohomish people live in the area of the Northwest that is now known as the state of Washington, not far from Puget Sound. They fished in the ocean and gathered food from the shore. Their homes and many of the things they used every day, such as bowls and canoe paddles, were carved from the trees. Like many of the other peoples of the area, they also carved totem poles.” p. 310</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook identifies the specific American Indian tribe and the location in which the tribe traditionally lived. • The introduction begins in the present tense, stating that the Snohomish “live in the area of the Northwest.” This positions this statement as an on-going occurrence. The introduction then abruptly moves to past tense, using words like “fished,” “gathered,” and “were carved.” This is a subtle shift to past tense. Will readers pick up on the shift in verb tense as an indicator that these were traditional tribal practices, and that the Snohomish may no longer carve their everyday bowls from trees, but may shop at places like Target for them? If readers don’t pick up on this very subtle textual clue, how would this play potentially reinforce stereotypes about American Indians?
<p>List of characters on p. 310: narrator, tall man, girl, mother, boy, and seven chiefs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why don’t these people of color have specific names? Are Whites in the textbook simply presented as “tall man” and the like? • Why seven chiefs? What roles for American Indians, other than chief and unnamed tribe members, does the textbook present to readers?
<p>“Animals familiar to the Snohomish would include Dog, Deer, Elk, Mountain Goat, Bear, Mountain Lion, Rabbit, Weasel, Wolf, and Fox. Birds would include Hawk,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why the limitation on animals and birds with which the Snohomish would be “familiar”? While these might be animals native to Olympia, Washington, Snohomish today are likely to be

<p>Bald Eagle, Golden Eagle, Jay, Seagull, Raven, Heron, and Kingfisher.” p. 311</p>	<p>familiar with the same animals with which the readers would be familiar, and through the same contexts—television, film, books, magazines, zoos, travel, etc. Why is the scope of the American Indian’s world narrow here? Perhaps the text is suggesting that in the past Snohomish who lived a traditional tribal life and did not travel would be familiar with a limited number of animals; however, how is this relevant to modern day Snohomish? Again the ambiguity of the time period for this play may reinforce stereotypes of American Indians.</p>
<p>“The village can be suggested with painted backdrops showing houses made of cedar planks among tall fir trees and redwoods.” p. 311</p> <p>“Scene I: A Village Among Many Tall Trees” p. 312</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural village as setting for story about people of color. How does this connect to the other rural, village settings in which the textbook presents other people of color?
<p>“Bows and arrows held by Boy in Scene I can be from a toy set or made from cardboard.” p. 311</p> <p>“Every time I shoot my bow, my arrows get stuck in the sky!” p. 312</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what activities does the textbook show American Indians engaging? Carving story/totem poles, living in villages, dressed in traditional clothing and walking around barefoot, shooting bow and arrows, talking to animals, being tribal chiefs
<p>“Costumes: People, including the Narrator, can wear blankets or towels. Chiefs wear them around their shoulders, and other humans wear them wrapped around their waists to suggest the robes often worn by the people of the Northwest. Cone-shaped hats (worn by Snohomish women) may be worn by girls playing human characters.” p. 311</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The dress of people of color is presented as “costumes.” Historically, this has been particularly problematic for American Indians. “Indian costumes” are still sold as Halloween costumes. What does it mean for one ethnic group’s identity to be presented as a costume to be tried on and worn by other ethnic groups?
<p>“Long ago the sky was very close to the earth. The sky was so close that some people could jump right into it.” p. 312</p> <p>“The Creator did a very good job of making the world.” p. 314</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color are presented as attempting to explain the natural world through myth and religion, rather than science. Are Whites similarly presented in the textbook? Whom is positioned by the textbook as drawing on school-based scientific learning? • People of color are presented as drawing on their religious faith. Which other stories in the textbook make reference to religious faith? The literature, MacCann (2001) especially, has shown that the church is an important part of African Americans’ community, social, and personal lives, and that this is reflected in stories written by African American authors.
<p>“We will ask the birds and animals to help. They also do not like it that the sky is so close.” p. 316</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American Indians presented as being deeply connected to the natural world, as they are in <i>A Symphony of Whales</i>. What other relationships with the natural world does the textbook present as possibilities for American Indians. Presenting all American Indians as in tune with nature is similar to presenting all African Americans as

	<p>livening in urban settings and listening to rap music.</p>
<p>“We will ask the birds and animals to help. They also do not like it that the sky is so close.” p. 316</p> <p>“We need a signal so that all can push together. . . . Let us use YAH-HOO as the signal.” p. 318</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the dialogue of American Indians presented differently than that of other people of color or Whites?
<p>“So the sky was pushed up. It was done by everyone working together. That night, though, when everyone looked overhead, they saw many stars in the sky. The stars were shining through the holes poked into the sky by the poles of everyone who pushed it higher up. No one every bumped his head on the sky again. And those stars are there to this day.” p. 319</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on collaboration, which seems to be an element of most of the stories in the textbook, regardless of the ethnicity of the characters. • People of color are presented as attempting to explain the natural world through myth (a pour-quoi tale) and religion, rather than science. Are Whites similarly presented in the textbook? Whom does the textbook position as drawing on school-based scientific learning?
<p>“Look Back and Write” prompt, also identified as “Test Practice,” following the play: “How does this play explain something in nature? Write what it is and how the people explained it. Use details from the play to support your answer.” p. 320</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is a summary question, not critical thinking • Not critical reading, not examining traditional lore versus modern scientific understandings that Snohomish children would learn in school today.
<p>Meet the Author page, p. 321</p> <p>A photograph of Joseph Bruchac shows him wearing a buckskin top with modern bear print fabric sewn on it, a bear claw necklace, a carved pipe, a red bandana on his head, and feathers; a rabbit is drawn right next to him and smiling at him.</p> <p>“As a young boy, he loved reading and nature. Often he would go to read books deep in the forest.” p. 321</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An American Indian is presented in dress that combines elements of traditional and non-traditional dress. Does the textbook present any American Indians in non-traditional dress in modern contexts? How does this reinforce or challenge stereotypes about what American Indians look like? • An American Indian is presented as being in-tune with wild animals.
<p>“Some Native American tribes have stories to explain just about every part of nature. Those stories tell us so much about nature and are a lot easier to remember than a bunch of facts.” p. 321</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook presents American Indians as de-valuing scientific and school-based knowledge about the natural world, and instead drawing on mythology to explain the natural world. The textbook does not say that these are traditional beliefs, but that American Indian children are likely constructing the same kind of scientific understandings in school as are children from other ethnic groups in public schools across the country. Does the textbook trap American Indians in the past, living in traditional ways and drawing on traditional beliefs?
<p>“Some Native American tribes” p 321</p> <p>“different Indian tribes” p. 321</p> <p>photo of Bruchac dressed with American Indian clothing components, but his tribe is</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In some ways the textbook presents American Indians as monolithic, without addressing the tremendous cultural differences among/within tribes. In some places the textbook glosses over identifying specific tribes, but in other places it specifically identifies tribes by name. Students

<p>not identified, p. 321</p> <p>“Read more books by Joseph Bruchac” shows covers and titles for <i>The Boy Who Lived with the Bears and Other Iroquois Stories</i> and <i>The Great Ball Game: A Muskogee Story</i>. p. 321</p>	<p>who read this textbook are provided with the opportunity to learn the Snohomish are one specific tribe (identified in <i>Pushing Up the Sky</i> and <i>An Up and Down Story</i>). Will students read the titles of the small book images and recognize that the Iroquois and Muskogee are other American Indian tribes? Will students understand that the Inuit tribe presented in <i>A Symphony of Whales</i> is another example of a group of people who are indigenous to this country?</p>
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<p>Skills Text: <i>Life on a Windowsill</i> pp. 330-331</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>Interested in Insects</i> pp. 332-333</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p><i>Night Letters</i> pp. 334-351</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>

<p>Only one character in the story; she is a White girl.</p> <p>"I put my purple notepad and pencil in my backpack and set out to gather the letters my backyard friends write telling me about their day." p. 338</p> <p>"I copy the words onto my pad" p. 339</p> <p>"The fireflies switch on their flashing lights, and if I watch without blinking, I can read their code. <i>Dot-dot-dot...dot-dash...dot-dash...</i>" p. 342</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White child is presented as engaging in the school-based literacies of reading and writing. Are people of color also presented thus engaged in the textbook?
<p>"There are zigzag lines in the dirt that I can read." p. 339</p> <p>"The fireflies switch on their flashing lights, and if I watch without blinking, I can read their code. <i>Dot-dot-dot...dot-dash...dot-dash...</i>" p. 342</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White child is shown deeply in tune with the natural world. How does this balance out the presentation of American Indians as connected to nature? What does it mean if every American Indian in the textbook is presented as deeply connected to animals and nature, but only one White child is shown thus, with many other Whites presented without an explicit connection to the natural world?
<p>Reader Response questions following the text: "If you could interview Lily about her book of night letters, what is one question you would like to ask her?" p. 350</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lily is presented as the author of a book. Do any children of color write books or other kinds of texts in the stories the textbook presents?
<p>Meet the Illustrator page, p. 351</p> <p>"Normand Chartier's award-winning work often shows the animals and landscapes around his home in Brooklyn, Connecticut." p. 351</p> <p>"He wanted to create realistic-looking insects and flowers. So he spent a lot of time on his elbows and knees studying them!" p. 351</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normand Chartier, a White man, is presented as an award-winning professional illustrator of books. Additionally, he is presented as a researcher and a resource for learning about natural science; he is therefore a gatekeeper to scientific knowledge.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Songbirds of the Sea</i> pp. 354-355</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>Breaking the Ice</i> pp. 356-357</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i></p>

	<i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>A Symphony of Whales</i> pp. 360-375	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Traditional Inuit culture represented in dress, physical appearance, setting, and names, but no mention of ethnicity in text. “The old ones of her village” p. 360 “Glaska’s village” p. 361 parkas, sled dogs p. 361 “Glashka would fall asleep in her sealskin blanket.” p. 361	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook is presenting Inuit people as living in fairly traditional ways—clothing, sled dogs for transportation, small rural village life. It is interesting to note that the village homes are small houses instead of igloos; this text reinforces some stereotypes while offering opportunities to dispel others. What other representations of Inuit people does the textbook present to readers? Are any people of Inuit ancestry presented in urban, non-village, contexts, and living in less traditional ways?
“During the long, dark winters, blizzards sometimes lasted for days.” p. 360 “One year the snows came early. For three days a blizzard bore down on the village.” p. 361	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this reinforce the stereotype that Alaska is a land of snow year-round? Does the textbook present any stories that take place in Alaska during the warmer months?
“The old ones of her village said, ‘That is the voice of Narna, the whale. Long has she been a friend to our people... she was a friend before we saw the boats of strange men from other lands. But it is long now since one of us had heard her.’” p. 360 “If your heart and words are clear, the dogs will listen and take you where you wish to go.” p. 362-363 “She sang to the whales while she worked, trying to let them know help was on the way.” p. 366 “Long is the time, but once, it is said, humans and whales made music together. Perhaps the time has come again.” p. 368	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color, indigenous people, and the Inuit are presented as being in tune with animals and the natural world in extraordinary ways. This connects to the way textbook presents American Indians of various tribes as attuned to the natural world (<i>Holding Up the Sky</i> and <i>Run, Coyote, Run!</i>)
“The sea gave life to Glashka’s village. The seals gave meat and warm furs to protect against the winter cold. In summer the people caught salmon and other fish, then salted them to keep for the hard times to come. And from Narna, the whale, the people received food for themselves and their dogs, waterproof skins for their parkas and boots, and oil for their lamps in the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook presents people of color living small, rural villages—without electricity and dependent on fishing and hunting to supply food for the community, or the neighboring village. • People of color presented without electricity (needing oil lamps) and living in very traditional ways. How does this connect to how Africans are similarly represented in the textbook?

<p>long winter darkness.” p. 361</p> <p>“Glashka’s family needed supplies from the next village.” p. 361</p>	
<p>“There’s nothing we can do to free them. When the last of the water freezes over, the whales will die.” p. 364</p> <p>“Glashka’s father got on the emergency radio and put out a distress call.” p. 364</p> <p>“Day after day they chipped back the edges of the ice, trying to make more room for the whales to come up to breathe.” p. 365</p> <p>“On board the ship, the captain gave orders.” p. 367</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inuit man presented as using technology to access resources to enlist help of Whites in problem-solving. • People of color use traditional tools to problem-solve; however, these prove inadequate. The textbook presents Russians as the ones with the machines/technology to free the whales. The Inuit villagers could only use spear-like tools to temporarily keep the whales alive by chipping away at the ice manually. Who engages in manual labor in the textbook?
<p>“Glashka knew how it felt to be hungry. The year before, her village had caught barely enough fish to make it through spring. Sometimes the memory still gnawed at her. Even so, she gave the whales part of the fish from her lunch. The other villagers noticed and began to feed some of their own winter fish to the whales too.” p. 366</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented as having to go hungry sometimes, struggling to have adequate food—like Francisco and his grandfather in <i>A Day’s Work</i>. Are other people of color presented in the textbook as lacking adequate food? Are Whites shown as lacking food? Whites in <i>Boom Town</i> are presented as having so much extra food that they can bake pies and sell them for profit. • People of color presented as sacrificing one of their basic needs of life, food, in order to save something other than themselves. Do any Whites go without food in this textbook?
<p>“She heard other music too... melodies she’d never heard before.” p. 368</p> <p>“‘Have you any other music, people music, to play for the whales?’ they asked.” p. 371</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glashka, an Inuit child, presented as not having heard music other than traditional music played by her village. Is it realistic to think that an Inuit child today would not have heard classical music in her life, or that the adult members of the tribe would not have names for music genres beyond “people music”? How does this present Inuit people as primitive in their musical sensibility and experiences?
<p>“The old ones of her village said, ‘That is the voice of Narna, the whale. Long has she been a friend to our people... she was a friend before we saw the boats of strange men from other lands. But it is long now since one of us had heard her.’” p. 360</p> <p>“‘Long is the time, but once, it is said, humans and whales made music together.’” p. 368</p> <p>“‘Have you any other music, people music, to play for the whales?’ they asked.” p. 371</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language throughout is different in syntax from everyday oral language. This is similar to the way the textbook presents other Native Americans speaking in <i> Holding Up the Sky</i>. How does this reinforce stereotypes about language use and ethnicity?
<p>“The crew found some classical music. First, the sweet sounds of violins and violas, next the deeper notes of the cellos,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The music that saves the whales is neither the traditional music of the Inuit villagers nor the Russian folk music; it is classical music, which

<p>deepest of all, the string basses... and way up high, a solo violin.” p. 371</p> <p>“A few whales started to sing back to the ship and to each other. Gradually more whales joined in. Then... they began to swim toward the ship!... Soon all the whales were following the ship through the narrow channel, past the broken chunks of ice, back to the safety of the open ocean.” p. 372</p>	<p>has historically been composed and performed largely by Whites. What does it mean that the music of Whites is the solution here? Classical music and appreciation of it are often presented as associated with education, an upper/middle-class life, and “being cultured.” Why this music here, in this village that the textbook has presented as quite traditional and primitive?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites rely on technology (the recorded music) to problem-solve; people of color rely largely on folklore and a connection to natural world.
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator page, p. 375</p> <p>“Steve Schuch first became interested in whales when a scientist who was also a musician came to his college.... Before writing <i>A Symphony of Whales</i>, Mr. Schuch composed music by playing the violin over real whale sounds.” p. 375</p> <p>“Wendell Minor travels all over the world to research his books.” p. 375</p> <p>“What gives me satisfaction is bringing the world of nature to children.” p. 375</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Steve Schuch and Wendell Minor are both White men writing about Inuit characters. Does this textbook include stories about Whites written by people of color? Or are authors and illustrators of color in this textbook only writing/drawing about the experiences of their own ethnic groups? • White author is presented as college-educated classical composer. • White illustrator is presented as a researcher, as well as a world traveler. The latter would suggest that he is upper/middle-class. • White illustrator is presented as a resource for information about and access to natural science for children.

<p>Skills Text: <i>He Listens to Whales</i> pp. 376-379</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Photo of author on p. 376</p> <p>Photos of other scientists on p. 379-380 shows what appear to be a White woman and 2 White men.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are positioned as gatekeepers to knowledge: marine scientists. Does this textbook include African Americans as gatekeepers of college-based knowledge and science as well?
<p>“It’s the perfect place for a scientist who studies how humpback whales behave.” p. 377</p> <p>“Joe first heard the whales’ feeding calls from a tape that another scientist had made.” p. 378</p> <p>“Whale songs are the third kind of sound that Joe studies.” p. 379</p> <p>“This scientist is listening for whale calls.” p. 378</p> <p>“These scientists are recording humpback whale songs.” p. 379</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are explicitly named as scientists in this story, as they are in other pieces in this textbook. Does the textbook present a person of color as a scientist, as well as explicitly <i>name</i> him/her as a scientist?

Skills Text: <i>From Cornfield to Volcano</i> pp. 380-381	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“One day in 1943 a Mexican farmer noticed a new crack in his field. Then he felt the earth shake. What happened next was really a surprise. The farmer saw the ground lift up about fifteen feet out of the crack!” p. 381	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A person of color, a Mexican, presented as someone whose work is physical labor. • A person of color is presented as someone who is surprised by an occurrence in the natural world, not someone who studies these phenomena. This contrasts quite sharply with how the textbook presents Whites as scientists who aren't surprised by the natural world, but apply school-based knowledge to study it. Are any Whites in this textbook presented as surprised or confused about the natural world or science? • Why is the Mexican farmer not identified by name?
No illustrations of people	•

Skills Text: <i>The Active Earth</i> pp. 382-383	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>Volcanoes: Nature's Incredible Fireworks</i> pp. 384-395	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>

<p>This informational piece is comprised of text and illustration, with only 1 photo including humans, and no specific people named in the text.</p> <p>“Scientists are learning what causes volcanoes and why they erupt.”</p> <p>Photo on page 393 shows 4 scientists; only 3 faces can be seen; these 3 individuals appear to be White</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whites are presented as scientists. This contrasts with how the Mexican in <i>From Cornfield to Volcano</i> is presented as surprised by the natural world, not studying it.
<p>Meet the Author page, p. 395</p> <p>“I wrote a book for children called <i>The Boy with a Drum</i>. It sold two million copies.” p. 395</p> <p>“<i>Volcanoes</i> is one of several books in Mr. Harrison’s <i>Earthwork Series</i>.” p. 395</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A White male, David Harrison, is presented as someone who engages in school-based literacy, a best-selling author, the author of an entire series of books about natural science, and as a resource for information about science.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Natural Disasters</i> pp. 396-399</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Peach colored hand shown holding the mouse to learn more about natural disasters on the Internet</p> <p>No other illustrations of humans in this piece. No mention of specific people.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Child positioned as curious about science and using technology to learn more about natural science.
<p>“The island volcano of Krakatoa in Indonesia exploded. The eruption was one of the worst natural disasters in recorded history.” p. 398</p> <p>“A series of large waves generated by the main explosion killed more than 36,000 people.” p. 399</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People of color presented as victims of natural disasters.

Volume Two Unit Four: *One of a Kind*
-What Does It Mean to Be Unique?

<p>Skills Text: <i>A Dragon’s Tale</i> pp. 12-13, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i></p>

	<i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>The Story of Daedalus and Icarus</i> pp. 14-15, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“The ancient Greeks told a story about Daedalus who was a very clever inventor.” p. 2.15 Illustrations show them to be brown-skinned, pp. 2.14-15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Daedalus and Icarus are presented as Greek. Daedalus is identified as “clever.” Whom does the textbook explicitly name as smart? Are there differences according to ethnicity?

<i>Wings</i> pp. 16-29, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Urban setting shown in illustrations throughout. Ikarus Jackson is shown with solid black skin and white wings in illustrations throughout.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author, Christopher Myers, and his father, Walter Dean Myers, are known for writing/illustrating books that explore the African American experience, often in contemporary urban settings. Their work often explores the interplay of ethnicity, poverty, and social injustice in the U.S. Christopher Myers has won multiple Coretta Scott King Book Awards for his books that represent the African American experience. All of these things strongly suggest that Ikarus Jackson is an African American boy. • Are African Americans in the textbook shown in non-urban settings?
“Our teacher complained that the other kids couldn’t help but gawk and stare. He said that Ikarus’s wings blocked the blackboard and made it hard for the students to pay attention. The teacher told Ikarus to leave class... He left the room quietly, dragging his feathers behind him. One boy snickered.” p. 2.21 Illustration on p. 2.20 shows teacher to have peach colored skin, while Ikarus is black.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White teacher is upset with African American student for being different, refuses to teach him and makes him leave school. Other student mocks Ikarus. How does this connect to the literature that suggests that African American males are often viewed with a deficit model in education? (Ladson-Billings, Delpitt)
Illustration on p. 2.22 shows Ikarus flying to the basketball hoop with a basketball in his hands. “One girl grabbed the basketball.” p. 2.22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what kinds of activities are African Americans engaged in this textbook? Basketball is popular with many urban African Americans, but does the textbook offer other interests/sports for African Americans? Other stereotypes to look for: sports, music (especially hip-hop, rap, etc.), dancing. What else? Note: Hip-Hop poem shows African American boy rapping, but other stories show Whites playing/performing classical music, as in A

<p>“A policeman passing by blew his whistle. ‘You with the wings, come down from there! Stay yourself on the ground. You’ll get in trouble, you’ll get hurt.’ It seemed to me Ikarus was already in trouble and hurt. Could the policeman put him in jail for flying, for being too different?” p. 2.24-25</p>	<p><i>Symphony of Whales.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African American child, who is not engaged in any activity that bothers others, is told he is going to get into trouble with the police. Do the police accost other characters in the textbook? If so, for what reasons? • The textbook presents the possibility that an African American male could be jailed for “being too different.” Are other people presented as having any kind of conflict with representatives of the established law?
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator page, p. 2.29</p> <p>“Christopher Myers is an award-winning author and illustrator of children’s books.” p. 2.29</p> <p>“My grandfather...was a storyteller. His thick, dark, calloused hands told stories. My father tells stories. I tell stories. I’m fascinated with work and how much our identities are wrapped up in what we do with our hands.” p. 2.29</p> <p>“Mr. Myers’ father, Walter Dean Myers, is a famous children’s author. At first Christopher Myers helped his father by doing research for him. Then he illustrated one of his father’s books, and they worked as a team on another book. Now Mr. Myers writes and illustrates his own books.” p. 2.29</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christopher Myers, an African American male, is presented as engaging in the school-based literacy of writing. He is presented as the author of multiple books for children; however the emphasis in the brief biography is on storytelling. • Myers is identified as an award-winning illustrator, but the textbook does not mention that he has won multiple Coretta Scott King Book Awards. Are awards named for other authors and/or illustrators in the textbook? • Myers identifies his father as Walter Dean Myers and the textbook names W.D. Myers as a famous author. • The textbook presents an interview segment that emphasizes oral storytelling, a traditional African American practice, but not a school-based literacy. The textbook describes the way Christopher Myers apprenticed with his father to learn how to create children’s books, but the textbook does not mention Myers’ university education, yet he is a graduate of Brown University (http://www2.scholastic.com/browse/contributor.jsp?id=3258). The textbook uses several quotes directly from the biography of Myers on Scholastic’s website; this biography discusses Myers’ university education, but the textbook did not include this. • The mention of the grandfather’s calloused hands suggests that he was a manual laborer. Are Whites in this textbook also presented engaging in manual labor? Other laborers in the textbook include: Francisco and his grandfather (in <i>A Day’s Work</i>), who are Hispanic; Saruni and his family (in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i>), who are Tanzanian; Glashka and her family (in <i>A Symphony of Whales</i>), who are Inuit; an unnamed Mexican farmer in <i>From Cornfield to Volcano</i>; African American and White bakers in <i>The Gardener</i>; the Black South African farmer in <i>Fly, Eagle, Fly!</i>; the White Jewish and Hispanic bakers in <i>Jalapeno Bagels</i>; the Hispanic farmers and manual laborers in the murals in <i>Talking Walls: Art for the People</i>; the Mexican glassblowers in <i>Elena’s Serenade</i>; and the enslaved African Americans in <i>Leading People to Freedom</i>. How do the professions of White characters differ from those of characters of color in the textbook?

<i>Beauty and the Beast</i> pp. 30-35, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Human characters appear to be White, including Beauty, who has long, flowing blonde hair, pp. 2.33-35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Beauty, as her name suggests, is presented as a symbol of womanly beauty. Are other ethnicities presented, and named, as beautiful in this textbook?
"He spent much time with her and treated her like a princess. Beauty was in want of nothing." p. 2.33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A White woman is presented as being pampered by a male and lacking nothing. This White woman has a White man provide for her; similarly, the wife in <i>William's House</i> has only to tell him "Something must be done!" and he takes care of it at once. Are African American women presented thus in the textbook? Many African American women in the textbook stories work alongside their husbands (<i>Emma</i>, <i>Rows and Piles of Coins</i>, <i>Market Day</i>) and some women of color are in want of things for themselves and/or their families (<i>A Day's Work</i>)
"She was that the Beast had disappeared and, in his place, was a handsome prince." p. 2.35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A White male presented as royal, a prince, and a specimen of male beauty. Does the textbook explicitly name males of color as "handsome" or other descriptions of male beauty? What counts as beauty in this textbook?

Skills Text: <i>The Two Largest U.S. Cities</i> pp. 36-37, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations "Many people from other countries live in both New York and Los Angeles." p. 2.37 as the last sentence at the of the passage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presents large urban areas as ethnically diverse. Do the stories in the textbook that are situated in urban areas also present ethnic diversity?

Skills Text: <i>Geography Bee</i> pp. 38-39, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

<i>Hottest, Coldest, Highest, Deepest</i> pp. 40-55, vol. 2
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<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
<p>“The Nile, in Africa, is the longest river in the world.” p. 2.43</p> <p>Illustrations on p. 2.43 show outline map of U.S., labeled as such, in a text box, as well as a much smaller outline map of the continents of the earth, unlabeled, with a red dot on northern Africa.</p> <p>“The Mississippi-Missouri, in the United States...” p. 2.43</p> <p>“The hottest spot on the planet is Al Aiziyah, Libya, in the Sahara...” p. 2.46</p> <p>“The wettest place on Earth is Tutunendo, Colombia.” p. 2.47</p> <p>“The driest place is the Atacama Desert, in Chile.” p. 2.48</p> <p>“The windiest spot on Earth is atop Mount Washington, in New Hampshire.” p. 2.49</p> <p>“The world’s highest waterfall is Angell Falls, in Venezuela.” p. 2.50</p> <p>“The deepest spot in the ocean is the Marianas Trench, in the Philippines.” p. 2.51</p> <p>“The world’s most active volcano is Sangay, in Ecuador.” p. 2.51</p> <p>“The most extreme tides occur in the Bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, Canada.” p. 2.52</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While other countries, states, and bodies of water are named, Africa is presented as monolithic, rather than comprised of various countries. Africa is not even labeled on a map on this page. How does this connect to the way the textbook does not distinguish much among African countries? The Nile River (the White Nile and Blue Nile) and its tributaries flow through nine different countries: Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Zaire, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania. • How will children learn about the African countries if Africa is presented as monolithic? What does it mean to the presentation of African Americans in the textbook that the lands of their ancestors are largely unnamed and undistinguished among one another by the textbook? Does this connect to the way African Americans have historically been treated as either monolithic stereotypes or human backdrops in stories for children?
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator page, p. 2.55</p> <p>“His father was a scientist. ‘We did a lot of projects together,’ he said. ‘We wrote a little book about animals.’” p. 2.55</p> <p>“In his books, Mr. Jenkins tries to make science fun.” p. 2.55</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Steve Jenkins, a White male, is presented as having engaged in the school-based literacy of writing books. He is presented as the son of a scientist and as a resource for scientific knowledge himself. Through his books, he is a gatekeeper to science knowledge for children. • He is presented as having been a child who engaged in science and print-based literacies (outside of school contexts) for enjoyment during his free time. His father is presented as his mentor in these scientific and literary endeavors.

<i>Great and Small</i> pp. 56-59, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Man and woman shown in the scale chart; difficult to discern possible ethnic identity due to small size of illustrations and lack of details, p. 2.57	•

Skills Text: <i>Looking at Rocks</i> pp. 60-61, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>No indication of ethnicity in text</p> <p>“Some scientists look at rocks to find out about dinosaurs from long ago. Other scientists look at rocks to find oil. Some scientists help builders make safe buildings. Others try to predict when an earthquake will happen or a volcano will erupt.” p. 2.61</p> <p>“If you like looking at rocks, you can get a job working with rocks when you grow up.” p. 2.61</p> <p>Adult hands shown holding the geode are peach colored, p. 2.61.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While it is not possible to determine the ethnicity of a pair of peach colored hands, this brief informational text refers to scientists, explicitly and implicitly, five times. What does it mean that the adult hands holding the geode are peach colored? Does this textbook present opportunities for children of color, particularly children with dark skin, to see themselves as scientists? The man and woman (museum director) who study rocks in <i>Rocks in His Head</i> are both White. The scientists shown studying a volcano in <i>Volcanoes: Natures Incredible Fireworks</i> are White. The scientists studying whales in <i>He Listens to Whales</i> are White. The anthropologists studying cultural artifacts in <i>The Challenges of Collecting</i> is White. Every individual the textbook presents as the author/illustrator of a story/book with scientific content is White. Whom does this textbook present as scientists? Whites, predominantly male. People of color are grossly under-represented in STEM fields (get data from Tashara??). What does it mean that this textbook reinforces to children of color that science is for Whites?

Skills Text: <i>More Than a Hobby</i> pp. 62-63, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>Rocks in His Head</i> pp. 64-77, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i>

	<i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“When he wasn’t doing chores at home or learning at school...” p. 2.66	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White male child is presented as learning at school.
“When he grew up, my father decided to open a gas station... My grandfather helped him build one...” p. 2.66	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White man presented as a business owner, hence gatekeeper to employment and financial security for others. He gets help from his own father in doing so; his family has the funds of knowledge to build and establish a business.
Illustrations throughout show only what appear to be White people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are characters in the stories in the textbook presented as living in segregated or diverse communities?
“The house we moved to was old and falling apart. My father said he’d have it fixed up in no time.” p. 2.70	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a result of the Great Depression, the family moves to a different home and now has to make do with something secondhand, run-down. In the textbook, how are Whites not/presented as having to make do with damaged material goods?
<p>“My father carefully painted the name right over the doorway.” p. 2.66</p> <p>“He carefully labeled each rock to show what kind it was and where it had come from.” p. 2.67</p> <p>“He spent a lot of time reading about rocks, too.” p. 2.70</p> <p>“He’d take the bus to the science museum. They had a whole room full of glass cases containing many rocks. Sometimes he’d spend the whole day in that room.” p. 2.71</p> <p>“‘Couldn’t afford to go to college.’” p. 2.73</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White male is presented as literate and engaged in print-based literacies of reading and writing, for business and for enjoyment in his leisure activities • While Father states that he couldn’t afford college, he is presented earlier in the text as school-educated, and then using his literacy skills to continue educating himself in geology.
<p>“When he grew up, my father decided to open a gas station... My grandfather helped him build one.” p. 2.66</p> <p>“My father built narrow wooden shelves on the back wall and painted them white. People said, ‘What are those shelves for?’ He said, ‘I’ve got rocks in my head, I guess.’ Then, one by one, he placed his rocks and minerals on those shelves.” p. 2.67</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White male engages in the manual labor of building a gas station and shelves. The former is for the business he owns and operates; the latter is for his hobby of rock collecting. How does this compare to the reasons for which people of color engage in manual labor in this textbook? • A White male wants to open his own business, so he simply builds one with help from his father. Are business owners of color in the textbook presented as being able to open their own businesses with such ease?
“He thought anyone who had spare parts for the Model T and could repair it so that it drove like new would do a good business. He bought some parts from dealers and found some parts in junkyards... People said, ‘If you think people are going to buy that junk, you’ve got rocks in your head.’ ‘Maybe I have,’ he said, ‘Maybe I have.’ But people did come to buy that junk.” pp. 2.67-68	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White business owner is presented as forward-thinking, anticipating the need for automobile repairs, and hence establishing a successful business for himself. Does the textbook present African American-owned businesses as successful? Are people of color presented as entrepreneurs and innovators? • White business owner is presented as being financially savvy enough to foresee the implications of the stock market crash. Does the

<p>“Then the stock market fell. At first, people didn’t think it would matter much to my father... ‘I may have rocks in my head,’ he said, ‘but I think bad times are coming.’ And bad times did come.” p. 2.69</p>	<p>textbook present African Americans as financially savvy?</p>
<p>“My father spent a lot of time looking for any job he could find. Most jobs lasted only a day or two. On rainy days when my father could find no other work, he’d take the bus to the science museum.” p. 2.71</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White male is presented as unemployed and taking temporary jobs; however, this is in the historical context of the Great Depression, when a great number of Americans found themselves in this situation. How does this historical context compare with the contemporary setting of Francisco and his <i>abuelo</i> trying to find work as day laborers? How does this connect to how Lydia Grace, a White girl, must leave her family to stay with her uncle for financial reasons during the years immediately following the Great Depression. Was the Great Depression ear the only time the textbook presents Whites as lacking money/resources to meet their basic needs of life? • A White man takes a bus, but it is to a museum. A White man is presented as interested in scientific learning through museums. Prudy, a White girl in <i>Prudy’s Problem</i>, explores several museums. Dr. Feinman, the White anthropologist in <i>The Challenges of Collecting</i>, is a museum curator. Does the textbook present any people of color going to museums?
<p>Grace Johnson is the “director of this museum,” p. 2.72-73; illustration shows a White woman.</p> <p>“Couldn’t afford to go to college.” p 2.73</p> <p>“One rock was labeled wrong,’ he said,’ I fixed it.” p 2.74</p> <p>“Mrs. Johnson smiled, ‘I’ve been talking to the board of directors. They know that I need a person here who knows as much about rocks as you do.’ ‘What about the college education?’ he asked. She said, ‘I told them I need somebody with rocks in his head and rocks in his pockets.’” p. 2.74</p> <p>Illustration on p. 2.74 shows a sign titled “Curator of Mineralogy.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White woman is positioned as the source of scientific knowledge, as the gatekeeper of both knowledge for visitors to the museum and to Father, whom she gives a job as curator, in spite of his lack of a college degree. Although Father didn’t attend university, he did educate himself using books, the museum, and fieldwork as resources. Father, a White man, now becomes another gatekeeper to scientific knowledge. • White male is presented as lacking the money to attend college, but he is not presented lacking money for his basic needs of life, as are some people of color in the textbook (Francisco and his <i>abuelo</i>, other Hispanics dumpster diving in <i>Art for the People</i>, and Inuits in <i>A Symphony of Whales</i>).
<p>“Mrs. Johnson got out her big Packard touring car, and my father got in. They drove to our house.” p. 2.73</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White woman shown owning and driving an expensive automobile. Given her education, job, and automobile, Mrs. Johnson is clearly middle-class.
<p>“Inside the filling station was a desk with a</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White man living in a Whites only community

<p>cash drawer (which my father usually forgot to lock)” p. 2.66</p> <p>The illustrations throughout show what appear to be only Whites.</p>	<p>does not have to worry about crime or theft. Does the textbook present people of color acting as cavalierly with their money? Do people of color worry about crime in the textbook?</p>
<p>Reader Response questions at the end of the text: “Why did father collect rocks? What do you collect? Why do you think people collect things?” p. 2.75</p> <p>“What did you learn about collecting things? What would you do with a collection?” p. 2.75</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who collects things in this textbook? Can one really focus on collecting for leisure and education if one is struggling to meet one’s basic needs of life? Father, a White man, collects rocks. Prudy, a White girl, collects many things. Hispanic boy collects stamps he buys at garage sales. Alexander collects various rather useless objects he collects when he spends money that was given to him. Saruni collects coins to buy a bicycle to help his mother take produce to market. Lydia Grace collects flowers and seeds. Lily (in <i>Night Letters</i>) collects letters. Glashka and her family try to gather enough fish to make it through the long winter without going hungry again. Dr. Gary Feinman collects cultural artifacts from various ethnic groups in order to study them as an anthropologist. Boy in <i>Uncle Romie</i> collects baseball cards. White woman pictured in <i>Back to the Wild</i> collects animals at wildlife rescue in order to help them. Hispanic in dumpster collects empty cans. White scientists collect audio recordings of whale songs to study. White scientists collect rocks and other data to study volcanoes.
<p>Meet the Author, p. 2.76</p> <p>“As a child Carol Otis Hurst went to the library almost every day. Later, Ms. Hurst became a school librarian herself. She even taught classes about children’s books.” p. 2.76</p> <p>“I had a lot of family stories in my head. A couple of those stories began to take shape.” p. 2.76</p> <p>“<i>Rocks in His Head</i> was Ms. Hurst’s first book. It is the true story of her father.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carol Otis Hurst, a White woman, is presented as a school librarian and university instructor; this implies that she is college educated. As a librarian and an educator, she is a gatekeeper to school-based learning, particularly in the area of print-based literacy. • A White woman draws on her family stories as the source for her books. How does this connect to the way African American authors/illustrators in the textbook are presented as drawing on their own families and communities for stories? How does this contrast with the way the textbook largely presents Whites as those who may either write about their own experiences, the experiences of other cultures/ethnicities, science, and history? • Whites are writing stories that involve only White characters and • the pursuit of scientific knowledge.
<p>Meet the Illustrator, p. 2.77</p> <p>“James Stevens has written and illustrated more than one hundred children’s books. More than thirty of them have won awards. Mr. Stevenson began writing and drawing at a young age.” p. 2.77</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Stevens, a White man, is presented as a college graduate, the author/illustrator of more than one hundred books, and an award-winner author/illustrator. • He is presented as engaging in print-based literacies for pleasure from a young age, and mentoring his young son in doing the same.

<p>“In college, Mr. Stevenson studied English.” p. 2.77</p> <p>“He write his first children’s book with his eight-year-old son. ‘Tell me a story and we’ll make a book,’ he told his son.... ‘I wrote it down...’ They called the book <i>If I Owned a Candy Factory</i>. It was published in 1968.” p. 2.77</p>	
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<p><i>Everybody Needs a Rock</i> pp. 78-85, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Illustrations for poem show hands and one face. Face on p. 2.81 appears White, with pale skin and straight red hair. Hands vary in skin tone color. No named characters in this poem.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>Swim!</i> pp. 86-87, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No indication of ethnicity in text</p> <p>Illustration on p. 2.87 shows two children, but ethnicity is difficult to determine due to quality of underwater photo</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>Learn to Swim</i> pp. 88-89, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No indication of ethnicity in text</p> <p>Two children shown swimming in a photo— one appears to be White, one African American, p. 2.89</p> <p>Lifeguard’s ethnicity is difficult to determine due to quality of photo</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long history of segregated public swimming pools in America • African American child is shown swimming with a White child, but no characters in this text; neither child has a name. While there are numerous “brown faces” in this textbook, how many have names?

<i>America's Champion Swimmer: Gertrude Ederle</i> pp. 90-107, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
All characters in the story appear to be White.	•
Ederle's name is explicitly included in the title of the text.	• This contrasts with how Harriet Tubman's name is not mentioned in the title of <i>Leading People to Freedom</i> , and how Wilma Rudolph's name is not mentioned in <i>Women Athletes</i> .
Small inset illustration of Ederle on p. 2.90 doesn't look like the rest of the illustrations of her. The one on page 2.90 shows darker skin color, curly hair, and a broader nose.	• Is this illustration intended to make Ederle's ethnicity vague? What does the literature say about "browning" illustrations in a way that makes it difficult to determine ethnicity of characters, but vaguely suggest something other than White?
"In 1906 women were kept out of many clubs and restaurants. In most states they were not allowed to vote." p. 2.92	• Textbook explicitly addresses the institutionalized sexism that women faced at the turn of the century. However, the textbook did not explicitly state <i>why</i> Wilma Rudolph (in <i>Women Athletes</i>) wasn't allowed to go to the hospital that was for Whites. Does the textbook ever explicitly name and discuss institutionalized racism or the legacy of slavery in ways that name Whites explicitly as perpetrators of oppression?
Meet the Author page, p. 2.107 "David Adler has written almost two hundred books! He was the first person to write a book about Gertrude Ederle." p. 2.107 "I read ever newspaper and magazine story I could find about her,' he said." p. 2.107 "I've always been a dreamer,' Mr. Adler says. He recently spoke with his fourth-grade teacher. She remembered the time she went to the principal. 'What should I do with Adler?' she asked him. 'He's always dreaming.' 'Leave him alone,' the principal said. 'Maybe one day he'll become a writer.'" p. 2.107	• David Adler, a White man, is presented as a prolific author, an innovator in print-based literacy, and a resource for accurate information about historical figures. He is presented as someone who has been an avid reader, engaged in print-based literacies since he was a child. When Adler is identified as being different from other children, the establishment (the principal representing the school system) decides to leave him alone and attributes his uniqueness to the fact that he may use those differences to earn a living with a print-based literacy. This contrasts sharply with how Ikarus Jackson, the African American boy in <i>Wings</i> , is told by the police that he'll get in trouble for being different.

<i>Women Athletes</i> pp. 108-111, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>

<p>Photos of Wilma Rudolph throughout</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rudolph is an African American woman, but the text does not identify her as such, not even when discussing that ethnicity-based institutional racism and segregation kept her from getting adequate medical care as a child.
<p>“Wilma weighed only 4 ½ pounds when she was born. Because of racial segregation laws, she and her mother were not permitted in the local hospital.” p. 2.110</p> <p>“Then Wilma got polio... The doctor told Mrs. Rudolph that Wilma would never walk.” p. 2.110</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who didn’t permit them in the hospital? “Because of racial segregation laws” absolves Whites of their roles in the systemic and institutional racism that led them to pass segregation laws. These laws did not just exist; Whites created these laws, voted them into legality, and enforced them. How does this connect to the way the textbook piece <i>Leading People to Freedom</i> absolves Whites of the roles they played in the oppression of African Americans who were enslaved. • Since Rudolph was not allowed in a hospital for Whites, was she treated by an African American doctor? Does the textbook ever present a person of color as a doctor? Whom does the textbook present in high prestige careers that require advanced educational degrees?
<p>“In high school, she became a basketball star. She set state records for scoring. She led her team to a state championship. Then she became a track star, going to her first Olympic Games in 1956. She won a bronze medal in the 4x4 relay.” p. 2.111</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Athletic prowess in high school emphasized, but no mention of academic performance. Do other stories in this textbook emphasize African American’s physical prowess, but not intellectual achievements? How does this contrast with the way Whites or other ethnic groups are presented as having school-based knowledge?
<p>“Wilma became the first American woman to win three gold medals in the Olympics.” p. 2.111</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook celebrates African American woman as athletes (Rudolph), those who resisted slavery (Harriet Tubman in <i>Leading People to Freedom</i>), and manual laborers (Emma in <i>The Gardener</i>). What other celebrations of the accomplishments of African American women are presented in this textbook? What about the accomplishments of African American men? Do they extend beyond the stereotypes of sports and music?
<p>“Think about Gertrude Ederle and Wilma Rudolph. How would you compare the two athletes and their achievements?” p. 2.111</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Civil Rights Act of 1964 hadn’t even been passed when Rudolph won three Olympic gold medals in Rome in 1960. How does this text address the fact that, in order to achieve athletic greatness, Rudolph had to face and overcome systematic racism and oppression that Ederle did not have to overcome?
<p>Title: “Women Athletes”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rudolph is not identified in the title of the piece, as Tubman is not identified in the title of the piece about her.

<p>Skills Text: <i>Lulu Wants to Grow Up</i> pp. 112-113, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About</i></p>

	<i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

Skills Text: <i>Eagle Watching</i> pp. 114-115, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations Boy in text is named José, which is a traditional Hispanic and Latino name. José and his father watch eagles with their binoculars.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story has the potential to represent people of color as amateur naturalists who are interested in science; however, no school-based knowledge is presented. José and his father are not represented with any illustrations or photos in the text.

<i>Fly, Eagle, Fly! An African Tale</i> pp. 116-131, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Title “African tale” no country specified Meet the Illustrator: “Niki Daly was born in Cape Town, South Africa, and he lives there today... In his books, Mr. Daly tires to show children of all races in South Africa.” p. 2.131	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Another instance where the textbook treats Africa as monolithic. • Meet the Illustrator page identifies Daly, a White man, as from Cape Town, South Africa; however, this is not identified in the story’s text.
“Genre: Folk Tales are stories or legends from other lands that are handed down from one generation to the next.” p. 2.116	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A story about people of color, Black South Africans, is presented as legend. Folk tales are presented as other, representing other “lands.” How does this connect to the way the textbook presents people of color as drawing on myths about the natural world (<i>Pushing Up the Sky</i>, <i>A Symphony of Whales</i>, and <i>Catch It and Run!</i>), while Whites draw on school-based scientific knowledge to understand the world around them (<i>He Listens to Whales</i>, <i>Volcanoes: Nature’s Incredible Fireworks</i>)? Why does the textbook overlook the many myths that are from this “land,” the U.S.? What about American Indian folklore? What about traditional American folklore? • “Handed down from one generation to the next” emphasizes the oral tradition of folk tales. How does the textbook balance the representation of African Americans and/or people of color as drawing on oral traditions and print-based, school-based literacies?
Illustrations on pp. 120-121 show village with thatch-roof huts, free range chickens, goats, and cows. “kitchen hut” p. 2.122	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story presents Africans living in rural village communities. What other representations of people from African countries are in this textbook? What representations of Africans, and/or people of color, does the textbook make available to

<p>“He struggled up the slippery thatch of the tallest hut.” p. 2.124</p> <p>“He placed it carefully in the warm kitchen among the hens and chicks and under the watchful eye of the rooster.” p. 2.119</p>	<p>readers? <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> (set in Tanzania) also presents a rural village, farm-based community, as does <i>What About Me</i> (set in China), <i>Pushing Up the Sky</i> (Snohomish Indians), and <i>A Symphony of Whales</i> (Inuit).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black South Africans presented as living with livestock in their kitchens.
<p>Illustrations throughout show Black South Africans in traditional clothing and patterned fabric, Western-style clothing on two boys, barefoot children and adults, shoes on some people, heavy-set women wearing fabric wrapped around their heads.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These illustrations both reinforce and resist stereotyped representations of Africans. The villagers who are barefoot and wearing traditional clothing/fabrics reinforce stereotypical images of what Africans look like. However, the fact that some of the Africans are wearing shoes and Western style clothing provides an opportunity to resist stereotypical representations. • The images of the heavy-set women with the fabric wrapped around their heads is reminiscent of the Aunt Jemima stereotype that has been deeply problematic in children’s literature (MacCann, xxxx). Wilma Rudolph is presented as a female athlete and shown in running gear. Harriet Tubman is presented as someone who fought to help enslaved people fight for freedom and is shown wearing old clothes and a bandanna on her head. Emma, in <i>The Gardener</i>, is presented wearing an apron and a hairnet as she works in the bakery. What other visual/physical representations of African or African American women does this textbook make available to readers?
<p>“You belong not to the earth but to the sky.” p. 2.123</p> <p>“Hurry, or the dawn will arrive before we do.” p. 2.127</p> <p>“There was much laughter.” p. 2.125</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language of the story and of Black South Africans doesn’t have cadence of oral language. How does this connect to the way the textbook stories present American Indian language as unnatural?
<p>“A farmer went out one day to search for a lost calf.” p. 2.118</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African male presented as a farmer. What non-manual labor professions for Africans and African Americans does the textbook present?
<p>“One day a friend dropped in for a visit. He and the farmer sat at the door of the kitchen hut.” p. 2.122</p> <p>“The farmer went into the kitchen, stepping over his sleeping children, and picked up the bird, which was fast asleep among the chickens.” p. 2.125</p> <p>Throughout the text and illustrations, people travel by foot. No mention of or illustrations of motorized means of transportation, such as buses or automobiles.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africans are presented as sitting on the bare earth for a social visit. Africans are presented sleeping on the kitchen floor, among chickens. What other possibilities does the textbook present for the homes/furnishings of Africans and African Americans? The homes of Whites are shown frequently in the textbook, and are presented with furnishings such as chairs, art on the walls, and books.

<p>“The friend talked on, telling the bird about the sun, how it gives life to the world, how it reigns in the heavens, giving light to each new day.” p. 2.129</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African presented as in-tune with the natural world, talking to an animal, drawing on traditional understandings about the natural world rather than scientific ones.
<p>Reader Response questions following the text: “Fly, Eagle, Fly has a lesson to teach. What do you think the lesson is?” p. 2.130</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What understandings about Africans, life in African countries, and people of color are made possible to readers in this story?
<p>Meet the Illustrator, p. 2.131</p> <p>“Niki Daly was born in Cape Town, South Africa, and he lives there today. His picture books have won awards all over the world.” p. 2.131</p> <p>“Mr. Daly uses watercolors with pen or pencil to create his lively pictures.” p. 2.131</p> <p>“As a child, Mr. Daly read a lot of comic books. They taught him to tell stories through pictures.” p. 2.131</p> <p>“In his books, Mr. Daly tries to show children of all races in South Africa.” p. 2.131</p> <p>“Mr. Daly also likes to write songs. He has even recorded two albums.” p. 2.131</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Niki Daly, a White South African man, is presented as an award-winning author, a professional illustrator of books, a composer, and a recording artist. These roles draw on multiple print-based and school-based literacies. • Daly is presented as someone who engaged in print-based literacy for enjoyment as a child. Comic books, print-based texts, were mentor texts for Daly. How does this compare with how several African American authors/illustrators (Christopher Myers, E.B. Lewis) are presented as drawing on their parents or elders for mentorship, instead of artifacts of print-based literacy? (Author who drew on <i>Little House</i> books.) • A White man is positioned as a credible source for writing about people of color. Throughout the textbook, who is positioned as credible in writing/drawing about whom? Do authors/illustrators of color write/draw about ethnic groups other than their own in this textbook? • Is it enough to “show children of all races”? The textbook shows children of diverse ethnicities, but are brown faces in the book enough? What about <i>how</i> people of color are presented? Even deeply racist texts can present people or color; they will just do so in ways that reinforce patterns of racism and oppression. • In an interview, Daly has said: "I wrote and illustrated a number of books which reflected the lives of the children on the other side of the racial divide. In retrospect, I see these books (<i>Not So Fast</i>, <i>Songololo</i>, <i>Charlie's House</i>, <i>Papa Lucky's Shadow</i>, and <i>All the Magic in the World</i>) as half-way bridges between white and black children who live[d] separate and unequal lives determined by the appalling apartheid system. In order to do these books I ignored the myth propagated through apartheid and some political activists who said that there are differences between people." From http://biography.jrank.org/pages/1854/Daly-Niki-1946.html • Read more: http://biography.jrank.org/pages/1854/Daly-Niki-1946.html#ixzz0MPktYDRZ

<i>Purple Coyote</i> pp. 132-137, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustration shows what appears to be a White boy as the only human character “Jim played alone in the garden with his old truck, which was missing one wheel.” p. 2.133	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White child presented as playing with a damaged toy. How does this connect to the way Africans and African Americans in the textbook are presented with used, damaged goods?

Volume Two Unit Five: Cultures
-What Happens When Two Ways of Life Come Together?

Skills Text: <i>The Boxed Lunch</i> pp. 146-147, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
“Ky was nervous about his first day in his new school. But he knew for sure he would like his lunch. It would be the same as his lunches in Japan, even though he now was in America.” p. 2.147 “In Japan, Ky always brought his lunch in a bento box, which was carefully packed with eye-catching foods... tiny octopus... a rice ball covered with pieces of dried seaweed.” p. 2.147	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese immigrant trying to acclimate to life in America. What other presentations of Japanese Americans are made available in this textbook? • While Ky has no dialogue in this piece, there is no mention of him struggling with English. How does this contrast with how Francisco’s grandfather (and other Hispanics?) are presented in the textbook?
“Ky opened his box slowly, not sure of what his new friends would think. but they were very interested. He explained each item and showed them how to eat with chopsticks. Ky promised to bring some for everyone the next day. His new friends laughed. One friend said, ‘I wonder how they’ll work with peanut butter and jelly sandwiches.’” p. 2.147	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese American immigrant trying to acclimate to life in America and worrying about being considered different. • Emphasizes food and eating utensils as examples of cultural differences. This connects to the way diversity in children’s literature is often reduced to food, clothes, and holidays (CITATION), which is also the case in <i>Suki’s Kimono</i>.

Skills Text: <i>Pass It Down</i> pp. 148-149, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i>

	<i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations or mention of ethnicity in the text.	•

<i>Suki's Kimono</i> pp. 150-165, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustrations on pp. 2.150-151 show a young Japanese Canadian girl dressed in a kimono and geta, as well as two men wearing white wrap clothing with sashes, flying fish kites. The girl's face is visible in detail; her eyes are slits.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These visual presentations show Japanese Canadian dressed in traditional style clothing. How does this story reinforce or challenge stereotypes about Japanese Americans? Will readers realize that this girl is Japanese Canadian, or will they assume she is Japanese American?
<p>Illustrations on pp. 2.152, 2.154-155 show Suki's sisters and mother in Western style clothing.</p> <p>Illustrations on pp. 2.153-154 show Suki and other Japanese American women wearing kimonos and geta at a festival.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook presents multiple possibilities for the ways Japanese Canadian dress.
<p>"On the first day of school, Suki wanted to wear her kimono. Her sisters did not approve. 'You can't wear that, said Mari. 'People will think you're weird.' 'You can't wear that,' said Yumi. 'Everyone will laugh, and no one will play with you.'" p. 2.152</p> <p>"Mari and Yumi stayed several paces ahead of Suki and pretended they didn't know her." p. 2.155</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second generation Japanese Americans trying to acclimate to American culture and worrying about being considered different. How does this connect to Ky's concern in <i>The Boxed Lunch</i> about what his classmates will think of his traditional Japanese food at lunch?
<p>"Suki sat down, wondering if she was in trouble. But Mrs. Paggio said, 'That was wonderful, Suki.' And she started to clap. Then, so did Penny. And after a moment, so did the entire class." pp. 2.161-162</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese Canadian student presented as successful in school and being praised by her teacher. • When Suki is different from everyone else, she is praised, as is David Adler, the White author of <i>America's Champion Swimmer: Gertrude Ederle</i>; however, Ikarus Jackson, an African American boy who is different from his schoolmates is told by the police that he is going to get into trouble.
<p>Reader Response questions following the text:</p> <p>"How are Penny's clothes different from Suki's?" p. 2.164</p> <p>"What two foods did Suki and her <i>obachan</i> eat at the street festival?" p. 2.164</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These questions emphasize cultural differences as dress and food. This connects to the way diversity in children's literature is often reduced to food, clothes, and holidays. (CITATION)
<p>Meet the Author</p> <p>"Chieri Uegaki began writing at the age of 7 when she published a family newspaper</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cheri Uegaki, a Japanese Canadian woman, is presented as an authentic voice in writing about the Japanese Canadian experience, basing her writing on her family and life. Does the textbook

<p>called <i>The Pender Street Times</i>.” p. 2.165</p> <p>“Ms. Uegaki based <i>Suki’s Kimono</i> n her relationship with her Japanese grandmother.” p. 2.165</p> <p>“Ms. Uegaki offers this advice to young writers: ‘Listen more than you speak. Read everything and take notes.’” p. 2.165</p>	<p>present people of color writing about experiences other than their own and those of their families and ethnic groups? How does this contrast with the ways Whites are presented as writing and illustrating about ethnic groups that are different from their own?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uegaki is presented as an author, as well as someone who engaged in writing (print-based and school-based literacy) from an early age, even publishing her writing informally. Publication implies an audience; this presents Uegaki as someone whose childhood writing others wanted to read. Who writes and shares their writing in the textbook? <i>Night Letters</i> = White girl writes a book. <i>The Gardener</i> = White girl writes letters. <i>How My Family Lives in America</i> = Chinese American girls writes at Saturday Chinese school. <i>Prudy’s Problems</i> = White girl research notes and plans. <i>Meeting the Challenges of Collecting</i> = White man writes research notes. <i>Rocks in His Head</i> = White man writes research notes and labels. Does the textbook present African Americans engaging in writing or other modes of print-based literacy?
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<p><i>Clothes: Bringing Cultures Together</i> pp. 166-169, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>“Many of the clothes we wear today are new designs. However, some were first made in other countries our by other cultures long ago. They have become art of modern American fashion.” p. 2.166</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American appropriation of clothing and traditions from other countries.
<p>“Thousands of years ago, people of South American made and wore ponchos....Ponchos are still part of everyday wear in many South American countries. The style is much the same as it was long ago.” p. 2.167</p> <p>“During the 20th century, people in the United States began to wear ponchos...Ponchos were also adapted into raingear. Rain ponchos are made of weatherproof materials.” p. 2.167</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Americans are presented as wearing ponchos that haven’t changed much in thousands of years. Americans are presented as wearing ponchos that have been adapted to fit multiple purposes and have been made with modern materials.
<p>“Long ago, native people of North America made shoes out of animal hides... Moccasin styles were different from tribe to tribe. You could tell what tribe people belonged to by looking at their shoes. For example, the Blackfeet tribe was called that because they dyed their moccasins black.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook explicitly identifies an American Indian tribe by name; this presents the opportunity for readers to understand that American Indian culture is not monolithic. However, the illustration on p. 2.168 does not match the description of the Blackfeet tribe, as provided by the textbook.

<p>p. 2.168</p> <p>Illustration on p. 2.168 is labeled as a member the Blackfeet tribe, but the man on the horse is not wearing moccasins with black soles.</p>	
<p>Flow chart of illustrations on p. 168 moves from “past” to “present,” showing: 1) an American Indian (identified as a member of the Blackfeet tribe) riding a horse, wearing buckskins and a feather headdress, and carrying a rifle; 2) a pair of traditional highly decorated moccasins; and 3) a pair of modern, plain moccasins/slippers.</p> <p>“Today, Americans of many backgrounds wear moccasins.” p. 2.168</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The flow chart implies that American Indians’ moccasins have evolved over time, but it still suggests that this footwear is worn by American Indians. How does this flow chart present opportunities to both reinforce and challenge stereotypes about the dress of members of American Indian tribes? Although the text states that people of different “backgrounds” wear moccasins today, how many people will readers see wearing moccasins? What different understandings about American Indians would have been made possible to readers if the flow chart showed moccasins for the “past” and a pair of contemporary sneakers for “present”? Does the textbook present any member of an American Indian tribe wearing modern clothing? Illustration here is of traditional buckskin clothing and feathers in the hair. <i>Pushing Up the Sky</i> = traditional Snohomish clothing. <i>Catch It and Run!</i> = traditional teepee. Chief Shelton (in <i>An Up and Down Story</i>) shown only partially, but he appears to be wearing a sweater. Inuit in <i>Symphony of Whales</i> = traditional clothing. What possible understandings about contemporary American Indians might be made possible to readers if the former were presented wearing non-traditional clothing?

<p>Skills Text: <i>The Best Game</i> pp. 170-171, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>A Rising Star</i> pp. 172-173, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>“Many people think that happened overnight. Mention this to Enrique and he laughs. He acted in movies and television for ten years in Puerto Rico. The he came to the United States. After five years and a few small parts, he got his big break...</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrants trying to assimilate to American culture; skills they bring not recognized, like Francisco’s <i>abuelo</i> being a carpenter in Mexcio, but working as a gardening day laborer in the U.S.

<p>Since then he has been in eight movies.” p. 2.173</p>	
<p>“He will tell you that he goes back to Puerto Rico as often as he can and that he always carries a small Puerto Rican flag with him to remind him of where he came from.” p. 2.173</p> <p>Illustration on p. 2.173 is of a Puerto Rican flag.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant valuing both his homeland/culture and his American experience. How does this connect to <i>Suki’s Kimono</i>, in which a young girl celebrates her Japanese heritage, and stories within the textbook?

<p><i>How My Family Lives in America</i> pp. 174-191, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>“How did these families bring their heritage to America?” p 2.175</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes the relationship between one’s homeland/culture and the American experience. Acknowledges that immigrants do not arrive in the U.S. as blank slates upon which to write American ways of being/doing.
<p>African American girl and Puerto Rican American boy shown smiling in photos on title page, p. 2.175. Chinese American girl shown holding up text she has written in Chinese. Chopsticks overlay the photo of the Chinese American girl.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the second story about Asian Americans that features chopsticks. While many Asian American families do indeed use chopsticks, does the textbook provide characters who are Asian American and do not use chopsticks? <i>Suki’s Kimono</i> does not include chopsticks, but it does include kimonos and geta. What is the difference between helping children appreciate cultural difference and reinforcing stereotypes? • Chinese American girl presented from the title page as literate and engaging in writing and print-based literacy. Who reads and writes in this textbook?
<p>“Sanu, Eri, and April are American children with families just like yours... Because Sanu, Eric, and April each have at least one parent who did not grow up in the United States, their family heritage is an interesting mixture. Some traditions, remembered from a parent’s childhood in another place, are kept alive in America. And sometimes, with the help of Sanu, Eric, and April, new traditions are started.” p. 2.176</p> <p>Illustration on p. 2.176 includes an American flag.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes the relationship between one’s homeland/culture and the American experience. Acknowledges that immigrants do not arrive in the U.S. as blank slates upon which to write American ways of being/doing. Also acknowledges that first generation Americans often have different experiences than their immigrant parents. • American identity of these children is emphasized explicitly in the text and with the flag photo. This offers the opportunity for readers to understand that “American” does not mean “White.” In the other stories that feature Asian American and Hispanic/Latino characters, are the characters in the process of <i>becoming</i> American or learning American ways of being/doing/speaking/etc.?
<p>“Each child in this selection compares America or American traditions with his or her native country or traditions.” p. 2.190</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • But these children <i>are</i> American; they are first generation Americans. Therefore, the textbook is essentially equating “American traditions” with

	White American traditions.
Inset map of Africa showing Senegal, labeled. p. 2.177 "My daddy was born in Senegal, a country far away in West Africa." p. 2.177	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African continent not treated as monolithic; specific African country identified.
"My brother, Badu, was named after a famous warrior." p. 2.177	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warrior carries a non-modern, tribal connotation.
"He moved to America to go to college." p. 2.177	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American (Senegalese) male presented as college educated. The textbook presents Africans living in small, rural villages in other stories. The father in this text left Senegal for an education. Do all of these things, taken together, present to readers a picture of Africa as a place where one cannot get a good education?
"I learned all about the Senegalese part of me." p. 2.177	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child identifies an American self and a Senegalese self. This duality, this hybrid identity would also be relevant to children who are multi-ethnic. Does the textbook present any examples of multi-ethnic children and families, or do Whites only marry Whites, African Americans only marry African Americans, etc.? If the textbook does not present any multi-ethnic families, how does this connect to what U.S. census data might have to say about the growing diversity of American families?
"Maam bou gor gave Badu a drum and African clothing. He dresses African style every chance he gets." p. 2.177	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africans presented as drumming. While this is indeed culturally relevant, do other stories about people from African countries present these people as drumming? • What do "African clothing" and "African style" mean? This implies there is one style of dress for an entire continent; African culture is presented as monolithic.
"I have an American grandmother too... She teaches me about good manners, about being neat and clean, about standing straight and tall." p. 2.178 "Grandma sings to us the songs she taught Mommy. Our favorites are 'Precious Lord Take My Hand' and 'Hush Little Baby Don't You Cry.' When Badu tries to play along on his African drum, it doesn't sound like Africa." p. 2.178	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Senegalese grandmother gives the children "African clothing" and a drum; however, the American grandmother teaches them about manners, cleanliness, proper posture, and Christianity (through gospel song). This evokes the Christian missionary mentality of trying to save "heathen" Africans. • Badu's drumming, to American songs, doesn't sound "African" to his sister, but what does it mean that a Senegalese instrument is presented as not fitting with American music? "Sound like Africa" implies that there is an African sound that is monolithic for the continent.
"The thing I like about my mommy's hairdressing shop is that it reminds me of how people look Senegal. In my daddy's village, the girls weave a kind of cloth into their braid. This is called a Senegalese twist. I'm only five, so I'm still learning how to make a regular braid." p. 2.178	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mother, an African American woman, is a hairdresser; this presents her as a skilled worker, but a manual laborer. What other professions does the textbook present for African or African American women? Wilma Rudolph = track star. Emma (in <i>The Gardener</i>) = baker. Mother in <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> is a farmer's wife who carries goods to market in a basket on her head.

	<p>Mother and Aunt Nanette in <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> are housewives. Harriet Tubman is presented as someone who was formerly enslaved and then helped others fight for their freedom. How do these presentations of African and African American women contrast with the roles in which the textbook presents White women? <i>Boom Town</i> = White housewife, business entrepreneur, business owner. <i>If You Made a Million</i> = White bank tellers. <i>Prudy's Problem</i> = White entrepreneur, business owner, researcher. <i>Night Letters</i> = White writer. <i>The Gardener</i> = White gardener, knowledge of Latin, teacher of Latin, writer and reader. <i>He Listens to Whales</i> = White scientist. <i>Rocks in His Head</i> = White museum director. <i>America's Champion Swimmer</i> = White athlete. <i>Suki's Kimono</i> = White schoolteacher. <i>Back to the Wild</i> = White wildlife worker.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “A regular braid” implies that Senegalese braids are not regular, yet many African American females braid and wear their hair this way. Three-strand, crossover braids are traditionally worn in hair that has a non-kinky texture. What does the textbook position as the normative and the other?
<p>“In my daddy’s village, the girls weave a kind of cloth into their braid.” p. 2.178</p> <p>“We all wash our hands the way we did in my father’s village.” p. 2.180</p> <p>Photo shows people washing hands in a bowl of water instead of under running water.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Daddy’s village” identifies the father’s Senegalese hometown as a village setting, which is typical of the stories set in African within the textbook. Does the textbook present any representations of Africa as urban, non-rural, and/or modern in technology, transportation, housing, education, etc.? • Hand washing in the father’s village is presented as being done without running water.
<p>“Sometimes Daddy picks me up after his work.” p. 2.179</p> <p>Photo on p. 2.179 shows the father dressed in khaki slacks, a white button-down shirt, and loafers.</p> <p>Photo on p. 2.180 shows African American family members seated on the floor, eating from a communal bowl, and wearing clothing made from traditional African print fabric.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father came to the U.S. for college, but his job is not stated. What professions are offered as possibilities for African or African American men in the textbook? Mike in <i>Teaching T-Shirts</i> = young business entrepreneur for African-focused business. Father in <i>Rows and Piles of Coins</i> = farmer. Ed in <i>The Gardener</i> = baker. <i>Fly, Eagle, Fly</i> = farmer. Ikarus Jackson in <i>Wings</i> = misfit, in trouble with police. <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> = collage artist. Men in <i>Leading People to Freedom</i> = enslaved people escaping with Harriet Tubman. What White professions for males are presented in comparison? • African American male presented in a contemporary context in Western-style dress. Other stories featuring African American men show them wearing either period clothing (<i>Leading People to Freedom</i>), manual laborer’s work clothes (<i>The Gardener</i>), or traditional dress of African countries (<i>Fly, Eagle, Fly</i>) <i>My Rows and Piles of Coins</i> shows Tanzanian males

	<p>wearing Western-style clothing, over sized hand-me-downs, and clothing made from traditional African printed fabrics. Therefore... this one image on p. 2.179 is the sole presentation of a college educated African or African American male wearing casual business attire for work. How does this contrast with the clothing that is presented for Whites in the textbook?</p>
<p>“Daddy likes to tease Mommy. ‘In Africa the wife gets the food and cooks it too.’ ‘You’re in America now,’ my mommy says, laughing.” p. 2.179</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes the ways in which homeland culture and traditions may be different from American customs. Explores the hybridity of the immigrant experience. Provides readers with an opportunity to consider cultural differences in gender roles. • Africa again treated as monolithic, as is the U.S.
<p>“We put a cloth on the floor, not on the table, since it is the custom to eat on the ground in Senegal. Everyone eats together from one big bowl. Here’s the best part: we get to eat with our hands, not with forks and spoons.” p. 2.180</p> <p>Photo on p. 2.180 shows African American family members seated on the floor, eating from a communal bowl, and wearing clothing made from traditional African print fabric.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes traditional village life in an African country. However, does the textbook also present urban, non-village traditions and customs for African Countries and people? Africans are the only people the textbook presents eating on the floor, and while this may be entirely culturally relevant to Senegal, what possible stereotypes does it present to readers about Africans and/or African Americans? Africans in <i>Fly, Eagle, Fly</i> also sat on the earth floor, slept in the kitchen on the floor, and slept among their livestock.
<p>“While we eat, we hear stories about our parents when they were little in Senegal and in Baltimore. Mommy says how lucky we are to be African Americans.” p. 2.180</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes African and African American storytelling traditions, community, and positive sense of self/ethnicity for African American children.
<p>“My daddy and all my grandparents came to New York from Puerto Rico.” p. 2.181</p> <p>“Last winter Mommy and Daddy took me to Puerto Rico for a vacation. I learned lots of things about my heritage.” p. 2.181</p> <p>Inset map on p. 2.181 shows Puerto Rico labeled.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drawing on experience visiting parent’s homeland to learn about family’s heritage.
<p>“In our home we speak two languages, English and Spanish... My friends, Irma and Glen, speak Spanish too. They come from another island called the Dominican Republic. If you come from a place where people speak Spanish, you are called a <i>Hispanic</i>. We call ourselves Hispanic Americans because part of us is Spanish and part of us is American. In my city, there are lots of Hispanics from many different countries, but they all speak the same language, Spanish.” p. 2.182</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This definition of Hispanic is quite problematic. Although it reflects the definition of Hispanic as historically used by the U.S. government, many people who have been traditionally labeled as Hispanic have not agreed with this identification. One can argue that “Hispanics” as a group do not share one cultural or ethnic heritage, and therefore, should not be grouped into one conveniently labeled category. Furthermore, not all Hispanics speak Spanish. Many second and subsequent generation Americans no longer speak or read fluent Spanish.
<p>“My nana Carmen visits me every single day. At bedtime she comes to our home just to kiss me good night. Sometimes she</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented drawing on superstition/folklore to treat physical injuries, rather than science. Instead of washing the cut

<p>shows me her tiny hurts so I can tell her my special Spanish healing poem.” p. 2.184</p> <p>“Sana, sana, sana. Si no te curas hoy, Te curas mañana.</p> <p>Heal, heal, heal. If you don’t heal today. You’ll heal tomorrow.” p. 2.184</p>	<p>or applying a band-aid or ointment, the tradition is to recite a healing poem. How does this connect to the way the textbook presents people of color, such as American Indians, as drawing in myth rather than science to explain the natural world?</p>
<p>“When Mommy is home from work, she plans Spanish music on the stereo. Then my friends, Mommy, and I dance the <i>merengue</i>. We hear the music, we shake our hips and move to the beat.... In my family, next to baseball, we love Spanish dances best.”</p> <p>Photo on p. 2.185 shows family, including grandmother, and friends dancing the <i>merengue</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented as enjoying music and dancing. While the specific music and dance in the story are related to the family’s Puerto Rican heritage, does the textbook present other kinds of pastimes for “Hispanics”? There are multiple stories in the textbook that present Africans and other people of color dancing, are there stories that present White people similarly? There is a history in the representation of African Americans of presenting them as inherently musical and dancing for the entertainment of Whites (MacCann, 2001).
<p>“My papa came to New York without his parents to go to school, and my mama moved here with her family. Because Julius, my older brother, and May, my older sister, and I were born in America, we are called Chinese Americans.” p. 2.186</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If the parents immigrated to the U.S., why does the text not refer to them as Chinese Americans? Is this term reserved for the American born?
<p>“There are many Chinese-Americans. But we do not all speak the same Chinese language... When we write the words they look very different. Another thing that’s different in Chinese is that words aren’t made with letters. Each word has its own special marks.” p. 2.186</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese American girl is presented as someone who is knowledgeable about print-based literacy across cultures. This same girl is show multiple times in the textbook engaged in writing or holding up her written work. Does the textbook present Asian Americans as smarter or succeeding more in education than do other ethnicities?
<p>“During the week we go to public school, but on Saturday we go to Chinese school. There we learn how to speak and write in Chinese... For us Chinese American kids, there are many things to remember... We also learn a special kind of writing called <i>calligraphy</i>... Our teacher shows us the right way to hold the brush.” p. 2.187</p> <p>1 photo on p. 2.187 shows teacher helping girl write in Chinese characters</p> <p>1 photo on p. 2.187 shows girl holding up paper on which she has written Chinese characters.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese American children presented as going beyond regular school instruction to also attending Saturday school to develop their oral and print-based literacy in Mandarin. • “For us Chinese American kids, there are many things to remember” is evocative of how Asian American students are sometimes held to higher academic expectations by teachers due to stereotypical beliefs about Asian Americans as highly successful students. • What stories in the textbook present children actually engaged in school? Being successful in school? Ikarus Jackson, an African American boy, is told by the teacher to leave school because he doesn’t fit in. Suki, a Japanese American girl, is praised by her teacher and entire class.

<p>"I eat them with a fork, but most Chinese people eat their noodles with chopsticks. I'm just learning to eat with chopsticks." p. 2.188</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges the stereotype that all Asian Americans eat their food with chopsticks.
<p>"Papa told us that an Italian explorer named Polo discovered noodles in China a long time ago and introduced them to his country." p. 2.188</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese American father presented as a source of knowledge about history; this positions him as someone with school-based funds of knowledge.
<p>"While we eat our pizza we play a game to test our wits. Papa asks us to look for letters hidden in the picture on the pizza box. Julius sees a V in the pizza man's shoe. May finds an L. Oh, look! I can even see the Chinese letter <i>Ba</i>, in the pizza man's eyebrows." p. 2.188</p> <p>Photo on p. 2.188 shows family reading pizza box and boy pointing to a letter he has found."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese American family engages in problem solving literacy game while eating dinner; children draw on their print-based literacy knowledge in both English and Chinese characters. • Father and son presented as males engaging in literacy for fun.
<p>"At night when we have finished all our chores and all our homework, we play <i>Chi chiao bang</i>... It is very difficult, but I can do it. Papa says, 'Go slowly and think about the cat. After a while your mind will start to run, and you will see the cat in the shapes.' He's right." p. 2.189</p> <p>"There is an old Chinese saying, 'The older you are, the wiser you become.'" Photo op. 2.189</p> <p>Photo on p. 2.189 shows father leaning over his daughter helping her create <i>tangrams</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis placed on homework before free play. Game played again emphasizes the focus this Chinese American family places on learning and problem solving. • Chinese adage presented as example of how this culture values elders and wisdom. <i>What About Me</i>, a Chinese folk tale, also presents the search of knowledge from a "Grand Master" who is "wise" p. 2.48.
<p>Meet the Author and Photographer, p. 191</p> <p>"Susan Kuklin combines photos and worlds in her books." p. 2.191</p> <p>"Ms. Kuklin wanted to show how families give children a sense of identity... The words in the book were spoken by the children. Ms. Kuklin wrote them down and shaped them into a book." p. 2.191</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White woman is positioned as a credible voice in telling the stories of people of color. • Kuklin, a White female, is presented as an author who draws on visual images and print-based literacy, while children have oral literacy. Throughout the textbook, which ethnicities are reading and writing?

<p>Skills Text: <i>Communities Celebrate Cultures</i> pp. 192-193, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>"These celebrations are sometimes called ethnic celebrations." p. 2.192</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Text positions Cinco de Mayo and St. Patrick's Day as "ethnic celebrations." But what about holidays like the 4th of July? Aren't all

	celebrations ethnic celebrations? After all, everyone belongs to one or more ethnic groups.
“They show that they are proud to be Mexican Americans.” p. 2.193	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions Mexican American as something positive and something of which to be proud.
“On St. Patrick’s Day both Irish and non-Irish people celebrate Irish culture. Some people honor Irish culture by wearing green clothing, watching parades, and eating food that is dyed green.” p. 2.193	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook presents culture as clothing, food, and holidays—in this text and others.

Skills Text: <i>Moving Day</i> pp. 194-195, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Skills Text: <i>How to Do a Move</i> pp. 196-197, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No mention of ethnicity in the text. Illustrations on pp. 2.196-197 show children of varying skin tones and ethnicities, as well as one male teacher who appears to be White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White male presented as teacher, resource for school-based education.

<i>Good-Bye, 382 Shin Dang Dong</i> pp. 198-217, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustrations of Japanese setting throughout show taxicab, brick buildings, multi-story buildings, paved roads, and jet plane. “We flew over rice fields and clay-tiled roofs. Already I felt homesick.” p. 2.208	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of color presented in a modern, urban setting.
“All my possessions were packed away in a big brown box marked ‘Lovely Things.’” p. 2.200 “‘Promise you’ll write to me, Jangmi.’ ‘I promise, Kisuni.’” p. 2.206 “Dad sat back in his seat and began to read an American newspaper. All the words were foreign to me.” p. 2.208 “I began to write. <i>Dear Kisuni...</i> ” p. 2.14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean (American) girl is presented as using print-based literacy as a tool for organizing and claiming her belongings and communicating with a friend. Her father is presented as being literate in both Korean and English. • A Korean (American) male is presented as engaging in print-based literacy for relaxation and information.

<p>Illustration on p. 2.214 shows a letter and envelope addressed in Chinese characters. Illustration on p. 2.215 Shows Jangmi writing a letter.</p>	
<p>“Rose?’ I repeated. ‘What does that mean?’ ‘That’s the English translation of your Korean name,’ Mom said.” p. 2.208</p> <p>“No, I like <i>my</i> name,’ I insisted.” p. 2.208</p> <p>“Maybe someday I would adopt Rose as my American name. But not today.” p. 2.214</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant child, Jangmi, trying to acclimate to life in the U.S.; her identity being challenged. As she becomes more settled in America, she’s more open to changing her name to Rose. How does this textbook challenge and/or reinforce the melting pot paradigm of immigration and assimilation?
<p>“Chummy,’ the girl repeated, then giggled.” p. 2.212</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laughter at foreign words/customs, like kids laughing at eating with chopsticks in <i>Boxed Lunch</i>.
<p>Meet the Authors, p. 2.217</p> <p>“Frances and Ginger Park are sisters. They often work as a team to create a book... Together, they have written books for both children and adults.” p. 2.217</p> <p>“Ginger Park... loves to tell stories. Frances Park is more of a poet. She says, ‘I’ve always been in love with the beauty of language. For me, it’s music—my way of play an instrument.’” p. 2.217</p> <p>“Although their parents came from Korea, Frances and Ginger Park were born near Washington, D.C. The sisters own a chocolate shop in Washington, D.C.... People often stop by to talk about their books. ‘We pack up their truffles, and then talk books,’ says Frances.” p. 2.217</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frances and Ginger Park, first generation Korean Americans, are presented as authors of books for readers at multiple levels. As a team, they draw on their skills in oral literacy and print-based literacies. Furthermore, the sisters are presented as business owners (gatekeepers to employment and financial security for others) and people whom others seek out to talk about literature.

<p>Skills Text: <i>What Does a Baker Do?</i> pp. 220-221, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Photo of baker shows a man with brown skin, p. 2.221</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No name
<p>“Many bakers learn their job by working with experienced bakers. They watch, listen, and practice on the job. Some bakers go to special schools to learn how to bake.” p. 2.221</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakers presented as learning either through apprenticeship or trade school. While trade school is post-secondary education, it is not the same as university education. The baker shown here has brown skin, as do Emma and Ed, the bakers who work for Uncle Jim in <i>The Gardener</i>. Whom does the textbook present in skilled trades and manual labor? Are Whites presented

	in these roles when they are not also the business owners?
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Skills Text: <i>Biscuits for Breakfast</i> pp. 222-223, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	•

<i>Jalapeno Bagels</i> pp. 224-239, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>“My teacher told us to bring something from our culture.” p. 2.226</p> <p>“Why jalapeño bagels?’ asks Papa. ‘Because they are a mixture of both of you. Just like me!’” p. 2.236</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child asked to choose one culture to represent himself, but finds a way to share his multi-ethnic identity through a food that represents his hybridity. • Pablo is the son of a White, Jewish father and a Mexican American mother. Is this the only multi-ethnic marriage and family that the textbook presents? • While Pablo’s mother, a Mexican American woman, is presented as a baker, she and her husband also own the bakery. This contrasts with the way Hispanics in other stories, such as <i>A Day’s Work</i>, are presented as struggling to meet their daily needs. Their bakery is presented as successful: “Our customers will buy everything up.” p. 2.235
<p>“Ready to make <i>chango</i> bars?’ Chango means ‘monkey man.’” p. 2.229</p> <p>“Pablo! come help me with the bagels!’ Papa speaks English and Yiddish. He learned Yiddish from his family in New York City. I know some words too.” p. 2.231</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pablo is tri-lingual: English, Yiddish, and Spanish.
<p>Meet the Author and the Illustrator</p> <p>“Natasha Wing lives in northern California, where she often busy jalapeño bagels at a bakery in town. the bakery, called Los Bagels Bakery, gave Ms. Wing the idea for this story.” p. 2.239</p> <p>“Anotonio L. Castro has illustrated many children’s books. He is also an artists. He has displayed his art in museums in Texas, Mexico, Spain, and Italy.” p. 2.239</p> <p>“Mr. Castro was born in Zacatecas, Mexico.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natasha Wing, a White woman, is presented as an author and someone who writes about ethnic groups different from her own. • Antonia L. Castro, a Mexican, is presented as a professional illustrator of books and a fine artists whose work is shown in museums. Furthermore, he is presented as an educator and someone who is a resource for information about art and history. His associations with museums and libraries provide further legitimacy to his work. Are Hispanics illustrating stories other than those of Hispanics in this textbook?

He now lives in Juarez, Mexico... He teaches art and local history classes to children in museums and libraries near his home." p. 2.239	
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<i>Foods of Mexico—A Delicious Blend</i> pp. 240-243, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
"African slaves who were brought to New Spain also added their ways of cooking." p. 2.242	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Brought" is such a gentle, non-loaded word: one brings cargo. Enslaved people from African countries were kidnapped and forced to go to New Spain, Mexico. "Brought" rids this act of the violence and accountability. Who brought the enslaved people to New Spain, after all. Why doesn't the text read: Spanish people kidnapped and enslaved people from African countries. The Spaniards abducted these enslaved people and took them to New Spain; the enslaved people had their own cooking traditions and they brought this part of their culture with them to New Spain.
<p>"Like seeds blown by the wind, people came to Mexico from distant lands, and they settled and flowered." p. 2.243</p> <p>Reading Across Texts call-out box: "People came from distant lands to settle in Mexico." p. 2.243</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blowing seeds evokes a gentle and natural image; however, as noted above, the abduction and enslavement of Africans was anything but gentle and natural. Why does the textbook go beyond leaving out the brutal history, to even misrepresent it grossly?

<i>Skills Text: New York City</i> pp. 244-245, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<i>Skills Text: A Different Treasure Hunt</i> pp. 246-247, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> pp. 248-271, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Title pages, pp. 2.248-249 show all African American children and Uncle Romie on the city street. Illustrations throughout show all African Americans. Illustration shows girls jumping rope, kids playing basketball, man sitting on stoop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban setting for story about African Americans. Details are authentic to African American urban communities, but does the textbook also present representation of the suburban African American experience in a different story?
"A good train-watching day,' my friend B.J. said. We waited quietly in the grass beside the tracks." p. 2.251 Illustration shows two African American boys in the grass	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the textbook present stories in which main characters have deep friendships with individuals whose culture/ethnicity is different from their own?
"Then I saw it... New York City. Buildings stretching up to the sky. So close together. Not like North Carolina at all." p. 2.254	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> While James is from the Piedmont area of North Carolina, the story takes place in Harlem, where he is staying with his aunt and uncle. In this textbook there are multiple instances of people in African countries living in traditional villages, and multiple instances of African Americans living in urban settings. What suburban, or other, locations are presented as the homes of African Americans and the primary settings of stories about them?
"Daddy had packed me a lunch and a dinner to eat one at a time." p. 2.254	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-traditional gender roles with father cooking. Involved father, intact nuclear African American family
"Uncle Romie and Aunt Nanette are family, and they love you too. It'll still be a good birthday, honey." p. 2.252	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extended family caring for one another connects to the importance of family in African American culture.
"Uncle Romie's out talking to some people about his big art show that's coming up... Your uncle's working very hard, so we won't see much of him for a while. His workroom—we call it his studio—is in front of our apartment." p. 2.256	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> African American male presented as working hard as an artist.
"Some were watching the going-son from fire escapes. Others were sitting out on stoops greeting folks who passed by—just like the people back home calling out hellos from their front porches. Most everybody seemed to know Aunt Nanette. A lot of them asked after Uncle Romie too." p. 258	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasis on closely-knit African American community. What does the literature suggest about the importance of such communities for African Americans?
"On rainy days I wrote postcards" p. 2.260	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> African American male child presented as engaging in writing, print-based literacy as a leisure activity and to communicate with his family.
"I saw saxophones, birds, fire escapes, and brown faces. <i>It's Harlem</i> , I thought. <i>The</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> African American child notices that the painting reflects the ethnicity of those who live in Harlem,

<i>people, the music, the rooftops, and the stoops.</i> ” p. 2.262	those that look like him. What does it mean to children to see <i>themselves</i> reflected in art?
“a breakfast feast—eggs, bacon, grits, and biscuits” p. 2.263	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> James and Uncle Romie make and eat a traditional Southern, African American breakfast. The details in this story go beyond just brown skin tone, to small but important details, such as the food, that give the story a feeling of authenticity in representing an African American experience.
“He was even a star pitcher in college.” p. 2.264	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uncle Romie is college-educated, but his athletic prowess is emphasized.
“All these strangers talking to each other about their families and friends and special times, and all because of how my uncle Romie’s paintings reminded them of these things.” p. 2.267	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Daily life in an African American community, as represented in Uncle Romie’s artwork, resonates with other African Americans who feel it’s authenticity. “Real recognizes real.”
“I painted and pasted them together on a big piece of cardboard... And at the top I wrote” Happy Birthday Uncle Romie” p. 2.269	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> African American boy presented engaging in fine arts and print-based literacy in order to create a gift for someone he loves.
Reader Response questions on p. 2.270 “It would be more polite to name this story <i>Uncle Romie and I</i> . Why did the author name it <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> instead?” p.2.270	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Standard American English, one would indeed say “Uncle Romie and I,” but in African American English, “Me and Uncle Romie”
Meet the Author and the Illustrator, p. 2.271 “Claire Hartfield began taking dance lessons when she was five. Dance is her way of telling stories. In <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> , she wanted to show how an artist can use art to tell stories. Although <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> is fiction, it is based on the life of collage artist Romare Bearden.” p. 2.271 “Today, Ms. Hartfield is a lawyer in Chicago.” p. 2.271 “Jerome Lagarrigue grew up in Paris, France... His art has appeared in magazines, and he has illustrated several picture books. Mr. Lagarrigue teaches drawing and painting in New York City.” p. 2.271	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Claire Hartfield, an African American woman is presented as a dancer, an author, someone who appreciates fine art, and an attorney. An African American woman is presented as highly educated and in a high-status career; however, this is in a very brief author profile, not in one of the primary or skills texts within the textbook. Story is based on the life of Romare Bearden, an African American collage artist. Jerome Lagarrigue, a Black man who grew up in France, is presented as the professional illustrator of books and pieces of magazines. Additionally, he is presented as an arts educator. In this textbook, do Africans, African Americans, and Blacks only write/illustrate texts about people of their same ethnic group?

Skills Text: <i>Country to the City</i> pp. 272-273, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Child’s hand on the mouse is brown-skinned as she looks up information about	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who has access to and uses technology in the textbook? Who is presented as a researcher?

Romare Bearden, the painter mentioned by the illustrator of <i>Me and Uncle Romie</i> , p. 2.272	Which authors/illustrators/scientists discuss their research process?
Bearden's photo p. 2.273 "He was part of the Harlem Renaissance, a period of time when African American art flourished." p. 2.273	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Text implies, but does not explicitly identify Bearden as African American. Photo would not be likely to identify him as such to children. Which stories/texts in the textbook explicitly identify character's ethnicity or culture?

*Volume Two Unit Six: Freedom
-What Does It Mean to Be Free?*

Skills Text: <i>Coming to America</i> pp. 284-285, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
"Immigrants leave their homeland for different reasons. Some came to America looking for religious freedom. Some came to escape war or hunger. Others came for adventure. But mostly, people came looking for a better life for themselves and their children." p. 2.285	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What about African Americans who did not come here of their own volition, but were forced by Whites to immigrate as enslaved people?
"People come to America from all over the world, but together, we are one nation!" p. 285	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Textbook emphasizes assimilation and a common American identity throughout the texts.
"Everyone who lives in America now (except for Native Americans) once came from somewhere else." p. 2.285	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This glosses over the fact that what is now America was largely built on land from which American Indians were forcefully removed or killed. This connects to how the textbook avoids addressing Whites culpability in regards to the enslavement of African Americans.

Skills Text: <i>Emma and Liberty</i> pp. 286-287, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

<i>The Story of the Statue of Liberty</i> pp. 288-201, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i>

	<i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Illustrations throughout show what appear to be Whites, but two laborers (on p. 2.296) appear to have darker skin than the rest of the people in the illustrations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brown skinned people are presented as manual laborers, while White people are presented as artists and sightseers.
<p>“A young French sculptor named Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi visited America in 1871.” p. 2.290</p> <p>“She would be a symbol of the freedom in the New World... She would be <i>Liberty Enlightening the World</i>.” p. 2.291</p> <p>“Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free” p. 2.299</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enslaved African Americans had only been legally granted freedom from White “ownership” in 1862, and Jim Crow laws severely restricted the civil rights of people of color, yet America is presented in the story as an exemplar of a nation built on freedom. Africans abducted from their home countries and forced to emigrate to the U.S. as enslaved people were certainly “tired,” “poor” (in the U.S.), and “yearning to breathe free.” Even after slavery had been abolished, most African Americans found themselves still fitting this description due to slavery’s legacy of institutionalized racism, oppression, Jim Crow laws, and hate crimes. The textbook presents a consistent message of America as a great country of opportunity for all, freedom, and unity in spite of diversity. How does this message provide, or not, opportunities for readers to explore more deeply the history of the African American experience in this country?
<p>Meet the Author and the Illustrator, p. 301</p> <p>“They have published more than 100 books together! ‘We work on so many interesting books about so many different topics that we’re always learning new things,’ Ms. Maestro says.” p. 2.301</p> <p>“Ms. Maestro feels the statue is ‘a symbol of human freedom and human rights throughout the world.’” p. 2.301</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Betsy and Giulio Maestro, both White, are presented as an author and professional illustrator of books, respectively. They are presented as seeking knowledge about new topics through research. The textbook message of an idealized America is reiterated in the quote selected from Ms. Maestro.

Skills Text: <i>A Nation of Immigrants</i> pp. 302-303, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Table on p. 2.303 titled “Times When Many Immigrants Came” showing immigrants before 1820: “Where Many Came From” includes “United Kingdom, countries of Western Africa such as those now known as Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and Cameroon.” p. 2.303	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doesn’t address in any way that the majority of “immigrants” from African countries before 1820 were due to Africans who were kidnapped, enslaved, and abducted to the United States to serve as enslaved workers on plantations.

1820-1860: "Ireland, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Canada" p. 2.303	
1861-1890: "Germany, United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Norway/Sweden" p. 2.303	
"Others came because they had no choice." p. 2.302 "Review: What were some reasons immigrants came to the United States?" p. 2.302	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This does not acknowledge the forced immigration of enslaved people. • Review question asks why immigrants came to the United States, but the text never gives the reason behind the heavy influx of people from African countries prior to 1820.

Skills Text: <i>A New Life</i> pp. 304-305, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Photo of a hand holding an Mexican flag and an American flag, p. 2.305	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes hybridity of ethnic/cultural identity of immigrants.
"Business was good, and the Garcia family was making a good living from the store." p. 2.305 "Yes, they missed their old home in Mexico. But here in Chicago, they had found a better life for themselves and Rosa." p. 2.305	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions America as a country where it is possible for immigrants to achieve economic success and live the American dream. Positions America as a superior place to live than Mexico.

Skills Text: <i>Mr. Wang's Wonderful Noodles</i> pp. 306-307, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
"Mr. Wang, please bring your noodle recipe to the United States. Make noodles in my restaurant." p. 2.307 "Thank you. But I do not wish to go to a foreign land. I am happy making noodles in China." p. 2.307	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life in a country other than the United States is presented as a place in which one might want to live, even if presented with the choice of emigrating to the United States.
Photos on p. 2.306 and 2.307 show pairs of chopsticks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the textbook identify eating utensils only for Asians and Asian Americans?

<i>Happy Birthday, Mr. Kang!</i> pp. 308-327, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Eyes of Chinese Americans shown as slits, simple black lines in collage illustrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did the textbook choose to include this

throughout	racist representation of Asian facial features? What does the literature say about how Asian eyes are represented in illustration?
<p>“I want to read <i>The New York Times</i> every day. I want to paint poems every day. And I want a bird, a hua mei, of my own.” p. 2.311</p> <p>“Every morning Mr. Kang finds <i>The New York Times</i> on his doorstep. Every morning he reads it while he drinks his tea.” p. 2.311</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two of the three birthday wishes of a Chinese American man are related to print-based literacy for enjoyment and information. Does the textbook present African or African American men engaged in literacy for pleasure? • <i>The New York Times</i> is not just a newspaper, but a newspaper that is highly esteemed, and often considered an intellectual publication.
<p>“He picks up his brush and paints a poem. Sometimes he paints a poem twice to practice his brushwork.” p. 2.312</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese American not only engaging in print-based literacy, but writes with the goal of improving his craft.
<p>“I have a very smart grandson.” p. 2.314</p> <p>“Maybe my smart grandson is right. Maybe this bird should be free.” p. 2.319</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese American child is presented as intelligent. How does this connect to the ways other Asian or Asian American characters in the textbook pieces are presented and named as smart and/or academically successful?
<p>“After forty-three American years / I still speak my native tongue, / but any Chinese ear can hear / that I no longer speak / like a native. Sometimes / even I hear / the familiar sounds bending / by themselves in my own throat, / coming out strangely, / sound a little American.” p. 2.324</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant’s experience acclimating to America. Does this have to mean losing one’s former identity?
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator, p. 2.327</p> <p>“Susan L. Roth got the idea for <i>Happy Birthday, Mr. Kang</i> from a story in <i>The New York Times</i>. She read about a group of Chinese men...” p. 2.327</p> <p>The story “is dedicated to Ms. Roth’s uncle, John Kang. ‘I used his real name, but he never worked in a Chinese restaurant or had a <i>hua mei</i>. But he did write poetry after he retired.’ Mr. Kang always wrote his poems in Chinese first. Then he translated them into English.” p. 2.327</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is Roth herself Chinese American, or did she have an uncle who was?? I e-mailed her to ask this, but did not receive a response. • Roth is presented as someone who is literate and engages in print-based literacy in both reading and writing. Her uncle, a Chinese American, is presented as a poet who is bilingual.
<p>“Ms. Roth says she hopes her books teach children to appreciate different people. ‘I live in Queens, New York, one of the most diverse places in the world. So I see different cultures every day.’ Ms. Roth says children who learn about different cultures are less likely to become prejudiced.” p. 2.327</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Then why is everyone in the story Chinese American? Is the diversity to which we aspire segregated in ways that, while a city may contain diverse ethnic groups, each ethnic group lives and interacts only with members of their own ethnic group?

<i>Back to the Wild: A Talk with a Wildlife Worker</i> pp. 328-331, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About</i>

	<i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>Photos of 3 wildlife workers, pp. 3.329-330: 2 appear to be White women; the ethnicity of the third woman is difficult to determine due to the quality of the photo.</p> <p>Molly Jean Carpenter, the wildlife worker being interviewed, appears to be a White woman, p. 2.329</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> White females presented as sources of scientific knowledge and animal medicine.
<p>“We examine the animal from its head to its tail. If the animal can’t take care of itself in the wild, we admit it to our clinic... and give them any medicine and care they need.” p. 3.329</p> <p>“He had surgery at the clinic to help his bones heal... We gave him treatments every day.” p. 3.330</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whites are presented as engaged in medical decision-making and medical care-giving. Surgery and medicine are directed by doctors, which implies advanced education. Whites are presented as resources for information about healthcare and medicine for animals, which is biology and science.

Skills Text: <i>Paint</i> pp. 332-333, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

Skills Text: <i>Class Art</i> pp. 334-335, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
No human illustrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
“Julio’s family came to the United States from Mexico. He wants to paint something about his native country and his new country.” p. 2.335	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mexican American experience highlighted here, with an emphasis on an immigrant trying to reconcile his homeland/culture and his American experience.

<i>Talking Walls: Art for the People</i> pp. 336-351, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
“Immigrants travel to American from all over	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Textbook presents the U.S. as a haven for

<p>the world. They leave behind homes and villages in their native countries for the promise of a better life and for the freedom this country has to offer.” p. 2.338</p>	<p>people around the world seeking a good life and freedom. But what about enslaved African Americans who were abducted and forced to come here? They were presented with a worse life and no freedom.</p>
<p>“This mural, titled ‘Immigrant,’ shows the Statue of Liberty just beyond reach and Latin American immigrants working hard to provide for their families.” p. 2.340</p> <p>Illustration on p. 2.341 shows: a man with ripped jeans lying on the ground and reaching up toward the Statue of Liberty; a man with his shirt unbuttoned holding up produce to sell; a woman making tortillas over a fire; a pregnant woman with disheveled hair walking barefoot, holding one child’s hand and pushing two more children in a stroller—these children have no clothing except a diaper on one boy; a seamstress with shirt pieces to sew piled on the floor around her and in a cart behind her; and the legs of a man who is digging in a dirty garbage dumpster collecting empty beer cans, which are on the ground beside the dumpster.</p> <p>“Hector Ponce, the artist came from El Salvador... He says, ‘My mural shows what’s in the hearts of many people who come to this country looking for a better life.’” p. 2.340</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text emphasizes that the people of color are working hard to provide basic needs of life for their families. They are not working hard to save, or travel, or open their own businesses, but to simply provide for their families. The jobs shown for the immigrants are all manual labor, although the sewing might be considered a skilled trade. Why are the woman and her children walking barefoot down the road? Why are the jeans of the man on the ground ripped? Why is the produce vendors shirt unbuttoned? Why a man in a dirty dumpster with crushed beer cans? Whom does the textbook present as engaging in manual labor? Whom does the textbook present as working to make ends meet? Whom does the textbook present as dirty or with damaged clothing? Whom does the textbook present as dirty? Francisco’s hat in <i>A Day’s Work</i> is described as dirtier than the White man’s hat. Africans and American Indians are presented as barefoot. • Was Hector Ponce, the painter of the mural making a statement about how many immigrants and people of color find the “American dream” of prosperity beyond their reach, in spite of their hard work? What Ponce making a statement about social and economic inequities in the U.S.? The questions that follow the text selection do not invite readers to consider these possibilities? Might the teacher’s guide include suggestions for using these murals as the starting point for engaging students in discussing social justice?
<p>“Do you see a woman with young children, a man selling bags of oranges, a seamstress, and a man looking for cans to recycle?” pp. 2.340-341</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These are all laborers. How does this particular text or the textbook present professional, white collar, jobs for immigrants and people of color?
<p>African American girl shown in the painting on p. 2.343 “The painting is beautiful.” p. 2.342</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although the African American girl is not explicitly called beautiful, the painting is. Because it is a painting of her, she is presented as beautiful. Beauty, the White girl from <i>Beauty and the Beast</i>, is presented as physically attractive. Who else is presented as attractive in the textbook?
<p>“Before artist Joshua Sarantitis creates a mural, he talks with the people of the community. He listens to their stories about the neighborhood. He interprets their stories.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mural emphasizes the importance of education, and since the artist was creating an interpretation of the community’s stories, one can infer that the community

<p>p. 2.342</p> <p>“The mural encourages children to reach for the future through education.” p. 2.342</p>	<p>emphasized education for their children. How does this connect to what the research literature says about the role of education in African American communities?</p>
<p>“When Paul graduated from high school, he went on to college to study art. Today he creates and paints murals, and he teaches art too!” p. 3.344</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paul Botello is a third generation Mexican American, but the textbook does not mention this. A person of color, a Mexican American is presented as college educated, but is not presented as Mexican American to readers. http://mati.eas.asu.edu/community/ChicArt/ArtistDir/PauBot.html
<p>“Most of the students... are immigrants from Central America. The mural speaks to the school children. It tells them that education is the key to success.” p. 3.344</p> <p>“At the top of the mural, a teacher helps guide her students over the building blocks of life... Their parents stand behind to help guide and support them.” p. 3.345</p> <p>“Education, hope, and immigration are my themes,’ says Paul Botello. ‘People immigrate to the United States because they hope for a better life. Through education, a better life can be accomplished.’” p. 3.345</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is emphasized as a means of improving the lives of immigrants and people of color. However, in how many selections does the textbook present people of color engaging in literacy and school, and being academically successful? How many people of color are presented as having higher education? Asian Americans are shown thus in the textbook, but African Americans are largely presented as getting in trouble and being kicked out of school (Ikarus Jackson), being illiterate in certain forms of print-based, school-based literacy (Emma), and not having careers that require higher education. • This text positions teachers as those who guide and nurture students; however, the sole interaction of an African American child with a teacher in the textbook is one in which the teacher expels the child (Ikarus Jackson) from class for being different. How can a better life be accomplished through education when the educational system and instruction may not be structured in ways that best support African American students or other students of color? (Delpitt, Ladson-Billings, Au, Heath) • The emphasis on the community and family valuing education and working together to meet the needs of their children resonates with the value placed on education and collaboration in many African American communities. (MacCann)
<p>“Years later, the childhood friends, now both artists, decided to go into business together painting murals.” p. 2.346</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Mexican American man is presented as the co-founder and owner of a small business, and hence a gatekeeper to employment and financial success for others.
<p>“It’s interesting to note that when the artist repainted the mural seventeen years after it was originally completed, he changed one of the children from a boy to a girl. Much had changed over the years, and the artist wanted all children to know that girls can dream of</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The textbook explicitly names how gender roles have changed over time, with the goal of more gender equity. Does the textbook address changes in roles for people according to ethnicity or culture? • Textbook questions provide the opportunity

<p>flying model airplanes too.” p. 2.347</p> <p>Reader Response question at end of text: “Look Back and Write: Why did David Botello change his mural after 17 years? Look back at page 347. Use information from the selection to support your answer.” p. 2.350</p>	<p>to engage readers in thinking critically about how gender roles have changed over time. Wouldn't the same readers be capable of thinking critically about how opportunities and constraints for people of color and/or immigrants have changed over time?</p>
<p>“The mural will inspire many of the children who see it to work hard and follow their dreams.” p. 2.347</p> <p>“From sea to shining sea, the artists who create art for the people are instrumental in reminding Americans everywhere of the freedoms that help our democracy work.” p. 2.349</p> <p>Photos of American flag murals on pp. 2.337 and 2.349</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is consistent with how the textbook largely presents the U.S. as a meritocracy, which denies the existence of institutionalized racism that hinders or prevents the equal achievement of people of color, despite their hard work and dreams.
<p>Meet the Author, p. 2.351</p> <p>“Katacha Díaz grew up in Peru and immigrated to the United States when she was 15.” p. 2.351</p> <p>“Her parents moved to the United States so that the girls could get a good education.” p. 2.351</p> <p>“My sister Ana María and I were the only Spanish-speaking students in our new school. There was a lot of peer pressure to get rid of the accent,’ she says.” p. 2.315</p> <p>“Education is important to my family.” p. 2.351</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Díaz, a woman of color, a Peruvian American, is presented as an author. • Emphasizes America as the land of opportunity, living the American dream, and importance of the assimilation of immigrants. • U.S. presented as a place to which immigrants come for an education. Multiple selections in the textbook have identified education as the reason for immigration. While this is certainly the case for many immigrants, how does the textbook present countries outside the U.S. (particularly countries whose populations are mostly people of color) as having inferior educational systems?

<p>Skills Text: <i>Nathaniel's Rap</i> pp. 352-353, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Eloise Greenfield is the author.</p> <p>Illustrations show a child with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, and black hair.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eloise Greenfield is an African American woman whose career has been dedicated to writing about and for African American children. Given this and the fact that the illustrations show a child of color, it is reasonable to infer that the Nathaniel is an African American boy.
<p>“I can rap / I can / rap, / rap, / rap” p. 2.352</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African American boy is presented as rapping. What other forms of music does the textbook present as possibilities for African Americans? Badu plays a Senegalese drum. Multiple selections and author/illustrator profiles present Whites composing and playing classical music.

<p>"I can talk that talk" p. 2.352</p> <p>"I can run it on down" p. 2.352</p> <p>"Friends and kin and neighborhood / Listen now and listen good" p. 2.353</p> <p>"Gonna run it on down" p. 2.353</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greenfield has a gift for capturing language and rhythm in ways that are authentic and respectful. Representation of African American English has been deeply problematic in children's literature (MacCann)
<p>Reading Across Texts questions after the selection:</p> <p>"The selection about murals and this rap poem tell of different forms of expression. What is one message you learned from each selection?" p. 2.353</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This question could provide a merely superficial opportunity to discuss basic summaries of these messages, or it could be interpreted to engage readers in thinking about the deeper meanings and purposes of the texts. What does the teacher's manual suggest for this selection?

<p>Skills Text: <i>The Ant and the Beetle</i> pp. 354-355, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>How Ants Find Food</i> pp. 356-357, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p><i>Two Bad Ants</i> pp.</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>Characters are two ants</p> <p>Human face at the edge of the cup is peach colored with straight facial hair, p. 2.369</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White faces as backdrop in this story.
<p>Meet the Author and Illustrator</p> <p>"Chris Van Allsburg won the Caldecott Medal for his books <i>The Polar Express</i> and <i>Jumanji</i>. He is one of the best known children's book illustrators working today." p. 2.377</p> <p>"In college he decided to take some art</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chris Van Allsburg, a White male, is presented as an award-winning, famous author and illustrator of books for children. He is also presented as someone who is college educated and had the luxury of choosing what to study in higher education. • When Van Allsburg, a White male, does not meet expectations for his academic work, this is dismissed as "being true to his nature," which is

<p>classes. That decision changed his life. 'I had a fever again,' he says, 'a fever to make art.' He loved his art so much that he sometimes forgot his other classes, but he was being true to his nature." p. 2.377</p> <p>"Mr. Van Allsburg says that good stories contain a moral truth." p. 2.377</p> <p>Photo of Van Allsburg on. 2.377 shows him in a dinner jacket and bowtie.</p>	<p>acceptable in his case because he had such a passion for art. In the textbook, Asian Americans are praised by families and teachers for their academic success. An African American student (Ikarus Jackson) is expelled by his teacher because he is seen as distracting others from learning and making the teacher angry.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A White man is presented as an authority on what makes a good story and the judge of whether or not a text presents a moral truth. • Whom does the textbook present wearing formal attire? Hispanics, Latin Americans, and Central Americans are presented as somewhat dirty, with ripped clothing. Africans are presented as going barefoot, wearing over-sized hand-me-downs, and in traditional printed casual clothing. African Americans are presented in uniforms for manual labor (Emma and Ed), in an undershirt and suspenders (Uncle Romie), and in casual business attire (<i>How My Family Lives</i>). American Indians are presented in traditional tribal dress.
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<p>Skills Text: <i>Hiking Safety Tips</i> pp. 378-379, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Skills Text: <i>Glassblowing</i> pp. 380-381, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>"Syrian glassworkers invented the art of glassblowing more than 2,000 years ago." p. 2.381</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is this the only mention of people of Middle Eastern descent in this textbook?

<p>Skills Text: <i>At the Glassblower's</i> pp. 382-383, vol. 2</p>	
<p><i>What I Noticed</i></p>	<p><i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i></p>
<p>No human illustrations No indication of ethnicity in text</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p><i>Elena's Serenade</i></p>

pp. 384-403, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos: What It Makes Me Think About What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
<p>"In Mexico..." 2.386 "My papa is a glassblower." p. 2.386</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mexican man presented as a skilled tradesman. How does the textbook present men of color as college-educated professionals, as well as laborers?
<p>"I ask him if he will teach me to be a glassblower too, but he shakes his head. 'You are too little, Elenita, and the hot glass might burn you. Besides, who ever heard of a girl glassblower?'" p. 2.386</p> <p>"The next morning I borrow a pair of Pedro's trousers, hide my hair under his old <i>sombrero</i>, and set out. Since girls aren't supposed to be glassblowers, I'll pretend that I am a boy." p. 2.387</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbook provides opportunities for readers to consider gender roles, sexism, and its effects for females. Do any African American women in the textbook challenge gender roles? Wilma Rudolph is an athlete. Harriet Tubman helped lead African Americans to freedom. Emma is a baker. African women are farmers' wives.
<p>"Ever so gently I blow again. The notes get higher, <i>pree-tat-tat, pree-tat-tat</i>. I can hardly believe my ears—my pipe is making music!" p. 2.388</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A person of color is presented as being inherently musical.
<p>"'Welcome, little glassblower!' The boss says, and shakes my hand. He puts my stars in the factory window where they twinkle like real stars. As soon as the children in Monterrey see them, they all want one. The stars sell faster than I can blow them." p. 2.395</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Mexican girl is presented as finding employment for herself in a position traditionally held by men. Furthermore, she is presented as skillful and in demand in her work. A Mexican man is presented as a work foreman for skilled tradesmen.
<p>Meet the Author p. 2.402</p> <p>"He learned to speak Spanish as well as English." p. 2.402</p> <p>"He writes the first draft of his stories by longhand on a yellow pad of paper. After he edits his work, he puts it into a word processor." p. 2.402</p> <p>"One of Mr. Geeslin's stories...has been made into an opera. Mr. Geeslin wrote the libretto (the words that are sung for the opera." p. 2.402</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Campbell Geeslin, a White male, is presented as an author who is bilingual. • Geeslin is presented as someone who is a resource for ways of approaching the writing process. His recursive process, which also includes technology, positions him as someone who works in print-based literacy in a variety of forms and media. • Geeslin is presented as someone who writes operatic librettos. In what kind of music does the textbook present characters and/or authors/illustrators engaging?
<p>Meet the Illustrator</p> <p>"Ana Juan lives in Spain." p. 2.403</p> <p>"The book <i>A Thousand and one Nights</i> caught her interest as a child. She loved the magic of the stories and the beauty of the pictures." p. 2.403</p> <p>"Working on a picture book gives you more possibilities to explain in better and more</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ana Juan, a Spanish woman, is presented as someone who has engaged in print-based literacy and books for enjoyment since childhood. • Juan is presented as someone who can use art and its visual elements to improve the print-based story.

detail the different moments and events around a life.” p. 2.403	
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<i>Leading People to Freedom</i> pp. 404-407, vol. 2	
<i>What I Noticed</i>	<i>Theoretical Memos:</i> <i>What It Makes Me Think About</i> <i>What It Makes Me Wonder</i>
Title p. 2.404	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why isn't Tubman's name in the title when the other Whites features in biographies are named in titles? How does this connect to African Americans being historically tokenized in children's texts?
Artwork of HT p. 2.404	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Realistic representation of an African American woman; facial features don't exhibit the racialized stereotypes historically problematic in children's texts. Tubman is wearing a do-rag, which has been criticized as the "mammy" costume in children's texts. Does the illustration show the do-rag because Tubman is known to have worn one? How are other African American woman wearing or covering their hair in the anthology? HT is shown as a light-skinned African American, but she was actually quite dark-skinned. Why did the illustrator choose to represent her like this? Are illustrations of other famous Americans in the anthology true to life?
"Harriet Tubman" p. 2.405	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why <i>another</i> biography of HT? Are there other historical/important African Americans featured in the anthology who aren't on the "short list" of African Americans whose stories kids keep being presented with in recycled versions?
"HT was born into slavery." p. 2.405	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the author intentionally avoiding languaging about HT in traditional "Tubman was a slave" kind of ways that superimpose slave over all other identity. Will the author use "enslaved" language that positions HT as in a system of oppression, but not entirely defined by it?
"HT was sent away from her family to work in the fields." p. 2.405	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why the passive voice? This didn't just <i>happen</i> to HT. Who sent her away? Social studies texts related addressing slavery often use passive voice as a way of ignoring the role that Whites played in systemic oppression of African Americans Will the author address that is was Whites who were responsible for HT's oppression?
"she heard other slaves talking about wanting to be free" p. 2.405	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "slaves" not "enslaved people"—How does this text present enslavement as subsuming all other identities an African American had? How does "slaves" reinforce the passive voice—

	<p>this is simply what HT was, a slave; “enslaved” would highlight that someone <i>did</i> this to her.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “wanting to be free”—How does this trivialize their struggle for freedom, justice, and basic human rights. The slaves weren’t talking about how they <i>deserved</i> to be free as human beings; they merely “wanted” it.
<p>“To keep things as secret as possible, the Underground Railroad even had its own code language.” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this trivialize the need for secrecy because the lives of enslaved people were at risk? • Do the words “secret” and “code” evoke a secret agent thrill to it? • Keep things secret <i>from whom? Why?</i> The author does not mention that it was to be kept secret from the White plantation owners. In fact, words like plantation owner, slave owner, or overseer aren’t mentioned in the text at all up to this point. Whites have been whitewashed from their role in the domination and oppression of enslaved people.
<p>“The ‘stations’ were churches, homes, and stores of free African Americans and white people who believed that slavery was wrong.” p. 2.405</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The only explicit mention of Whites in the entire text positions them as individuals who worked to help enslaved people escape enslavement. When children read stories about slavery that neglect to explicitly address the roles that Whites played in systematically oppressing African Americans, what construct does this offer to children? How would textbooks be different if African Americans wrote them? Would the passive voice and whitewashing persist? • “believed that slavery was wrong”—slavery as an institution, not the actions of Whites who perpetuated it
<p>“HT used the Underground Railroad to escape from slavery.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this trivialize the hardships and horrors of African Americans who escaped enslavement? “Used” implies something functional, effective, and risk free.
<p>“She did this by walking through the woods at night and getting help from people at the stations.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The people have previously been identified as freed African Americans and helpful Whites. • Absent is the reason she had to walk in the woods at night—bounty hunters, dogs, Whites who would turn her in for reward money. Whites are not mentioned as the <i>reason</i> she is forced to walk in the darkness of the woods, but they are mentioned as people who will help her at stations. • “walking through the woods”—this sounds almost pleasant. How does use of the word “walking” remove the fear and terror of hiding, hoping not to be caught, traveling as stealthily as possible, traveling hungry, etc.?
<p>“When she discovered what it meant to be free, she wanted to lead other slaves to freedom.” p. 2.406</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this position HT as someone who could not understand the concept of freedom until she had escaped enslavement? If so, why would she risk so much to gain something she couldn’t understand?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does this position enslaved people as entirely defined by their enslavement, with no cultural memories of what life for them was like when their freedom and basic human rights weren't systematically denied?
"HT risked her life on 19 trips to help over 300 slaves find freedom." p. 2.406	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions HT as the heroic individual that she was. • "find" is a weak word for what enslaved people had to do to escape enslavement
"She showed courage by facing danger without fear." p. 2.406	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlights her tremendous courage. • Is it realistic, even reasonable, to think that she experienced no fear?? If the text positions her as experiencing no fear, how does that trivialize what she experienced in escaping enslavement? • What discourse does this present to children for what courage is? Is courage never experiencing fear, or is it acting in spite of fear?
"She used this courage and intelligence to outwit the slave owners." p. 2.406	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "slave owners"—the role of Whites is acknowledged, but in a very minimal way. The text explicitly tells us that "whites" wanted to help enslaved people escape via the Underground Railroad, yet the slave owners are not identified as White. Why? • HT's courage and intelligence are highlighted, but her intelligence is not for academic or financial success, but for self-preservation and survival. Is this the equivalent of "street cred."?
Activity: "Make a generalization about the Underground Railroad." p. 2.406	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What generalizations does this specific text offer to children? What is included in this story? What is missing? From whose perspective is this story actually being framed?
Illustration of HT leading group through the woods at night p. 2.407	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woods are clear and non-treacherous looking. • HT and the other people are <i>peach</i> colored; everyone is the same color. Are African Americans in other stories in the anthology shown as having a variety of skin colors? • No Whites are shown chasing them. No Whites are shown in any illustrations in this biography. How does this absolve Whites?

APPENDIX C: AXIAL CODING THEMES

Axial Themes	Strands	Texts and Examples for Whites	Texts and Examples for African Americans
Literacies	Print-based literacy and access to print	<p><i>Ben Franklin's Little Words to Live By</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ben Franklin presented as author of <i>Poor Richard's Almanac</i>, co-author of the Declaration of Independence, and founder of a library. Franklin also identified as inventor of reading glasses. Illustration shows Franklin engaged in the act of writing with a quill pen. <p><i>Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prudy goes to the library and reads books to learn how to create her own museum. Prudy has a bookcase full of books in her bedroom. Prudy has a study desk in her room with papers and books on it. <p><i>The Challenges of Collecting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dr. Feinman, museum director, is presented writing about cultural artifacts. <p><i>Rocks in His Head</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Father is shown reading and writing, for business and for enjoyment in his leisure activities. Father uses his literacy skills to continue educating himself in geology. Carol Otis Hurst is presented as a school librarian. James Stevens is presented as the 	<p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unnamed African American girl is shown reading a book titled <i>Tales of the Jolly Ogre Family</i>. <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Emma learns Latin names of flowers from Lydia Grace, a White child. African American woman is positioned as having gained school-based learning in a non-school context, taught by a White child. African American presented as learning print-based literacy, but White is presented as already possessing this school-based learning. <p><i>Me and Uncle Romie</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> James, an African American male child, presented as engaging in writing, print-based literacy as a leisure activity and to communicate with his family. James makes a birthday card for Uncle Romie, drawing on fine arts and print-based literacy in order to create a gift for someone he loves.

		<p>author/illustrator of more than one hundred books, and an award-winner author/illustrator. He engaged in print-based literacies for pleasure from a young age, and mentored his son in doing the same. He and his son wrote a book together</p> <p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unnamed White boy shown painting words on a sign. • White male ogre shown writing on blackboard. <p><i>The Challenges of Collecting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Feinman, the White museum director, is presented engaging in text-based literacy: writing. <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White child, is presented throughout using the text engaged in the school-based, text-based literacies of reading and writing: letters to and from her family, seed catalogues, and poems she writes. • Uncle Jim, a White male, is presented in text and illustration as reading and appreciating a poem, text-based literacy. • Lydia Grace reads and speaks Latin. She teaches Emma, an African American employee of her uncle, the Latin names of flowers. Lydia Grace reads seed catalogues. <p><i>Night Letters</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lily is shown reading and writing letters. She later uses these letters to create her own book. <p><i>Rocks in His Head</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father reads books, writes signs & labels, and does 	
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	research at libraries and museums.	
Oral literacy		<p><i>Fly, Eagle, Fly!</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A story about Black South Africans is presented as legend. Folk tales are presented as other, representing other “lands.” • “Handed down from one generation to the next” emphasizes the oral tradition of folk tales. <p><i>How We Live in America</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American extended family shares stories from their native Senegal over a meal. <p><i>Nathaniel’s Rap</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An African American boy is presented as rapping, an art form that evolved from African American music and storytelling. <p><i>Leading People to Freedom</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In finding the path to freedom, Harriet Tubman and the other African Americans who escaped enslavement draw upon secret code words passed along by word of mouth.
Scientific literacy	<p><i>Ben Franklin’s Little Words to Live By</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Franklin, a White male, presented as the founder of a hospital (science). <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White child, reads and speaks Latin. She teaches Emma, an African American woman, the Latin names of flowers. <p><i>If You Made a Million</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All of the medical workers and doctors are White; this presents Whites as educated in science, as well as gatekeepers to healthcare. 	<p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White Child, knows the Latin names of flowers and teaches them to Emma, an African American woman <p><i>Worms at Work</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It’s not clear whether the young girl of color is the narrator who is providing the directions for how to make a compost bin, or if she is a child following the directions. Either way, the piece is framed as a piece about science; therefore, the young girl in the illustrations is presented as engaging in science. • The girl is presented as a

		<p><i>Prudy's Problem and How She Solved It</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudy visits visited a fish collection and a rock collection in museums in order to research starting her own museum. • Prudy is presented as someone who has organized a museum and is now a museum curator, a gatekeeper to learning. Furthermore, her position in the information booth with the map in hand, suggests that she is a resource of knowledge. <p><i>The Challenges of Collecting</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Feinman, the director of the Field Museum of Natural History, is a White man who is presented as university educated professional and a source of science knowledge. • A White man is presented as collecting the artifacts of people of color; he is presented as a resource for knowledge about people who are unlike himself, how they live, and how they "fit in" to their surroundings. <p><i>The Gardener</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydia Grace, a White Child, knows the Latin names of flowers and teaches them to Emma, an African American woman <p><i>Night Letters</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lily observes animals' behaviors and writes about them in her notepad, letters, and later her book; however, her observations are not scientific ones. <p><i>He Listens to Whales</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are presented as marine scientists: gatekeepers to scientific 	<p>gardener; however, she isn't a character and doesn't have a name in this text.</p> <p><i>Fly, Eagle, Fly!</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The farmer's friend talks to the eagle as if it can understand him; he explains the natural world to the bird in terms of anthropomorphizing the sun, not in terms of scientific understanding.
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		<p>knowledge.</p> <p><i>Volcanoes: Nature's Incredible Fireworks</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White scientists are shown studying an active volcano. <p><i>Looking at Rocks</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While it is not possible to determine the ethnicity of a pair of peach colored hands, this brief informational text refers to scientists, explicitly and implicitly, five times. The peach hands are unlikely to be identified as African American hands by young readers. <p><i>Rocks in His Head</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father researches and teaches himself about rocks and minerals. He becomes so knowledgeable that he corrects the science museum artifact labels and secures a job in the museum. Father now becomes another gatekeeper to scientific knowledge. • Grace Johnson, a White woman, is positioned as the source of scientific knowledge, as the gatekeeper of both knowledge for visitors to the museum and to Father, whom she gives a job as curator, in spite of his lack of a college degree. <p><i>He Listens to Whales</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joe and the other marine scientists uses extensive technology to study whales. <p><i>Back to the Wild: A Talk with a Wildlife Worker</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whites are presented as engaged in medical decision-making and 	
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		medical care-giving. Whites presented as resources for information about healthcare and medicine for animals, which draws on biological science.	
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