A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, 1900-1960: A TEST OF THE RIESMAN HYPOTHESIS

Ву

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PREFACE

The problem of determining the effect upon children of reading habits has been a source of investigation for over fifty years. Only recently, however, have appropriate techniques been designed to scientifically test some of the pending theories concerning the socialization process via the printed page.

The purpose of this study was to test one segment of the proposition advanced by David Riesman stating that our society is shifting from an inner-directed to an other-directed orientation. The assumption underlying this study is that such a cultural shift can be detected within children's literature providing an adequate methodological and statistical approach is employed.

Although the study is only a small contribution to the field of cultural change, sincere appreciation is expressed to all who have contributed toward its completion, particularly the writer's committee Dr. Solomon Sutker, Chairman; Dr. Richard F. Larson and Michael Bohleber. Appreciation is extended also to Drs. John C. Egermeier, J. Paschal Twyman, and James D. Tarver for their contributions to the methodology and statistical procedure. Much credit is due to Mrs. Della Thomas, librarian at Oklahoma State University, for her constant aid, encouragement, and literary evaluation, and to Phyllis Minyard who typed endless revisions from rough draft to final copy.

To the graduate students and staff members of the Sociology

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Until recently, academicians have viewed children's literature as a field beyond the realm of scientific testing and thus it has been labeled as an area that would fail to produce any truly important observations. Since 1950, however, a few researchers have had the feeling that a vast amount of insight into human personality development has remained untouched, and preliminary findings support the possibility that the field of children's literature has indeed much to offer to the realm of social science.

For those unconcerned and uninterested in children's literature, the subject may seem quite trivial and regarded as an area relegated to elderly ladies and librarians. Those, however, who have taken the time to study the field and even those who have simply given it serious thought have found the subject interesting, to say the least, and often quite fascinating.

Children's literature readily lends itself to three levels of inquiry: the literary, the psychological, and the sociological. Concerning the first, which is important but beyond the scope of this study,
one can simply say the literary authorities are finding it increasingly
difficult to keep abreast with the ever-increasing deluge of children's

books appearing on today's markets.

The annual output is tremendous, reaching in recent years more than two thousand titles. These books, like those for adults, range from the unreliable and trashy to the scrupulously accurate and permanently significant. (1, p. 2)

Concerning the psychological level of inquiry, we find that for years children's literature has been almost totally ignored. Within the last few decades, however, psychologists have come to regard children's literature as a field of infinite possibilities. Mary J. Collier and Eugene L. Gaier conducted a study concerning "The Hero in the Preferred Childhood Stories of College Men." (3)

The important factor which these book heroes had in common was that they performed their unique feats on their own. Whether it was Hansel from the old fairy tale or the realistic Tom Sawyer, the hero's competence was achieved without help from adults, and his independent achievement was the quality that made him memorable and admired. This need to achieve may seem to contradict the need to belong, to be accepted by the group. On the contrary, it is the lack of competence that often causes rejection by the group and fosters withdrawal. Achieving competence may become the compensation for such rejection and a step toward acceptance. (3, p. 3)

This leads us directly into the theories advanced by David Riesman in his book, <u>The Lonely Crowd</u>, which will be discussed in some detail later. For the present, let it suffice to say that stories for children have constantly been used as a vehicle for leading the younger generation into what contemporary society considers emotional, intellectual, and moral competence.

Our third level of inquiry - the sociological - parallels the psychological in that as far as sociological studies go, children's literature has been ignored. In fact, the sociologist has yet to envision the possibilities of this field. Rather, we find him at a more primitive stage, that of beginning to question and wonder. Just recently

he has begun to ask questions concerning such things as the cultural transmission that may be found in fairy tales, the social importance of story books, and the possibility of cultural and social trends being detected in an historical analysis of children's literature. Obviously interesting and important findings may likely result from research directed to this area where, until now, only vague ambiguities exist.

No matter on what level of observation we choose to operate, any comprehensive study should include a simple understanding of the historical background of children's literature. Or, as May Hill Arbuthnot states:

We have not arrived at our wealth of fine modern books for children without considerable trial and error, and the errors are difficult to eradicate. We need perspective in judging children's books. We need to look at the past with modern eyes and view the present with the accumulated wisdom of the past. Where and how did children's literature begin? What has grown out of it and where is it going? (1, p. 30)

Long before a child can read, he listens, fascinated, to stories and songs told and retold by adults and often meant only for adult ears. In this manner early unwritten folk literature, often coarse and humorous, grew and was transmitted by word of mouth until collectors began to gather it for printing.

William Caxton (1422-1492) was England's first printer. He issued

•••a series of books which are still appearing on our publisher's book lists for children. These included Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d'Arthur, The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, The Boke of Histories of Jason, The Historye of Beynart the Foxe, and Aesop's Fables. (1, pp. 30-31)

Following Caxton's publication, the adolescents' literary field for 200 years was dominated by the hornbooks which were used for both moral and educational purposes. Since these are primarily forerunners to

textbooks, we will do no more than give them mention.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, chapmen or peddlers roamed the English countryside selling trinkets, appliances, news sheets, and chapbooks—cheap little books of thirty to sixty pages costing as little as a penny. The grammar found in such books was poor, literary charm was lacking, and the result was an adventure on every page. The upper classes frowned upon the chapbooks but the common people loved them, and soon children found discarded chapbooks a source of delight.

Beginning about the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, religious fervor rose to unparalleled heights. A deeply religious group, the Puritans, began a popular movement that affected nearly every aspect of daily life including children's literature. Stories for young people became loaded with moral teachings and in fact became little more than religious propaganda. The only book of literary merit to emerge from the Puritan movement was John Bunyan's <u>Pilgrim</u>'s Progress.

After the Puritans migrated to America and became firmly established, their concern shifted back to education and by 1691, editions of the <u>New England Primer</u> were in common use. After about a century, children were looking for books slightly more entertaining for in 1785 a pirated edition of <u>Mother Goose</u> began circulating among the younger set.

Throughout the 1800's the Puritan influence began to decline, and by 1900 children's literature began a drastic change. "Boys and girls who have grown up in the last fifty years are more fortunate than they know. They have been spared the 'good godly' books of the Puritans. The sin complex was all but gone in 1910 - almost but not quite." (8, p. 3)

The period from 1900 to 1960 has been noted mainly for the tremendous enlargement in the number and variety of children's books and for the most part an increase in literary quality. For this study we shall be concerned with this specific era and shall go into trends and changes in some detail.

It is the last level of inquiry - the sociological - with which we shall be concerned, specifically with the question, "Do books written for children consciously or unconsciously reflect the changing values and norms of adult contemporary society?"

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Early Studies

A review of research in the area of children's literature serves to emphasize past negligence in this field, while the need for a scientific approach becomes increasingly evident.

Since literature for children has been available, adults have had their own opinions as to what should be made available to youngsters and what should be withheld. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a tremendous increase in cheap fiction, which alarmed such people as Caroline Hewins, librarian of the Young Men's Institute in Hartford, Connecticut. She, among others, worked through the press and via lectures to promote better books for children. (8)

Research of greater scientific inclination experienced a brief surge in 1896 and lasted until 1909. Studies began to indicate what children actually read, regardless of what they were supposed to read. In 1896 H. C. Henderson conducted a study of this nature by asking children, "What books have you read since school opened? Which did you like best." (1, p. 44) Lists of the most popular books were then compiled, according to age level, from answers the children gave. Two other such studies soon followed. In 1900 Arthur P. Irving conducted a similar study in West Boylston, Massachusetts, and in 1907 Frank O.

Smith compiled listings based on a study conducted in Iowa City, Council Bluffs, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. (1)

In 1926 Dr. Arthur M. Jordan conducted a somewhat more sophisticated study to determine popularity of children's books. (1) Surveying eight libraries in the New York City area, popularity was rated according to the number of copies the library had of each book, the number of copies worn out, and the number of copies checked out compared with those still left on the shelves. A point system was used to rate each book. His conclusions as to why children read certain books, while interesting, are considered somewhat erroneous today.

Why do children like one book rather than another? From the standpoint of original nature, what are the chief drives impelling the boy to this type of reading? Possibly the strongest drive at this age among boys is love of sensory life for its own sake....Another powerful incentive is rivalry....also the fighting instinct plays a tremendous part in the life of boys. The contrast between books read by boys and those read by girls is here most sharp; the boys books being filled with fighting, self-assertion, and strenous activity; the girls books with kindliness, self-forgetfulness, and mild rivalry. (1, p. 48)

Among books for boys, Dr. Jordan lists as chief satisfactors; physical strength, self-control, independence, saving a person's life, and gaining mastery in combat when the opponent is despicable. Among girls, some of the chief satisfactors are kindliness, the wearing of beautiful clothes, high social position, being honorable, unselfish, and being loved. (1)

During the next decade, psychological studies became the vogue, and in this line, a study concerning voluntary reading of children was conducted in 1932 by the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. (10) After condemning the lack of scientific interest in children's literature as deplorable, their results generally paralleled

those of Dr. Jordan.

After a period in which boys' and girls' interests take parallel development, boys' interests, generally speaking, become predominately scientific and technical, girls' interests as predominantly sentimental and romantic..... The general conclusion, based on a study of book, magazine and newspaper reading, and supported by the observation of librarians and teachers is that girls and boys differ greatly in their reading interests. (10, p. 12)

Since the study was ultimately concerned with the long-range effects on personality of childhood reading habits, the question was asked:

What influence has childhood reading on the character of the mature individual? In order to answer this question the evidence afforded in biographies and autobiographies, by note books, diaries, library records, and observation, will need to be studied exhaustively. The correlation of reading habits with mental characteristics and with achievements will need to be worked out. As yet the subject is almost untouched, and the findings of significant studies may revolutionize the reading guidance in homes, schools, and libraries. At present all that we know is that one of the most important effects of children's reading is a habit of reading which they may carry on through life. (10, p. 14)

Apparently, psychology had not yet reached a level of sophistication to uncover more exact results.

By the 1940's authorities had realized that childhood reading habits definitely helped mold an individual's personality. How and to what degree had not yet been determined, but significant results were found through the use of bibliotheraphy, which simply emphasizes positive terms pictured as virtues throughout the book. Such books were recommended so that the child could identify with the characters and gain insight into his own problems. Basically, bibliotheraphy involves understanding the problems of the particular child in question, giving him the right book, and then interviewing him to make sure he understood the theme of the story and gained insight into his own problems.

Clearly, character formation is the desired goal. In 1944, Clara Kircher presented a bibliography (revised in 1954) of suitable books, their title and contents, and then a listing of the traits upheld throughout the story. For example, after the book, <u>Trish</u> by Margaret Craig, we find a listing of the traits upheld: "sex conduct, prayer, friendliness, loyalty, and integrity." (5, p. 58)

Background of the Study

Throughout the 1950's, more attention was focused on children's literature for various reasons. Scientific tools were being perfected, adults become increasingly aware of the influence of literature on young people, and the Korean War introduced a new term in the vocabulary of every American - brainwashing. Fear of subtle manipulation of content spurred on new studies in the area of children's literature. The emphasis apparently shifted to literature used within the public schools, specifically texts, perhaps because it apparently would be easier to manipulate such forced reading, while voluntary reading outside the classroom seems to lie beyond such a threat. Whatever the reason, most recent studies of children's literature concentrates on educational materials. One such study, however, carries important implications for the problem at hand.

In 1962, deCharms and Moeller tested certain values expressed in children's textbooks. (4) Using Whyte's thesis that the Protestant Ethic, which upholds work and thrift as prime virtues, is being replaced by a belief in the group as the source of creativity; a belief in belongingness as the ultimate need of the individual, deCharms and Moeller studied the variables achievement motivation and affiliation motivation.

In essence, their hypotheses are that from 1800 to 1950, citations in textbooks of achievement imagery will decline, moral teaching will decline, and affiliation imagery will increase. As to method, four readers were compiled for each twenty year period. Every third page was selected to be subjected to a content analysis detecting the two variables in question. The readers studied were generally on the fourth grade level, and each page "was scored independently by two scorers as to whether the page contained (a) achievement imagery, (b) affiliation imagery, or (c) a category called moral teaching." (4, p. 139) A reliability test using a sample of six pages per book was conducted later and yielded similar results.

The results, shown in Table I, indicate an unusual trend. As to achievement imagery, the data show a sharp decline since 1890 preceded by a steady increase from 1800 to 1890. Affiliation imagery shows no consistent increase but follows a general trend with an unexpected drop in 1950. The hypothesis concerning moral teaching was correct; there has been a dramatic decrease in moral teaching from 1800 to 1950. In their discussion following the results, the authors indicate "the data from both samples tend to confirm the hypothesis of increasing affiliation imagery, although the results were not statistically significant in the second sample." (4, p. 140) As to why such changes may occur, Winterbottom's study (1958) indicates that "achievement motiva~ tion appears to be associated with early parental stress on independence training and mastery, coupled with a warm acceptance of the child, Affiliation motivation is related to maternal and to parental stress on interpersonal involvement of the child." (4, p. 141) This is in accord with a 1955 study by McClelland, Rindlisbacher, and deCharms which

indicates:

...cultural values affect child rearing practices and hence motives. Thus, two cultures undergoing similar economic or political change may react quite differently due to the intervening variables of values, child rearing practices, and motives. (4, p. 142)

While the results are slightly confusing, the deCharms and Moeller study provided some valuable insights into certain aspects of children's literature.

The work that inspired the previous study and in fact this study as well is The Lonely Crowd by David Riesman, published in 1950. (6)
Riesman labels the apparent trend from the Protestant Ethic to the so-called Social Ethic as a shift from inner-directedness to other-directedness. Briefly, the inner-directed person of the 19th and early 20th century was characterized by his desire to live up to ideals taught him by his parents, and to strive toward their standard of excellence. Riesman feels that within the past twenty or thirty years, the other-directed personality has begun to emerge - a person characterized by his desire to make friends, to accept the values of the immediate group in which he finds himself a member.

It is obviously assumed that such a trend implies a change in values and motives, and logically such a change should be evident in a vehicle for the transmission of culture such as children's literature.

Riesman directly approaches this possibility when he discusses one story in particular, <u>Tootle the Engine</u> by Gertrude Crampton. Tootle is a young engine who goes to engine school where two main lessons are taught: stop for red flags and always stay on the tracks no matter what. Such lessons convert little engines into future streamline locomotives. Tootle is a very capable student but one day wanders off

the tracks in search of flowers. His craving to leave the tracks increases daily and the engine schoolmaster becomes deeply concerned. In an emergency meeting, the local citizens agree on a suitable course of action. The next day as Tootle gleefully leaves the tracks, he is suddenly confronted by a red flag. Everywhere he turns, hidden citizens thrust up red flags. Bewildered, he looks toward the track and sees the schoolmaster waving a bright green flag. Returning to the tracks, he happily speeds along, promising never to leave the tracks again. Returning to the roundhouse, Tootle is met by the rewarding cheers of citizens and the assurance that he will indeed grow up to be a big streamliner.

Reviewing the story, Riesman hypothesizes that:

The story is an appropriate one for bringing up children in an other-directed mode of conformity. They learn it is bad to go off the tracks and play with flowers and that in the long run, there is not only success and approval but even freedom to be found in following the green lights. The children who read Tootle or have it read to them are manipulated away from rebellion and taught the lesson of obedience to signals. Strikingly enough, moreover, the story also bears on the presumptive topic of peer-group cooperation: the exercise of consumption preferences. Those middle-class children who read the tale are not going to grow up to be railroad engineers: that is a craft followed by more inner-directed types from the working class. But while neither Tootle nor its readers are concerned about what it really means to be an engineer, the book does confirm one of the consumption preferences of the other directed: big streamliners - if one cannot go by plane - are better than coal-burning engines. (6, p. 130)

Riesman's charges seem obvious and apparent to some, and not so obvious to others. This study is dedicated to help clarify such questions. Is there really a significant trend in our society that molds the personality into such an inner-directed type? And if so, can such a movement be objectively and scientifically detected in children's

TABLE I

MEAN SCORES FOR ACHIEVEMENT IMAGERY
AFFILIATION IMAGERY, AND MORAL
TEACHING IN THE FIRST SAMPLE

20-year midpoint		Achievement imagery		Affili imag	Moral teaching ^b		
	Nа	\overline{X}	σ ²	℧	σ ²	\overline{x}	σ2
1810	3	2.67	4,5	3,33	2,5	16.00	22.0
1830	4	2,50	1.7	4。25	11,7	16.75	9.7
1850	12	4,42	13,4	6.00	24.4	12,42	11.2
1870	3	8,33	2.5	6.33	25,5	6.00	1.0
1890	16	11,06	13.5	5,13	4.7	4.19	4.9
1910	10	9.40	5.1	6.70	12.0	4.50	2.7
1930	15	6.33	19,6	9.33	6.1	1.00	0.7
1950	32	4,25	14.8	5 , 50	12.7	0.06	0.1

- a Number of samples of 25 pages scored. The raw score was the number of pages (out of 25) containing imagery.
- b Variance heterogeneous. In no case were the variance heterogeneous in the second sample.

Source: Richard deCharms and Gerald Moeller, "Values Expressed in American Children's Readers, "Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 64, No. 2, (1962), p. 139.

literature? This study undertakes the problem of answering, in some small measure, this very question.

The deCharms and Moeller study (4) is an attempt to detect such a trend within the literature written from 1850 to 1950. Although their

theoretical framework is based on achievement motivation and affiliation motivation, the authors frequently refer to Riesman's hypotheses and thus this study closely parallels their investigation. The main differences between the two are, first, the methodological approach (described on page 25) and second, deCharms and Moeller shifted much of their attention to the decline in moral teaching within children's literature during a period of one hundred years. The present study is concerned with reference group theory and the following hypotheses stem directly from the propositions found in the writings of David Riesman.

Postulates and Hypotheses

In attempting to detect cultural trends in children's literature, any one variable that is closely correlated or causally related to such a change will necessarily become the focal point of investigation.

McClelland (1958) attempted to assess by content analysis the literary products of the culture in question. Previously mentioned was the deCharms and Moeller study (4) which investigated the variables of achievement motivation and affiliation motivation.

The focal point for this study will be the concept of reference group. We may define a reference group in various ways. For example

...a specific group of people from which an actor assumes perspectives and values, and aspires to be in as well as (or in place of) those to which they actually belong. In short...that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field. (7, p. 565)

Numerous studies have reviewed and broadened reference group theory and a large amount of data in the field exists. For purposes of this study, reference groups will be defined in a manner complimentary with the

methodological approach, which in turn is based upon a specific theoretical framework. Thus, the following propositions will be made.

First, a reference group, generally speaking, is a group to which the person in question looks to for guidance and instruction and accepts advice as legitimate. Second, we may, for purposes of analysis, posit the existence of two major reference groups for the child in question; parental groups and peer groups. The group to which the child turns for guidance, advice, and general instruction may be said to be his primary reference group. Third, within an inner-directed type of society, parents and parental surrogates tend to serve the function of reference groups for children. Within an other-directed society, however, children look to peer groups for such guidance and peer groups rather than parental surrogates become primary reference groups.

The theoretical framework of this study focuses upon Riesman's proposition that American society is moving from an inner-directed to an other-directed type of society and such a change has (and still is) occurring during this century. The assumption being made is that within an inner-directed society parents and parental surrogates serve as the child's primary reference group and within an other-directed society, peer groups assume that position in place of parents and parental surrogates. Upon such assumptions, one would predict a decline in parental reference groups and an increase in peer reference groups within our contemporary society. The tentative hypotheses are as follows:

I. Within children's literature written in 1900, parents/ parent surrogates are cited significantly more times than peer groups as a child's reference group and consequently, parents and parent surrogates are a child's primary reference group.

- II. From 1900 to 1960 there has been a positive trend toward peer groups being increasingly cited as a child's reference group, and parents/parent surrogates decreasingly cited as a child's reference group.
- III. Within children's literature written in 1960, peer groups are cited significantly more times than parents/parent surrogates as a child's reference group and consequently, peers are a child's primary reference group.

The main interest of this thesis lies in the areas of hypotheses one and three, which clearly predicts a reverse from parental to peer orientation, i.e., from inner-directedness to other-directedness.

Throughout the study the terms children and children's literature often appear. Such terms may be misleading; therefore, it should be stated that the term children refers specifically to youngsters between the ages of ten and fourteen years, commonly referred to as the intermediate and junior high level of education, and children's literature refers to any book or book of short stories written expressly for adolescents of the previously mentioned age group.

There are several reasons for choosing this specific age group for this particular study. If any age group chosen is above the ten to fourteen year age group, there will be grave doubts that their reading material can be designated as children's literature. A younger age group can reasonably be chosen that will meet the first criteria, but other variables begin to play influential roles. If, for example, ages six through nine are chosen and their literature analyzed, will the results be indicative of their reading habits? Probably not, for children of such a young age do not usually have the freedom and resources to select what they want to read; rather, such selection is left to parents and teachers. Only when the intermediate and junior high school

level is reached do we find a group that can both be called children in any true sense of the word and yet have the ability and opportunity to choose its own literature.

Examination of some pertinent criticisms seems in order at this point. First, do stories written by adult authors for children really reflect wide-spread cultural values or are they simply values held by the author? Obviously, writings do reflect the motives of their author, but he in turn can be expected to reflect the values of his culture. By sampling many authors and placing certain restrictions upon the material to be analyzed, one can be relatively sure that his findings are pertinent to the wider culture and are not the result of an author's idiosyncracies.

Another possible objection to be considered is that <u>all</u> societies, whether inner-directed or other-directed, push adolescents into peer group affiliations and thus such a group is not the best to use for research purposes. Actually, this is no real indictment against using such a group, for if this objection does indeed prove valid, it simply allows the acceptance of a null hypothesis, and in a sense that very objection is being put to an empirical test.

For several reasons it seems that an analysis of literature written for youth would be one of the most practical approaches to discovering social change. First, such stories have constantly been written and are available for analysis regardless of the era of which one may be interested. Children's and adolescents' stories, for example, were being continually published long before any scientific or professional journals and even before most of our leading journals and magazines of today. But more importantly, children's literature lends

itself to cultural studies especially well because such stories are actually written to be used in transmitting cultural values and providing one of the primary tools of socialization at an early age. The preceding line of thought predicts information that would be highly practical and valid to analyze children's literature as a basis for determining a trend in the change of cultural values and expectations.

From the preceding discussion, the following conclusions can be stated. First, there has been a steady increase in the volume of children's literature published in this country from 1900 to the present time and this implies an increasingly functional role for such literature. Second, the realization of its increasing volume has caused people to wonder what children read, why they read it, and the effect of such literature and reading habits upon their socialization into the adult world. Such interest inspired early essays of a literary nature and from 1920 to 1930, psychological probing attempted to discover satisfactory answers.

Third, Riesman's work, in 1950, attached sociological significance to children's literature, i.e., it supposedly reflects the change that is occurring in contemporary society. And finally, experience leads us to believe that there is an element of truth in such a statement, but only recently have appropriately sophisticated techniques been developed to test empirically such a proposition. Except for a very few studies, little work has been done concerning the effect of cultural patterns upon children's literature. This study postulates some positive correlation between the two but is not sure what variables will reveal a meaningful correlation nor is it certain what such a pattern indicates. This thesis simply takes two of many concepts -

inner-directedness and other-directedness - to see if the formulation of such a conceptual model will shed some light on the problem. In other words, this study chooses one particular approach to detect a possible relationship between children's literature and cultural values.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Description of the Sample

The procedures used to implement testing of the stated hypotheses are relatively simple. The data consist of a bibliography of stories written for children. Inasmuch as changes in reading habits probably occur on a generation-by-generation basis, the study will focus upon succeeding generations beginning with the year 1900. Allowing a twenty year span for each generation, books will be chosen to represent the years 1900, 1920, 1940, and 1960.

Five books were originally to be chosen to represent each period, but the problem of availability affected the total number eventually used. As will be shown, such alteration affects the adequacy of the sample for some time periods, but the problem is offset by representative selection, proper statistical analysis, and increased attention to other time periods.

Several criteria were established in selecting representative books. First, the book must have been written and published within five years of the mid-year for that time period. For example, books written from 1895 to 1905 qualify for selection of the 1900 era. Second, a major character within the story must be a child from ten to thirteen years of age situated within a contempory setting. This

criterion eliminates historical bibliographies and reduces the number of available books but probably not to a significant degree, and in fact, added the selection process for certain time periods in which the total number of books published was far too large to handle with—out some appropriate method of selection. Third, the book must be designated as one of the most popular of its era and considered by authorities as one of the outstanding contributions to children's liter—ature. The Newbery Award, beginning in 1922 was helpful as were numer—our articles concerning the quality of each book as judged by competent critics. The appropriate selection of children's literature was aided most of all, however, by an Oklahoma State University librarian who specializes in children's literature. Finally, school readers and texts used exclusively in religious circles were excluded.

Instrument

The sample was then subjected to a content analysis procedure based primarily on the methods presented by Bernard Berelson (2).

The following definition identifies the major characteristics of content analysis.

A social science sentence may be called one of 'content analysis' if it satisfies all of the following requirements: 1) it must refer either to syntactic characteristics of symbols or to semantic characteristics...

2) it must indicate frequencies of occurrence of such characteristics with a high degree of precision. One could perhaps define more narrowly: it must assign numerical values to such frequencies. 3) it must refer to these characteristics by terms which are general. 4) it must refer to these characteristics by terms which occur...in universal propositions of social science. One may consider adding to this definition another requirement: 5) a high precision of the terms used to refer to the symbol characteristics studies. (2, p. 15)

TABLE II

A LISTING OF THE FINAL SAMPLE

Time Period	Book	Author		
I.(1900)				
1900	Captains Courageous	Rudyard Kipling		
1900	Quicksilver Sue	Laura E. Richards		
1900	Christmas at Deacon Hackett's	James Otis		
1900	For the Honor of the School	R. H. Barber		
1903	Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm	Kate Douglas Wiggin		
1903	Divided Skates	Evelyn Raymond		
II.(1920)				
1917	Understood Betsy	Dorothy Canfield		
III.(1940)				
1938	Thimble Summer	Elizabeth Enright		
1940	Blue Willow	Doris Gates		
1941	The Saturdays	Elizabeth Enright		
IV _• (1960)				
1956	Miracles on Maple Hill	Virgina Sorensen		
1959	Union John	Joseph Krumgold		
1961	Pickpocket Run	Annabel Johnson		
1963	It's Like This, Cat	Emily Neville		
1963	The Loner	Ester Wier		
1963	The Bully of Barkham Street	Mary Stolz		

Basically, content analysis is a systematic handling of properties as variables. It is an operation in which the researcher isolates a written unit of speech which he considers a proper unit for classification and he may classify it according to its quality, its source, and/or to whom it was intended. Such a classification into logical groupings, which may be expressed in percentage rates and based on the total number of acts, is called a profile. (2)

The use of content analysis as a methodological tool has been expanding rapidly. From 1900 to 1920 only two studies explored this technique. By 1950 content analysis studies average about 25 a year.

(2, p. 21) During the first three decades of this century, content analysis was used primarily by students of journalism to study the content of American newspapers. During the late 1930's content analysis was given an important stimulus through the works of Harold Lasswell and associates as well as through increased interest in propaganda and public opinion and the emergence of mass communication. (2, p. 23)

During World War II content analysis was employed by various government departments charged with responsibilities in the field of communications. Since 1950, content analysis has been used in numerous ways by academic research as well as public and private agencies.

In gathering data using the content analysis approach, the investigator has no direct control over the origin of the variables and does not participate in the system. There is control in the selection of acts but not control over the acts themselves. Acts are classified into categories reflecting a given property and the categories are mutually exclusive. Such an approach employs a quantitative analysis in that an objective counting system is used to measure the number of

times a central character within the story looks to others for guidance and also from whom such instructions were offered. Thus, the investigator counts the number of times the child within the story looks to others for guidance or receives instructions which he considers legitimate, and from what source such instructions come. In other words, it is noted what group he most often turns to for advice—adults or peers. Such guidance and advice is indicative of reference groups.

Reference groups will be detected in three ways, first, the number of times the child is given advice by a parent or parent surrogate will be noted as well as the number of times the child is given advice by peers. Second, the concept of legitimacy dictates that we note the reactions of the child to the advice he receives, thus a quantitative count will be made of the number of times the child has positive reactions to the guidance of parent surrogates and to the guidance of peers. Third, negative reactions will also be noted. Having three approaches to the study of reference groups—total advice from both possible reference groups, advice received positively, and advice received negatively from both groups—we will statistically compare the three to see if the final results differ according to the approach used.

Determining appropriate units of analysis presented a considerably greater problem. In a similar study, deCharms and Moeller (4) allowed the page to represent each unit. It seems obvious, however, that the number of words per page will certainly be different from book to book and possibly from generation to generation. The danger is that one book might contain more reference group citations than another, but may also contain more words, and hence its ratio of citations per words

could be less. Because of this, each individual word is used as a unit. Scoring is completed by reading each book and indicating the reference group citations per 10,000 words. Table III indicates the results of subjecting the sample to the described procedure.

The result of this study will be compared to the results of the study of Richard deCharms and Gerald Moeller. As previously mentioned the categories used in this study were achievement imagery and affiliation imagery which closely correspond to our categories. Because of the similarities in objectives and method, the results should be comparable and indicate methodological reliability to some degree.

We must also recognize, however, differences between the two studies. First, we have already mentioned differences in the categories. Second, there is a difference in the units to be studied. DeCharms and Moeller use the page as the standard unit, while our study approaches the problem on a word by word basis. Third, the source material of the former consists of school texts while the latter study specifically excludes such texts. Fourth, one aspect of the deCharms and Moeller study was concerned with moral teaching via the printed page; our study has no concern for this area. And finally, the earlier study examined the texts written for the fourth grade level, while this study concentrates on a slightly older group, the adolescents.

Statistical Procedure

To determine if there are significant differences between time periods in conjunction with reference group citations, the analysis of variance model is employed. Because the study is concerned with determining significant differences and possesses more than two independent variables, a simple F-test would not allow a comparison study of all four time periods simultaneously. Thus, the analysis of variance as described by Steel and Torrie (9, pp. 252-257) is used here. The assumptions underlying such use are that the observations are independently drawn from normally distributed populations, and the data lends itself to interval measurement.

For the statistical analysis, the four time periods are viewed as the independent variable and reference groups are considered the dependent variable. Statistical procedure consists of simultaneously comparing reference group citations the three ways mentioned earlier; total number, those eliciting positive reactions, and those eliciting negative reactions, for all four time periods. The mathematical description used for this model is as follows:

 $Y(1)(2)(3) = U + \tau i + \alpha j + (\tau \alpha)ij + Eij$ where U = overall mean $\tau i = \text{ time period}$ $\alpha j = \text{ reference group}$ $(\tau \alpha)ij = \text{ year-group (interaction term)}$ Eij = random error

Mean sums of squares and \underline{F} ratios from the analysis of variance are used to test the significance of interactions between reference groups within each time period, among time periods, and between reference groups among time periods.

The first level of analysis compares each time period to each other period to determine significance differences. Second, reference group citations within each book are analyzed to see if there are

significant differences in peer group citations and parental group citations, and finally, a combination of the above two processes determined significant differences between peer and parental group citations throughout the four total time periods. This allows us to determine which group is the significant (primary) reference group within each time period, and also to determine if there is a significant difference among time periods as far as primary reference group is concerned. Table III indicates the analysis of each book included within the sample.

TABLE III CONTENT ANALYSIS OF REFERENCE GROUP CITATIONS FOR EACH BOOK WITHIN THE FINAL SAMPLE

Book	Parental Group (words/10,000)			Peer Group Citations (words/ 10,000 total words)		
1900						
1900	\mathbf{Y}_{1}	\mathbf{Y}_{2}	Y3	Y ₁	<u>Y2</u>	Y3
Captains Courageous	167	47	120	100	10	90
Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm	229	32	197	27	11	16
Quicksilver Sue	247	95	152	123	84	39
Christmas at Deacon Hackett's	120	8	112	52	10	42
For the Honor of the School	153	30	123	205	87	118
Divided Skates	282	62	220	8	2	6
1920						
Understood Betsy	142	2	140	16	0	16
1940						
Blue Willow	69	5	64	16	4	12
The Saturdays	168	12	156	54	3	51
Thimble Summer	80	24	56	100	33	67
1960						
It's Like This, Cat	89	40	49	69	28	41
Miracles on Maple Hill	61	10	51	70	9	61
Pickpocket Run	205	115	90	77	42	35
The Bully of Barkham Street	288	204	84	91	56	35
Onion John	229	112	117	13	3	10
The Loner	304	46	258	68	0	68

 Y_1 - total number of reference group words/10,000 words Y_2 - number of reference group words/10,000 illiciting negative reaction Y_3 - number of reference group words/10,000 illiciting positive reaction

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The data are subjected to an analysis of variance to test variability between two reference groups within each time period, between time periods, and between time periods and reference groups combined. This determines (1) if time periods reveal a significant difference, and (2) how the difference is manifested in reference group citations, i.e., do parents/parent surrogates or peer groups become the primary reference group cited for the duration of the four time periods.

The results indicate that at the ninety-five percent level of confidence there are measurable differences between peer group citations and parent/parent surrogate citations within each of the four time periods, each time period being taken as a whole. Between time periods, however, there are no significant differences, and when both time period and reference group are combined, there is again no significant difference. The three approaches to reference group citations—total number of citations from each group, those received positively and those received negatively from each group—correlate in statistical results. Thus, although the degree of significance varies slightly among the three tests, they each show a significant difference in reference group citations for all four time periods, but fail to show such a difference between time periods. The only significant difference to be derived from the data therefore, is the difference

between reference group citations for all four time periods. In other words, parent/parent surrogates are cited significantly more than peer groups within each of the four time periods.

I. Hypothesis

Within children's literature written in 1900, parents and parent surrogates are cited significantly more times than peer groups as a child's reference group and consequently, parents and parent surrogates are a child's primary reference group.

Results

Probability of less than .05 determined by analysis of variance approximation indicates rejection of the null hypothesis. The research hypothesis is accepted.

II. Hypothesis

From 1900 to 1960 there has been a positive trend toward peer groups being increasingly cited as a child's reference group, and parents/parent surrogates decreasingly cited as a child's reference group.

Results

No significant difference is found to exist for any of the described time periods. The research hypothesis is rejected and the null hypothesis indicating no trend is accepted.

III. Hypothesis

Within children's literature written in 1960, peer groups are cited significantly more times than parents/parent surrogates as a child's reference group and consequently, peers are a child's primary reference group.

Results

A significant difference is found between parents/parent surrogates and peer groups cited as reference groups. The difference, however, is identical to that found in the time period 1900 - parent/parent surrogates are cited significantly more than peer groups as the child's reference group. Thus, the research hypothesis is rejected as is the null hypothesis which predicts no relationship, when in fact a relationship exists, but not the relationship predicted in the research hypothesis.

The above findings indicate a general pattern emerging in this analysis of children's literature written from 1900 to 1960. Such a pattern indicates that parents are cited as a child's primary reference group in 1900 rather than peer groups and the same situation exists in the literature written in 1920, 1940, and 1960. The findings indicate that content analysis, as used in this study, denotes significant differences in peer groups and parent/parent surrogate groups being cited as reference groups and rejects prediction of a change from parent/parent surrogate groups to peer groups as the child's primary reference group.

TABLE IV

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR
TOTAL RESPONSES OF REFERENCE GROUPS

Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sụm of Squares	X Square	F	Probability
Between Reference Groups	1	51745,33	51745,33	11.76	《 •005
Between Time Periods	3	5064.10	1688,03	•38	>. 50
Between Year Groups	3	7025。38	3241,79	。 53	> • 50
Error	24	105646。63	4401。93		

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RESPONSES
OF REFERENCE GROUPS ILLICITING NEGATIVE REACTIONS

Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	X Square	F	Probability
Between Reference Groups	1	12610.08	12610.08	7.41	∢ 。025
Between Time Periods	3	1523.08	507.69	。29	>.50
Between Year Groups	3	6350,45	2116.81	1.24	>. 250
Error	24	40845。50	1701。89		

TABLE VI

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RESPONSES
OF REFERENCE GROUPS ILLICITING POSITIVE REACTIONS

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	6 X Square	F	Probability
Between Reference Groups	1	13266,75	13266,75	4.65	∢ ₀05
Between Time Periods	3	1185。60	395,20	13	>. 50
Between Year Groups	3	2778 . 04	926.01	•32	>. 50
Error	24	68451,00	2852.12		

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this study is to determine if parents/
parent surrogates have, at one time, been cited in children's literature as a child's primary reference group, and if, since 1960, peer
groups have replaced parent/parent surrogates as the child's primary
reference group.

The sample utilized consisted of children's books written in 1900, 1920, 1940, and 1960. Each book was subjected to a content analysis process in an effort to indicate what groups served as the child's outstanding or primary reference group. Analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in reference groups - parent/parent surrogates were cited throughout the four time periods as the group that gave the child advice, guidance, and instruction more than any other group, specifically, peer groups.

Before the results are integrated into the general body of theory underlying the study, criticisms and advantages of the techniques and methodology should be mentioned. First, for the findings to be valid, the sample must be representative of the population. The books used were carefully chosen as to purported quality and popularity. The representativeness of the sample seems, for all practical purposes, to be sufficient. The adequacy of the sample is perhaps less defensible. Because of the stringent criteria set forth, an adequate number of

books may not have been employed, especially for the 1920 period in which only one book was used, and to a lesser extent, the 1940 period in which three books were used. Thus, the second hypothesis predicting a trend in primary reference group was not adequately tested to draw any feasibly certain assumptions. The major hypotheses, however, concerned the 1900 and the 1960 period and each was represented by six books. The researcher feels that this number, in conjunction with the criteria set forth and the care used in selection of books assures a reasonable degree of adequacy and representativeness.

Content analysis seems to be an appropriate technique to employ in this type of study. This is indicated somewhat by the finding of expected significant differences between the two categories utilized as reference groups. The major disadvantage of current content analysis however, is that it is entirely a quantitative approach which necessarily ignores any qualitative aspect. For example, the deCharms and Moeller study indicated a total decline in moral teaching in children's literature in recent years. In reviewing current children's literature, however, one realizes the quantitative moral teaching of the 1860's is not there, but the moral of each story is basically the same as that to be found in children's literature of fifty years ago. lesson is much more subtle, the technique more sophisticated, but the basic societal values are still taught to children via the printed page. Many values such as minding one's parents, standing for various abstract principles, and in general, doing good deeds for others, have not changed significantly in the last fifty years. In other words, the lesson is presented differently today than in the past - this is what can be determined quantitatively - but the lesson is basically the

same, and this is what cannot be measured by an approach such as content analysis.

The use of content analysis demands consistency and appropriate categories. The two categories of reference groups set forth in this study seemed appropriate and adequate. Inevitably, one person giving advice fell clearly into the parent/parent surrogate group or the peer group. Perhaps because the reading level of children's literature demands relatively simple sterotypes, there was never any question as to what category of reference group citation each word of advice belonged. The ability to show consistency in counting words of advice is much more difficult to achieve, and this is the subjective aspect of content analysis. The question of what is advice, guidance and instruction, is one that must be answered only in light of the approach of the study, past analysis, and logical reasonableness. Reliability may be tested by comparing results with other studies and/or judgments issued by other competent investigators. The latter method was not used in this study because of lack of investigators who were both familiar with the method and who possessed adequate time to undertake such a process, which is relatively time-consuming. A comparison with the study previously cited indicates basic agreement. Besides the indication of decline in moral teaching, the deCharms and Moeller study found no discernible trend congruent to the one hypothesized and rejected in this study. Differences in findings between the two studies (the former showing a". . . tentative indication of an increase in affiliation imagery") (4, p. 140) can reasonably be attributed to variations in techniques, samples, and even the different populations under study.

An interesting possibility to be explored in the data presented is

that there seems to be an increase in negative reactions of children toward parents/parent surrogates within contemporary literature. Although negative reactions also increase toward peers, the increase is greater in response to adult figures. Perhaps the current increase of negative reactions is a significant one, but the possibility is not explored within this investigation because such information does not seem pertinent to the specific hypotheses set forth.

The above discussion indicates the findings of this particular study may not have the quality of inferential data, i.e., we may not specifically infer these findings back into the general body of theory upon which the study is based. In a very tentative sense, the findings are not supportive of Riesman's prediction of a shift from inner-directedness in contemporary American society.

Although the present study will have little impact either on Riesman's works, reference group theory, or content analysis, the findings are indicative of several points. First, the qualitative shortcomings in the use of content analysis may easily be seen within the structure of this present study, indicating needed research in seeking more advantageous use of such an approach. Second, the study indicates that within the scope of content analysis, the question of legitimacy may prove negligible to reference group theory. No discernible difference in final analysis was noted between advice accepted positively, advice accepted negatively, and total advice given. Finally, as to the contribution of this study to the concepts of David Riesman, one must realize that the latter has chosen to operate on a grand scale; Riesman's postulates themselves are too broad to be encompassed in one study, and the only way they may be substantiated or negated is through research

on a smaller scale. Details no matter how seemingly trivial, must be explored via numerous approaches and techniques. Then, and only then, may the results be collated to accept or reject the general theory of cultural change that has been used as the basis for this study.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Each book selected for the sample is briefly described, beginning with these representing the year 1900.

Captains Courageous, published in 1900, was written by Rudyard Kipling, the most famous author and the only non-American to be used for this study. One of the longer books to be analyzed, it relates the adventures of a wealthy and spoiled young man left at sea and rescued by a fishing trawler. Under the authority of a stern captain, he learns behavior appropriate to youngsters in the presence of elders. The book is a classic example of the socially rebellious child who learns that it is much better to be good rather than bad.

Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm, 1903, by Kate Douglas Wiggin, was the longest and by far the most popular of all the books reviewed, having gone through more than a half-dozen printings. Essentially, it is the story of a young girl who, through a period of several years, matures in the rural environment of 1900. The book is considered an excellent illustration of the idyllic country existence where life is unhurried and enriched by all the moral virtues expounded at that time. The story seems to have a lasting and enduring quality, exemplifying the "good old days", but has lost much of its appeal since World War II.

Quicksilver Sue, written by Laura E. Richards is a relatively short book whose story and general values expressed closely parallels

Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm. It too relates the daily adventures of a young girl in rural America and how she overcomes such problems of adjustment as a quick temper and desire for immediate action.

Christmas at Deacon Hackett's, written by James Otis, the author of the earlier Toby Tyler or Ten Weeks With the Circus, portrays a young boy who is lifted from the mire of a city slum to the fresher, and generally more virtuous, clime of rural life by an elderly couple. Interestingly, the youngster so readily adopts his new evnironment that he is forced to defend its principles against children his own age.

For the Honor of the School, written by R. H. Barber in 1900, depicts life in an all-male high school academy. The central figure, Wayne, initially attempts to rebel against the administration by refusing to participate in compulsory physical education. His roommate, the most popular boy in school offers some interesting advice.

"Well, if you take my advice you'll step worrying about you rights and obey the rules."

"Because if you don't, Wayne, you'd much better have stayed at home. I - I tried asserting my rights since and it didn't pay. And since then I've tended to my own affairs and let the faculty make the laws." (p. 46)

The last book chosen to represent the 1900 era was <u>Divided Skates</u> by Evelyn Raymond. This was apparently one of the earliest stories to deal with the problems of an urban environment. The central figure is a small homeless boy that lives by selling newspapers. Through a series of circumstances a wealthy widow chooses to adopt him to replace her own lost son. The boy initially refuses to accept a new name and new way of life but finally accepts, in honorable fashion, these things in order to make the elderly lady happy. Without further comment, it appears the psychological lesson of the story is obvious.

Understood Betsy, published in 1917 by Dorothy Canfield was the only book written from 1915 to 1925 that met the criteria set forth and was available. After a thorough review of the literature of that period, three books were chosen as being appropriate, but only one was located. Attempts to procure the other two involved a search of the Oklahoma State University library, the local community library, and an extensive personal collection. Thus, Canfield's book was the only one used to represent the 1920 era. This obviously weakens our analysis at this point, and caution will be used in interpreting any findings. The decade of the 1920's marks the beginning of stories in which real children become the primary subjects and realism begins to infiltrate the dialogue. Understood Betsy, along with other, showed"... an early effort to reveal the true psychology of childhood." (8)

The books chosen to represent 1940 are <u>Blue Willow (Doris Gates</u>, 1940). <u>The Saturdays</u>, (Elizabeth Enright, 1941) and <u>Thimble Summer</u> (Elizabeth Enright, 1938). Again, books meeting the criteria set forth proved to be scarce, and the above three represent all those that could practically be employed for the purposes of the study.

Enright's <u>Thimble Summer</u> won the Newbery Award in 1939, thus being designated as the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children published during the preceding year. The story concerns life on a Wisconsin farm and presents the problem of a young girl ostracized from peer group relations because all other children are males. Again, the story relates the advantages of rural living.

Blue Willow, by Doris Gates vividly portrays the child's viewpoint of difficult times encountered by an itinerent farm family in the
midwest following the "dust-bowl" days. The story substantiates the

concept that thrift, hard work, and an optimistic outlook can successfully carry a person through difficult situations.

Enright, the only author to be chosen twice for this study, published The Saturdays, a story of a small-town motherless family with numerous children, and the trials of growing up in an increasingly complex world. This is one of the first books that has, to a measurable degree, taken the urban environment as its primary setting. Obviously, the rural migration to urban areas was beginning to have its effect, and although some of the literature shows a nostalgic desire to return to the country, most books, beginning in 1940 and extending to the present, are increasingly engaged in relating the problems of metropolitan living.

The books written from 1955 to 1965 indicate a new and different literary style. Studies indicate, as previously mentioned, that the decline of moral teaching is the most significant change to take place. As Riesman pointed out, however, such moral teaching is probably just as prevalent but much more subtle. This point will be discussed to a greater degree in the final analysis, but it seems sufficient to say that on the literary level at least, the literature has changed greatly. The following books seem to indicate that sociologically, new problems, or old problems that have long existed but have long been ignored, are beginning to be discussed in a mature manner more suitable to the modern socially-aware child.

It's Like This, Cat, by Emily Neville, 1963, is an example of the new style of children's literature. The setting is totally metropolitan, the child no longer learns the advantages of rural life, and problems such as sex and juvenile delinquency that were judiciously

ignored by earlier writers are discussed fairly openly and candidly. Life in the poorer section of a large city is described as harsh and often depressing, but in the end, as usual, a virtue or cluster of ideals stand forth as offering a meaningful existence.

Miracle on Maple Hill, by Virgina Sorensen, was the Newbery Award winner of 1956. Some unique problems are introduced; for example, the child's father has come home after spending several years in a prisoner-of-war camp during World War II. He is embittered and hostile toward many aspects of the modern world and the whole family finds refuge in the peaceful rural life to which they eventually escape. The book portrays a subtle desire to live as people supposedly used to - in relative autonomy with intimate relationships when needed.

Onion John, by Joseph Krumgold, won the Newbery Award in 1960. It is a unique book in both style and story. Essentially, the central character adopts a non-English speaking squatter as a parent surrogate and as his primary reference group. The only relations the boy has with peers is in trying to initiate them into acceptance of the adult, Onion John. His parents initially protest, but later enthusiastically join Onion John and their son in an adventure illustrating that every child must eventually become an adult, unfortunate as that may seem.

The Loner, by Ester Wier, 1963, was a runner-up for the Newbery Medal in 1964. It is essentially the story of a vagrant taken in by a female Montana sheep herder and given both a name and dream to which he aspires. It may be argued that this book does not truly depict a contemporary social setting but rather a special sub-society isolated from the larger, and more realistic, world.

The Bully of Barkham Street, 1963, by Mary Stolz uses a different

approach in that the central character, well-meaning but maladjusted, is considered a bully by adults and peers alike. The story relates the hardships he faces in attempting to change his image and reform himself into a young person that is truly liked by parents, neighbors, and friends.

Pickpocket Run, by Annabel Johnson (1961), is another good example of the new type of children's literature. The setting is a small town, known as Pickpocket Run because of the dishonesty of most local merchants, on the periphery of a large metropolitan area. The central character is a young boy who faces the disadvantages of a miserable home life, an unethical father, and an even more unethical peer group. After failing to appeal to the civic responsibility of his father the boy, with aid of an understanding adult (a detective from the city) is able to bring a gang of juvenile delinquents to justice. Within the context of children's literature, the story is blunt and realistic.

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