PORTRAYALS OF THE CHINESE IN FICTION FOR CHILDREN
1925 - 1991

DISSERTATION

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By

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* * * * *

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To My Parents
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Children's literature is a powerful means for children to learn about a country and its people because it often reveals the ways of life, prevailing attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of a particular group of people. Over the years there have been a great many children's books published about foreign peoples, but only a limited amount of research has been conducted on the treatment of foreign peoples in books for children. Among this limited group of studies, no study was found which was specifically concerned with the image of Chinese people portrayed in currently available children's books and how the portrayal has changed. Nor was any study located that attempted to determine the nature and accuracy of the information about the Chinese presented in children's books. Thus, the present study is an attempt to examine the portrayals of the Chinese in U.S. children's fiction published during the time period between 1925 and 1991, and also to evaluate the accuracy of the information about Chinese people presented in children's fiction.
Statement of the Problem

The Significance of Chinese People

The concept of global interdependence is becoming more and more a reality today. All the countries of the world are growing closer and closer. As any one of the societies in the world changes, so does its relationship with the world as a whole. We live in a global community and can no longer afford to isolate ourselves. However, as Miller-Lachmann (1992) has pointed out,

For years educators have bemoaned American schoolchildren's ignorance about the world as a whole. It has been alleged that most high school students cannot find on a map the countries in Europe, Asia, South America, and Africa. Ignorance about the world and its people---about our commonalities as well as our differences---has resulted in painful instances of imperialism and exploitation in which all have emerged losers. (p.4)

Ignorance about the world and its people, as well as minority groups in the United States, reflects not only in the school curriculum, but also in the U.S. history of children's book publishing. Children's books, before the 1960s, reflected the isolation of the United States from the rest of the world; the images of those living outside the United States portrayed in children's books were distorted, misleading, and bore little resemblance to reality. Seen through American eyes, the rest of the world and minority
groups in the U.S. appeared inferior, exotic, sometimes threatening, and often objects of ridicule (Miller-Lachmann, 1992). The past three decades have brought an active interest in the study of various ethnic and cultural groups. Even with this growing recognition of increasing global interdependence and the increasingly multicultural nature of the U.S. society, one significant group—Chinese—remains largely overlooked (Jenkins & Austin, 1987; Yee, 1973). Children's books with Chinese characters continue to be underrepresented; books about China and the Chinese were filled with inaccuracy and stereotypes in both their texts and illustrations (McCunn, 1988; Scott, 1974). As Butterfield et al. (1979) found, for example, Asians were underrepresented in the popular basal reading series. There were many stereotypes—"the Asian characters are either illustrated with long fingernails, slanted eyes, and queues, or depicted as generally inscrutable or very wise." (p. 385). Barlow (1973) also found that the Chinese were presented as backward and helpless, unwilling to change their antiquated ways.

In the past, China's being overlooked in American society might have been attributed to the corruption and poverty in China, which lasted for decades. In the century preceding 1950, China experienced an era of decline and decrepitude. Under regimes that often proved to be
inefficient and corrupt, it remained relatively helpless as foreign powers nibbled at its territory and resources and as its humiliated people struggled for subsistence. At the same time, industrial and agricultural interests in the United States wanted cheap labor to exploit western resources and build railroads. Many Chinese, because of poverty and starvation in China, came to the United States to make a living and fulfill the need for a labor shortage (Jones, 1972). They were treated as inferior people back then. However, the position of China in the world has changed during the latter half of the twentieth century.

It is important to recognize and understand the significance of China and the Chinese for several reasons. First, the People's Republic of China has come to rank among the most influential countries in the world since the Communist government was established in 1949. During the twentieth century, the economic development of Taiwan (Nationalist China) has been one of the most spectacular of any developing country (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993). As a matter of fact, at the turn of this century Taiwan is no longer a developing country, but a well-developed one. In addition, due to the increased trade between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China, the U.S. supermarket shelves are stocked with products made in both places. Taiwan and China, therefore, should be familiar to the consumers in America.
Second, China has the largest population of any country in the world. In 1991, China's population totaled more than 1.1 billion (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1992). Its population represents more than one-fifth of the world's total population; statistically speaking, there is roughly one Chinese for every four persons of any other nationality (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993).

Third, the Chinese, the first Asians to arrive in substantial numbers, were brought to the United States starting in the 1850s (Jones, 1972). Due to the astronomical growth in immigration to the U.S., the Chinese population, about 1.2 million in 1990, is estimated as one of the largest Asian groups in the United States (Wright, 1989). The current trend in immigration indicates that the Chinese population in the U.S. will continuously increase because of political and/or economic factors in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

In spite of the 140-year history of Chinese in the United States, Chinese and Chinese Americans are still not well understood in this country, and are often the victims of prejudice and discrimination (Li & Li, 1990). With the significantly large population of Chinese (in terms of either in the world or in the U.S.) and in American anticipation of increased trade and relations with Taiwan and the People's
Republic of China, it is important that the contribution of the Chinese be recognized and the Chinese people and culture be understood. In so doing, Americans can start to prepare themselves for this new era of cooperation and mutual involvement in a expanding global economy.

**Literature as a Way of Learning about a Culture**

One means of understanding a country and its people is through literature, which embodies customs, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Literature provides a compelling means for achieving cross-cultural understanding since it represents the culture from which it springs (Tway & White, 1988). As Jenkins and Austin (1987) state,

> Literature mirrors a culture. Through well written books a reader can learn about an individual or group of people whose story takes place in a specific historical and physical setting. The ways of life--family patterns; male and female roles; social, governmental, and economic organizations; moral and ethical values and prevailing attitudes that provide the undercurrent of life as a whole for that group--are generally revealed in some form in a good story. (p.1)

Literature, thus, can be a powerful way for children to learn about and learn to appreciate other cultures (Austin & Jenkins, 1983; Erlich, 1990; Norton, 1990; Rasinski & Padak, 1990) because it is such an extender of experience that it allows children to step into another place or time and even into the character of another person who came from a
different country. Through children's literature, children gain understandings of the beliefs, value systems, and customs of different cultures (Austin & Jenkins, 1983; Norton, 1990). Being provided with multiple ways of seeing the world through literature, children learn to take different perspectives, to consider the perspectives of different groups, and further to appreciate them. In addition, when students view their culture from the perspective of another, they are able to understand their own culture more fully, and to see how it is unique and distinct from others as well as how it interrelates to and interacts with other cultures (Banks, 1991). Simultaneously, the ability to understand and to work with the people of other nations may be potentially developed through reading literature about different countries and cultures.

There has been a substantial effort made by educators to promote better international understanding in children and young people through children's literature (Tway & White, 1988). Educators (e.g., Aoki, 1992; Bishop, 1992; Sasse, 1988; Tway & White, 1988) suggest selection guidelines for teachers who wish to foster children's international or multicultural understandings through books. In addition to finding books with cultural authenticity (Bishop, 1992), teachers are encouraged to choose selections of books that represent the total, dynamic nature of any particular country
or cultural group (Sasse, 1988). That means selecting works presenting various time periods. To do otherwise, as Suzuki (1984) points out, is to ignore "the continually changing nature of the subculture so it is viewed as rooted in the past and static and unchanging" (p.300). For example, what might have been true for Chinese born during the Manchu reign wearing queues may not be so for modern Chinese who wear suits and ties and new hair styles. Butterfield et al. (1979) did find that too many of the stories about Asians were set in the past.

For the same reason, selections about any particular cultural group should be drawn from books portraying the range of family groups, a wide spectrum of occupations, educational backgrounds, economic situations, and life styles (Bishop, 1992). Such collections aim to present to children portrayals of unique individuals of a country or a culture, rather than that of representatives of a group. In addition, teachers are expected to select books presenting different perspectives on issues and events and those correcting distortions or omissions of significant information (Bishop, 1992).

Books about a particular country or culture are expected to present various time periods, different perspectives, and a wide range of representations of family groups, living conditions, occupations, and life styles. However, the
availability of a selection which fits all these criteria is determined by the availability of books which offer diversity and a wide range of representations. In other words, if books about a particular country or culture were limited in numbers and biased in content, it would be difficult to make a quality selection offering the diversity of representations. In order to describe what is available in the content of circulating books about Chinese and to see if they offer a diverse representation, the present study was to investigate how Chinese people are portrayed in U.S. children's fiction published between 1925 and 1991. In addition, an attempt was made to observe whether or not the portrayals of the Chinese change with some significant historical events. Specifically, World War II and the Civil Rights Movement. The reasons that these two events were considered to be significant for the present study will be discussed in Chapter III.

Aside from selections showing diversity and a wide range of representations, the accuracy of information presented in children's fiction about foreign countries is another major concern about selections (Miller-Lachmann, 1992). The present study also intended to examine the presentations of such information as the ways of life of the Chinese in relation to the historical and geographical settings in the stories. Chinese ways of living have been changing with time
and regions. Since China’s recorded history is more than 4,000 years long, aspects of Chinese culture, including social, political, religious, and cultural developments, and trends in the arts, have changed significantly over time. In addition, China covers an area of 3,696,100 square miles, surpassed in area only by Russia and Canada (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993). Such a large land area with its mountain chains has a tremendous influence on the country’s political, economic, and cultural development. People’s ways of living, such as the types of food they eat, the kinds of clothing they wear, and dialects they speak differ from region to region. When an author/illustrator writes/illustrates a story about Chinese, particularly set in a historical background, a lack of careful research and presentation may result in factual errors in relation to time and space. For example, Scott (1974) criticized the illustrations of *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971), a biography of the founder of the Ming dynasty, because "the details of Ming costumes are historically inaccurate" (p.22). Thus, with the concern of the matters of Chinese culture, history, geography, and others, the present study were also to evaluate the accuracy and authenticity of the information presented in children's fiction, and to further determine whether or not there is a trend towards presenting more accurate and sophisticated information about China and the Chinese in contemporary children's fiction.
The Objectives and the Questions

Specifically, the objectives of the present study are: (1) to investigate how Chinese people are portrayed in U.S. children's fiction published from 1925 to 1991; (2) to observe whether or not the portrayals of the Chinese in children's literature change with significant historical events, such as World War II and the Civil Rights Movement; (3) to evaluate the accuracy and authenticity of information regarding Chinese culture, history, geography, etc. presented in children's fiction; and (4) to further determine if there is a trend towards presenting more accurate and sophisticated information about China and the Chinese in contemporary children's fiction as opposed to decades ago.

The specific research questions are as follows:

1. How are Chinese people portrayed in U.S. children's fiction published from 1925 to 1991? Do these books present various time periods, different perspectives, and a wide range of representations of family groups, living conditions, occupations, and life styles?

1.1. What time periods are presented?

1.2. What geographical regions are presented?
1.3. What types of staple food do the characters eat?

1.4. Are the ethnic groups identified? And what are they?

1.5. What kinds of occupations of characters are included?

1.6. What is the economic status of the characters?

1.7. What dialects do the characters speak?

1.8. What types of names are the characters given?

1.9. Are religious beliefs included? Which ones?

1.10. What domestic ritual activities are discussed?

1.11. What festivals are discussed?

1.12. What gender issues are discussed?

1.13. What values are implied?

2. Do the portrayals of the Chinese in children's fiction change with significant historical events, such as World War II and the Civil Rights Movement? And how do the portrayals change over the years?
3. How accurate and authentic is the information regarding Chinese culture, history, geography, and others presented in children's fiction? What inaccuracies and unauthenticity, if any, are found in the content?

4. If inaccuracies and unauthenticity are found, is there a tendency to present more accurate and sophisticated information about China and the Chinese in children's fiction published across time periods?

**Significance of the Study**

The researcher believes that the information obtained from this study should benefit present and future educators, writers, and publishers who may desire to evaluate the current status of U.S. children's fiction portraying Chinese people. It is important that quality books about Chinese become readily available to children as a contributing factor in their understanding of realistic cultural features, thus dispelling currently-held myths.

**Delimitations of the Study**

The present study analyzed the content of children's fiction. The following limitations were set:
1. All works of fiction for children portraying Chinese, which were set in China and published in the United States, as noted in specified bibliographies were analyzed.

2. The works were limited to contemporary realistic and historical fiction (including the ones in picture-book format).

3. Only books intended primarily for preschool through ninth grade were included.

4. Books analyzed were published from 1925 to 1991.

5. Authors were both Chinese-Americans and white Americans.

Organizational Plan

This chapter presents an introduction to the study. In Chapter II a review of the literature and related research is presented. Methodology is presented in detail in Chapter III. Presentation and analysis of the data are reported in chapter IV. Finally, Chapter V summarizes the research findings, the conclusions of this study, and the suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter will review the studies which serve to illuminate the problem defined in the present investigation and provide a background for the research methodology. The review includes the research related to (1) the portrayal of foreign peoples in children's books; (2) the portrayal of Asian Americans in children's books; and (3) the research method.

The Portrayal of Foreign Peoples in Children's Books

Over the years there have been a great many children's books published about foreign peoples, but only a few studies have been made of the portrayals of foreign peoples in the books.

Deodhar (1954) appraised the treatment of India in 72 American history and geography textbooks published in the three periods 1920 to 1934, 1939 to 1945, and 1948 to 1952. Criteria of comprehensiveness, balance, objectivity, and
accuracy based on authoritative works about India were used in the appraisal. Deodhar found that the textbook content on India from 1920 to 1934 was meager, unbalanced, and colored by a pro-West bias; content between 1941 and 1947 differed very little from earlier textbook material, but from 1948 to 1954 the content improved greatly in the treatment of India. Deodhar also found that the course of the treatment of India in American textbooks paralleled that of Indo-American relations in general.

Takaki (1954) examined 87 senior high school American history textbooks printed between 1895 and 1950 in order to determine whether the textbook treatment of Japan and her peoples had moved toward a world point of view. He concluded that there was marked progress in the treatment, with more and more emphasis on a world point of view in the newer materials. Attempts to present facts about the Japanese had been objective and accurate, even during the warlike phases of the history of Japan, although certain omissions and over-emphases were apparent.

Lewis (1956) concluded, after analyzing 132 high school literature textbooks published since 1930, that following World War II, foreign peoples were better represented in general literature and world literature textbooks, but not in American and English literature textbooks. General, world, and English literature textbooks delineated more modern
conditions in foreign lands than did American high school
literature textbooks. Lewis also found that while the
contributions of foreign authors comprised almost 5 per cent
of general literature textbooks and almost 23 per cent of
world literature textbooks, foreign-authored selections in
both English and American literature textbooks have been
negligible.

Burris (1966) examined all children's fiction with
settings in Japan published since 1953. Of the 54 books
examined, 13 were judged to be exceptional; only six were
perceived as objectionable. Misconceptions were commonplace
in the areas of everyday clothing worn, the indiscriminate
mixing of the very different cultures of Japan and China, the
tendency to picture everything small in Japan (the people,
the houses, the towns), and the failure to show humor in the
portrayals of everyday life and people. Great improvement
was noted in such aspects as increased use of native story
material, greater prominence of authors and illustrators of
Japanese birth, a stronger tendency toward artistic
excellence in design and illustration, and a more natural
balance between the teaching of customs and the portrayal of
the human element in the books.

Barlow (1973) found that in American secondary school
world history textbooks from 1900 to 1970, the Chinese were
presented as backward and helpless, unwilling to change their
antiquated ways. Analysis of the Japanese was almost exclusively in political terms. Korea's image was that of nonentity until the 1950s when Koreans were discussed almost exclusively in terms of the Korean War. However, what is important is that she found a significant but subtle change in the image of Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans over the years, from 1900 to 1970. Finally, Barlow concluded that "while no longer blatant in their ethnocentrism, textbook authors yet tend to measure the Asians in terms of Western standards. The image one is left with is generally not conducive to heightening understanding of foreign cultures in the minds of high school students" (p.230).

In 1977, the Asia Society did a study on 306 textbooks dealing with Asia, which were most commonly used in schools throughout the country. The books were read by over 100 scholars, academic experts, and practicing teachers involved in social studies and Asian affairs. The assessment of the way Asian culture was portrayed revealed that the texts failed to represent Asia fairly. "The most serious problems are the underlying, purely Western yardsticks with which the majority of the texts approach Asia, their failure to present Asian life authentically, and the absence of any significant amount of Asian source materials" (p.3).

Greenlaw (1978) also studied the image of "foreign born persons" in fiction published in the United States. The 24
books studied were randomly chosen from *The Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books*, 1970-1976. The fiction chosen fell into the grade range of preschool through grade three. Content analysis was used with Gast's (1965) categories from his study on stereotypes in children's literature. This study found that American authors writing about non-American settings tended to write about characters as being poor, of low educational levels, of low social class, and as being non-Caucasian. Greenlaw concluded that for adequate presentations of other cultures, more such books would have to be written and translated by members of those cultures.

Butterfield et al. (1979) found that Asian Americans were underrepresented in the popular basal reading series. There were too many stereotypes about Asian Americans and too many of the stories about Asians were set in the past: "...the Asian characters are either illustrated with long fingernails, slanted eyes, and queues, or depicted as generally inscrutable or very wise. The setting of these stories and the dress of the people is in the past" (p.385).

Lai Nam Chen (1981) based her research on a survey and critical reading of about 150 children's books on Southeast Asia. To learn how Westerners viewed the East and how they conveyed their impressions to Western children, she studied imaginative literature and folktales. For her analysis, she used the criteria of authenticity of the images projected,
and of the literary quality of the writing. With the exception of several books of good quality, the study found an array of problems of quality, authenticity, stereotyping, "exotica," white heroism, and misrepresentation. She concluded that "Southeast Asia will always be a basket of rice and spices for the West, but it is hoped that this time the rice will be better cooked, and the spices sprinkled with better taste" (p.78). With this concern, she encouraged Asian writers to write more books of Southeast Asian children for both Asian and Western readers.

In summary, a limited amount of research has been conducted on the treatment of foreign peoples, while studies focusing on the portrayal of foreign peoples in children's trade books have received relatively less attention than that in secondary and high school textbooks. Generally speaking, the studies found that there was a change across time periods in the way which the foreign peoples were portrayed. However, in this search of the literature no study was found which was exclusively concerned with the image of Chinese portrayed in currently available children's books and how the portrayal has changed over time. Nor was any study located which attempted to determine the accuracy and nature of the information presented in children's books about Chinese. It was with these questions that the present investigation was concerned.
The Portrayal of Asian Americans in Children's Books

The number of studies involving the portrayal of Asian Americans in children's books has been limited in comparison with the volume of research existing for other groups such as the blacks and the American Indians.

In 1961 Lloyd Marcus did a study of the portrayal of Blacks, Asian and Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, and Jews to see if progress had been made in the treatment of these minorities in the most widely used social studies textbooks. In assessing the value of text material as to its adequacy or inadequacy, Marcus employed seven evaluative criteria: inclusion, validity, balance, comprehensiveness, concreteness, unity, and realism (p.9). His findings led to the conclusion that textbook portrayals were still marked by deletions, distortions, and misleading stereotypes (pp.59-61). To illustrate, Marcus found that Asian Americans were frequently presented as racially inferior.

In a study of social studies textbooks designed for the primary grade levels, Golden (1964) concluded that the texts gave a "tourist's view" of Chinese Americans, emphasizing their foods and their arts and crafts but giving little insight into their actual home lives. The author also found that the Asian American child was not socially accepted as an equal by children of the dominant group and that Asian
American adults had stereotyped occupations that reflected their cultural backgrounds, for example, the Chinese Americans owned Chinese restaurants.

Yee (1973) examined 300 elementary and secondary social studies texts and revealed that Asian Americans had not been given credit for their contributions in the historical development of the United States. Yee found a "pattern of neglect and stereotyping" of Chinese and Chinese Americans in their past and present American lives. Specifically, the analysis revealed that 75 percent of the texts did not mention the Chinese and that 17 percent gave only a "token representation" to the group. The tokenism usually included a picture of an Asian and a few lines mentioning the existence of urban Chinatowns, the Chinese railroad workers, and the laundering and culinary skills of the Chinese. Only 8 percent devoted a few paragraphs or several pages to the Chinese and the Chinese Americans.

The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977) also examined textbooks by major publishers regarding their treatment of minority groups. Although the Council found that the newer texts gave greater attention to groups previously invisible, and were generally more sympathetic in their treatment of some minority groups, Asian Americans were still frequently omitted. When they were mentioned at all, they were often misrepresented. The Council found that the
books perpetuated two interrelated stereotypes of Asian Americans:

Asian workers are repeatedly described as "willing" to work for low wages, evoking an image of "coolie" laborers who are faceless beasts of burden. This stereotype ignores the oppression which forced Asian laborers to take any available work in order to survive. Related to this distortion is the stereotype of Asians as "docile," "complacent" or "subservient." This stereotype "explains" their supposed willingness to be exploited. Both stereotypes are reinforced because textbooks do not present the persistent labor struggles and legal battles carried on by Asian Americans. (p.34)

Concerns such as the ones raised by Yee and the Council have been echoed by educators such as Sue (1976) who stated:

Many Chinese-Americans do not own a sewing shop, laundry, or restaurant; many people who live in Chinatown work for meager wages rather than own their own business. Other Chinese-Americans have moved away from Chinatown and live in "American" communities. Stories about the conflicts and adjustments, as well as just the way of life of these non-Chinatown dwellers, are needed to balance out the limited portrait of Chinese-Americans obtained from the books about Chinese-Americans living in Chinatown. (p.265-266)

Studies focusing on the portrayal of Asian Americans in children's trade books have received even less attention than the depiction of Asians in textbooks.

Seven works of fiction involving Asian characters were analyzed in the Gast study (1965). The author reported the following findings regarding the Chinese Americans: (1) the Chinese had values similar to those of middle-class Americans
in relation to cleanliness, kindness, intelligence, ambition, hard work, and success; (2) occupational stereotypes still persisted, with the Chinese frequently depicted as cooks and laundry workers; and (3) traditional, noncomplimentary stereotypes (such as the "heathen Chinese") were not present but more positive stereotypes (such as being "industrious" and "loyal to family ties") were often mentioned for the group.

In a critical survey of Asian American books conducted in 1976 by the Council on Interracial Books for Children, a total of 66 children's books dealing with Asian American characters was reviewed by eleven Asian American book reviewers. Both fiction and nonfiction titles were included in the survey. A major conclusion reported was that with "few exceptions," the books were racist and misleading. The books were criticized for the following reasons: (1) Asian Americans were portrayed as foreigners who all looked alike and chose to live together in inner-city communities; (2) Asian American cultures were misrepresented with emphases on exotic festivals and on ancient superstitions and costumes; (3) the books promoted the myth of Asian Americans as a "model minority" with the attendant notions that hard work, education (in particular learning to speak English correctly), and a low profile always overcame adversity; and (4) success tended to be measured by the extent to which
Asian Americans had assimilated white, middle-class attitudes and values. Also, the survey pointed out that only one-sixth of the books were written by Asian Americans and that these writers tended to be more successful in authentically portraying Asians in American settings than were the non-Asian American authors.

In summary, a limited amount of research has been conducted on the treatment of Asian Americans in books for children. Analyses done on the textbooks indicated that any mention of Asian minority groups was generally sparse, superficial, and distorted. Trade book studies also revealed a continuing presence of occupational stereotypes. Assimilation with the values and goals of the dominant group appeared to be a critical key to the acceptance of Asians in the mainstream of American culture. In addition, although the ethnicity of the author in and of itself was no indication of a book's quality, at least one study suggested that Asian American authors were more likely to be sensitive in capturing the problems and struggles of their own people.

**Literature Related to the Research Method**

The technique of content analysis is concerned with the systematic examination of existing records or documents as sources of data. Content analysis has been frequently used for research problems in which the question could be answered
directly from a description of the attributes of the content (Holsti, 1969).

Berelson (1952) defined content analysis as a "research technique for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p.18), which is one of the earlier authoritative definitions in the field. To elaborate, the objectivity necessitates that each step in the research process be carried out on the basis of explicitly formulated rules and procedures to minimize the possibility that the findings reflect the analyst's subjective predispositions rather than the content of the documents under analysis. The system requires that the inclusion and exclusion of content or categories be done according to specified rules consistently applied to eliminate analyses in which only materials supporting the researcher's hypotheses are admitted as evidence. In other words, the categories of analysis should be defined so precisely that other analysts can apply them to the same content and get the same results. Quantifying, in most of the earlier studies, has meant measuring the frequency of which analysis units appear in each category. And quantities may be assessed not only by the numerical values but by the use of words such as more, always, often, increases, and never.
Carney (1972) criticized Berelson's definition because of its omission of the element of inference. Instead, Carney acknowledged a later definition of content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (p.25). Carney believed that the drawing of inferences must be a major consideration when using content analysis because it "involves relating or comparing findings to some standard, norm, or theory" (p.5). It is much more than just frequency count; it should be considered a technique aiming to improve the quality of the inferences. Content analysis enables one to run a cross-check on inferences drawn from the facts it presents. Also, there are built-in controls upon the validity of final findings.

Budd, Thorpe, and Donohew (1967) concurred with Carney's belief that more is involved in content analysis than just the results of a frequency count, and Hill (1967) broadened the parameters of content analysis with this definition:

Content analysis research deals with the systematic examination of current life—be it written, spoken, mechanical, or portrayed in an art form—to provide data that might be categorically classified and evaluated, and thus provide a description and interpretation of a situation or condition not otherwise describable. (p.109)

Based on the broader definition of Hill (1967), the present study attempted to achieve "the systematic
examination" by coding and analyzing the appearance of certain key incidents in the categories according to formulated procedures and specified rules, and by modifying the quantifying method in order to provide a thorough description and interpretation of the portrayals of Chinese in the fiction for children. The details will be discussed in the next chapter.

Lukenbill (1977) stated that most content analysis research in children's literature was found in masters' theses or doctoral dissertations. The content of children's books pertaining to minority groups has been researched, and numerous studies have been conducted into the sociological aspects.

One of the early applications of content analysis was done by Gast (1965) to analyze characterization of minority Americans in children's fiction. He used a character evaluation instrument based on the one created by Berelson and Salter (1946). In addition to the original categories in the character instrument, i.e., the categories of heading and role in the story, status position, social origin, personality traits, goals and values, and plus-minus position, Gast added the categories of physical traits and age. As in the Berelson and Salter study, the Gast investigation required documentation for all entries by both
page numbers and by quotations and summary statements. Part of the findings was reported in the preceding section.

Cata (1977) used a modified version of Gast's character instrument to examine the portrayal of American Indians in children's fiction. Cata's character analysis instrument included additional categories for locale, material culture, character's attitudes toward specified groups, concepts, and institutions, and tribal affiliations. The study employed the forms of documentation and methods of tabulation similar to those used in the Gast study.

Cata found, among others, that American Indian characters were placed in a traditional setting, wore traditional clothing, ate traditional food, lived in wigwams, approved of family members, and disapproved of non-Indians. The descriptions of many characters contained some obvious misinformation. The study also found that the author's ethnicity and familiarity with Indian culture had an effect on how Indian characters were portrayed. In addition, the change in characterization was found related to time periods.

Frank (1979) investigated the qualitative and quantitative portrayal of Black Americans in illustrations and content of the 42 Caldecott Award books and 135 Caldecott Honor books from 1938 to 1978. Her two main objectives were to describe how Black Americans appeared in these books and
to determine any changes over time. She divided the 177 books into four ten-year periods: 1938-1947; 1948-1957; 1958-1967; 1968-1978. In her content analysis, Frank used eight categories based on the criteria listed in *10 Quick Ways to Analyze Books for Racism and Sexism* and *Values Checklist*, both by CIBC (1976). The categories were: the type of illustrations used (looking for stereotypes, tokenism, and life styles), the type of story line used, the effects of the book on a child's self-image and self-esteem, the copyright date, the use of racially potent or loaded words, the kinds of heroes and heroines depicted, the kind of setting, and the overall contribution.

Frank concluded that racism was evident in the books studied. The Caldecott Award and Honor books from 1938 to 1978 "primarily reflect the attitudes, values, standards, concerns and life styles of the white, middle-class majority" (p.155). They have shown "no improvement in the qualitative and quantitative depiction of Black Americans and the number of books depicting Black characters has declined from six in the 1938-1947 period to one in the period from 1968-1978" (p.151).

A recent content analysis research was done by Burgess (1991). The research methodology of content analysis was used to analyze and determine the amount and specificity of cultural information about Alaskan Native Americans found in
a selected group of contemporary fiction books for children. The variables researched were examined by the use of an analytic checklist instrument containing thirteen cultural features of Alaskan Native Americans, eight negative stereotyping features, and two positive portrayal features.

Analysis of tabulated frequency distributions and percentages in the Burgess study showed that the Eskimo cultural group was represented most frequently in the books under study. The Athabascan Indian and the Aleut had low frequencies of representation. Traditional cultural lifestyles were portrayed more frequently than contemporary lifestyles. Negative stereotyping appeared in 18% of the books--most often as unrealistic illustrations or cultural generalizations. Positive portrayal was evident in the characters assuming leadership roles or performing noteworthy achievements. Books published in the latter part of the 1970s and in the 1980s contained mostly accurate and realistic cultural material.

In summary, the method of content analysis offers a systematic approach to describing the content of existing materials. There has been indication that ongoing research applying this method has yielded information about a widening variety of subjects.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the study was to explore the works of fiction portraying Chinese and set in China that have been written for children since 1925. An attempt was made to include a representative sample of books published from 1925 to the present. Content analysis was selected as the most appropriate and effective research method because it is concerned with the systematic examination of existing records or documents as sources of data and has been frequently used for research problems in which the question could be answered directly from a description of the attributes of the content (Holsti, 1969). The present study attempted to achieve "the systematic examination" by coding and analyzing the appearance of certain key incidents in the categories identified in the books under study and by modifying the quantifying method in order to provide a thorough description and interpretation of the portrayals of Chinese in the fiction for children. Therefore, the method of content analysis was used to examine the ways Chinese are portrayed.
and what cultural information about Chinese is presented. The information in the books studied was categorically classified and evaluated. An emphasis was placed on how each of the selected categories helped to reveal the portrayals of Chinese and the accuracy of the cultural information presented in this body of fiction. These categories will be identified and discussed following an explanation of how the titles of fiction were located and the procedures of the study.

The Sample

The present study analyzed works of contemporary realistic fiction and historical fiction (including the ones in picture-book format) portraying Chinese people and set in China. They were published in the United States from 1925 to 1991 inclusive. These books are appropriate for young people from preschool through ninth grade. The sample is not random, leaning heavily on two comprehensive annotated bibliographies, Our Family, Our Friends, Our World: An Annotated Guide to Significant Multicultural Books for Children and Teenagers (Miller-Lachmann, 1992) and Literature for Children about Asians and Asian Americans (Jenkins & Austin, 1987).

The earliest publication of fiction about Chinese documented in these two authoritative and comprehensive
bibliographies is 1925. The year of 1925 then became the starting time-point for the present study. The initial intent of the researcher was to study the books published from 1925 till the present--1993. However, after the researcher further consulting *Children's Catalog: 1992 Supplement to the Sixteenth Edition* (Wilson, 1992), *Children's Catalog: 1993 Supplement to the Sixteenth Edition* (Wilson, 1993), and *Subject Guide to Children's Books in Print* (Bowker, 1993), no books were found published in 1992 and 1993 which meet the delimitations of the study—the realistic and historical fiction (including in picture-book format) which intended primarily for preschool through ninth grade portraying Chinese with settings in China. The 1991 publications thus were the most current ones the researcher could locate. An attempt was made to include all the titles identified from the two bibliographies. The total number of the books included in the study is thirty-four.

The books were obtained from the following locations: Columbus Metropolitan Library, Upper Arlington Public Library, Grandview Heights Public Library, Edgar Dale Media Center at The Ohio State University. In addition, titles not available through any of these sources were requested through the interlibrary loan department of the Main Library of The Ohio State University.
Procedures

The books in the study were sorted out into three chronological groups based on their dates of publication—the groups of 1925-1939, 1940-1969, and 1970-1991.

World War II and the Civil Rights Movement were chosen to be two cutoff points because they were considered to be such significant historical events that the portrayals of the Chinese might be different before and after them. First, World War II in the 1940s frequented the communication between the United States and China. During the War, to strengthen China's war effort, the United States had sent large amounts of arms and equipment to China, along with a military mission to advise on their use. Also, the United States developed airfields in China for the bombing of Japan. Later, Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor brought the United States into alliance with China. The allied and increasingly favorable relationship between China and the United States might have been expected to change the biased images and attitudes of decades before when misleading pictures of Chinese people had been shaped by U.S. traders, missionaries and diplomats. Furthermore, previous studies (Lewis, 1956; Barlow, 1973) did find that following World War II there was a significant but subtle change in the image of Chinese presented in American literature and world history textbooks.
Secondly, the Civil Rights Movement was a dominant societal event in the late 1960s. Not until the early 1970s did many minority authors and illustrators break into print presenting their perspectives and experiences in children's literature (Miller-Lachmann, 1992). Since the Civil Rights Movement awoke a level of awareness of racial equality, plus later on the rapid growth in multicultural and international publishing which has pointed out the need to examine each title for its quality of writing and presentation, people have been challenging the stereotypes and distortions in children's books about minorities, and foreign peoples as well (Miller-Lachmann, 1992). As a result, the portrayals of Chinese may have become more accurate and sophisticated after the 1970s.

The first group contains seven books published between 1925 and 1939, the second group includes twelve books published between 1940 and 1969, and the third group has fifteen books published between 1970 and 1991. And the total is thirty-four. The titles under study are listed in chronological order in Appendix A.
### TABLE 1

**NUMBER OF BOOKS INCLUDED IN EACH CHRONOLOGICAL GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939</td>
<td>7 books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969</td>
<td>12 books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991</td>
<td>15 books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>34 books</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are five different authors included from 1925 to 1939, twelve from 1940 to 1969, and thirteen from 1970 to 1991. Most of the authors have only one book included in the study, while some of them have published several books and across time periods. Eleanor Frances Lattimore, for example, published three books in the *Little Pear* series in 1931, 1934, and 1971 respectively, and *The Story of Lee Ling* in 1940. Elizabeth Foreman Lewis published *Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze* in 1932, *Ho-Ming: Girl of China* in 1934, and *To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help* in 1953. Laurence Yep and Betty Vander Els respectively have two books included in the study, which were all published in the 1980s. The total number of the authors thus comes to twenty-seven.
TABLE 2

NUMBER OF AUTHORS INCLUDED IN EACH CHRONOLOGICAL GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All books were read, though not in chronological order, along with data collecting. All incidents (data) were documented by direct quotation or by summary statement. Page number citations were required in each instance. Data were also obtained from illustrations since these often provide critical clues and information. The illustrations were also documented by page numbers. Asterisks were placed before all pictorial clues, such as clues to chronological settings, geographical regions, and inaccuracies, to differentiate them from textual citations.

Upon the completion of data collection, all incidents were coded into categories and analyzed. Although the researcher was the only coder and analyst involved in the study, her background is strong enough to make the analysis authoritative. The researcher is Chinese, having been born in Taiwan and having lived and been educated within the
culture since she was born, and is a native speaker of Chinese language. With her native experiences, the researcher knows the distinctive nuances of the culture. In addition, she is familiar with American history and culture because she has lived in the United States for many years and has had first-hand opportunity to gain an understanding of the society the books under study are intended to address. Her bicultural and bilingual background can enhance the quality of the analysis. Furthermore, the researcher consulted frequently some authoritative sources, such as a set of History Textbooks (National Textbook Association, 1991, 1992) used in all high schools in Taiwan, Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese (Chao & Yang, 1968), A Grammar of Spoken Chinese (Chao, 1965), China's Cultural Heritage: The Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1912 (Smith, 1983), Peking Paper Gods: A Look at Home Worship (Goodrich, 1991), Chinese Popular Literature and the Child (Scott, 1980), and The Lotus Lovers: The Complete History of the Curious Erotic Custom of Footbinding in China (Levy, 1992).

Categories

The data were analyzed under fourteen separate categories. Some of these categories were adopted from the instruments used in the Burgess (1990) and Harada (1982) studies, some were chosen for their significance to the Chinese culture, and others emerged from the collected data.
In the Burgess (1990) study, which was focused on the portrayal of Alaskan Native Americans in children's literature, the cultural checklist instrument included the following 13 main categories: identification of cultural group, identification of geographical region, identification of environmental setting, description of community type, description of type of residence, identification of language spoken, identification of culturally influenced features of communication, identification of kinship features, identification of educational features, identification of religious beliefs, information about traditional customs, identification of work activities, and identification of leisure activities.

The character analysis instrument used in the Harada (1982) study, which investigated the treatment of Chinese and Japanese characters in American settings in selected works of fiction for children, contained the following main categories: locale, physical traits, status, culture, attitudes toward specified concepts and institutions and toward various people, attitudes of other people toward the major character, and goals.

In the present study, the categories of geographical regions, ethnic groups, occupations, economic status, dialects, religious beliefs, and values were adopted from the
above two studies with some modifications. The categories of chronological settings, staple food, names of the characters, and inaccuracies were developed by the researcher for the specific purposes of the study. And the categories of domestic ritual activities, festivals, and gender issues emerged from the collected data. These categories can be treated as three groups: (1) demographic categories--chronological settings, geographical regions, staple food, ethnic groups, occupations, economic status, dialects, and names of the characters; (2) cultural categories--religious beliefs, domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values; and (3) evaluative category--inaccuracies.

An examination of each of the categories helped to illuminate the content of cultural information presented in the books studied, and the changes, if any, in the way of presenting them. The categories were chosen for their significance to the Chinese culture, as well as their ability to reveal the portrayals of Chinese. Since the specific purpose, the expected finding, and the way of coding and analyzing data are not necessarily identical for each category, the fourteen categories will be individually discussed in detail. A listing of these categories and subcategories can be found in Appendix B.
Demographic Categories

Chronological Settings

Chinese ways of living have been changing with time. Since China's recorded history is more than 4,000 years long, aspects of Chinese culture, including social, political, religious, and cultural developments, have changed significantly over time. If various time periods were presented in the fiction for children, the totality could give readers an overall historical picture of the Chinese.

The time periods in which the stories were set were recorded under four subcategories: (1) before Ch'ing dynasty, (2) Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912), (3) Republic (1912-the present), and (4) unknown. Ch'ing dynasty was determined to be a cutoff period because Americans were having frequent contact with Chinese during this particular period, when hundreds and hundreds of American traders sailed to Canton in the China trade, a great number of American missionaries started to be sent to China, and Chinese first came to the United States to work for living. Furthermore, previous studies (Butterfield et al., 1979; CIBC, 1976) found that Chinese characters in books for children were always stereotyped in texts and pictures as wearing queues—which was a regulation under the Manchu ruler. The finding implied that more authors carried an image of Chinese from this
particular period of time than from other time periods. Given the way of categorizing the chronological settings, this category was intended to reveal whether or not the setting of Ch'ing dynasty appeared more frequently in the earlier publications, and whether there might be an inclination to more diverse time settings in the later publications due to the growing sensitivity toward cultural issues.

Chronological settings of the books were determined in several ways. First, the exact years, the specific dynasty, or the specific war were recorded, when this information was given in the foreword, the epilogue, the text, or on the jacket cover. Second, when the time periods were not specifically indicated, the researcher inferred the time frames from the incidents of historical significance, life styles, costume, described or pictured in the illustrations or the text. The time setting in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (Elizabeth Foreman Lewis, 1932) was determined to be 1920s, for example, because the death of Sun Yat-sen (in 1925) and the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanking (in 1927) were mentioned through the characters' conversation. Third, when there were no obvious indications nor implications of time setting found in the book, the researcher assigned "unknown" to the book.
After the chronological setting of each book was identified and classified into the subcategory of before Ch'ing dynasty, Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912), Republic (1912-the present), or unknown, the total number of books in each subcategory was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the listed subcategories within each chronological group, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of books responding in each subcategory by the total number of books included in the particular chronological group. And within each subcategory across the chronological groups, the three percentages were compared among them to see if there was a change over time in the occurrence rate of the particular chronological setting.

Geographical Regions

China covers an area of 3,696,100 square miles (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993); such a large land area with its mountain chains has a tremendous influence on the country’s political, economic, and cultural development. People’s ways of living, such as the types of food they eat, the kinds of clothing they wear, and dialects they speak differ from region to region. If various geographical regions were presented in the fiction for children, the
diversity both of China's relief and culture could be understood.

The geographical regions in which the stories were set were classified into the following eight regions: (1) North China, (2) Central China (Lower Yangtze Valley), (3) South China (including Taiwan), (4) Southwest China, (5) Northeast China, (6) Northwest China, (7) Western China, and (8) unknown. China has thirty administrative units directly under the central government; these consist of twenty-two provinces, five autonomous regions, and three municipalities (Peking, Shanghai, and Tientsin) (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993). The municipalities of Peking and Tientsin and the provinces of Honan, Hopeh, Shansi, and Shantung are located in North China; Shanghai and the provinces of Anhwei, Hupeh, and Kiangsu in Central China; Chuang Autonomous Region of Kwangsi and the provinces of Chekiang, Fukien, Hai-nan, Hunan, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, and Taiwan in South China; Kweichow, Szechwan, and Yunnan Provinces in Southwest China; Heilungkiang, Kirin, and Liaoning Provinces in Northeast China; Hui Autonomous Region of Ningsia, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Kansu, and Shensi Provinces in Northwest China; Tibet Autonomous Region, Uighur Autonomous Region of Sinkiang, and Tsinghai Province in Western China.

Geographical settings of the books were determined in the following ways. First, the specific city, province, and
a certain part of China were recorded, when the content of the books specifically indicated where the stories were set. Second, when the geographical settings were not specifically identified, the researcher inferred the geographical settings from the descriptions of life styles of the characters in the books. The geographical setting in the Little Pear series (Eleanor Frances Lattimore, 1931, 1934, 1971) was determined to be North China, for example, because the characters slept on the kang and planted kaoliang, which characterize North people. Third, when there were no explicit indications nor implications of geographical settings found in the books, the researcher assigned "unknown" to them.

After the geographical setting of each book was identified and classified into the subcategory of North China, Central China, South China, Southwest China, Northeast China, Northwest China, Western China, or unknown, the total number of books in each subcategory was counted. In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the subcategories among all the books studied, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of books responding in each subcategory by the total number of books, which is thirty-four. The percentages of the subcategories were compared and listed in descending order.
Staple Food

Chinese live on grain food, rice, wheat, millet, or sorghum, which vary geographically depending on regional crop productions. Rice, China's most important staple, is dominant in the southern provinces, while in central China wheat and rice vie with each other, and in the North wheat is of the greatest importance. Millet and sorghum are served mainly in the Northeast and some southwest provinces (National Textbook Association, 1992). As a result, Chinese do not always eat rice, as the stereotype projects. Some minority groups, such as Mongolians, even depend very heavily on dairy foods, although grain is always important to them (Hook & Twitchett, 1991).

The purpose of this category was to determine if regional variations of staples were presented in the books under study. Four staples were under this category: rice, wheat, millet, and sorghum. When grain food were provided to the characters, the names of the food were recorded and then assigned to the subcategories according to their ingredients. Noodles and dumplings, for example, were classified into "wheat" and cornmeal into "millet."

After each type of food was assigned to the subcategory of rice, wheat, millet, or sorghum, the total number of incidents (Here, one appearance of the subcategory in this
particular category was defined and counted as one incident.) in each subcategory was counted. In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the four subcategories among all the books studied, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of incidents responding in each subcategory by the total number of incidents accumulated from all the books. The percentages of four types of staple food were compared and listed in descending order.

**Ethnic Groups**

China is a multi-ethnic country, with a population composed of a large number of ethnic groups. The Han (Chinese) is the largest group, outnumbering the minority groups or minority nationalities in every province or autonomous region except Tibet and Sinkiang (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993). While there are about 55 minority groups in China, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, and Yao are the largest groups. Thus, the category of ethnic groups was divided into Han (Chinese), Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Yao, and others.

When ethnic groups were mentioned, the names of the groups were recorded. If no ethnic groups (neither Han nor other groups) were indicated, the books were considered as not specifying ethnic groups.
After all the incidents (Here, one appearance of the subcategory in this particular category was defined and counted as one incident.) were classified into the ethnic subcategories, the total number of incidents in each subcategory was counted. In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the ethnic groups among all the books which mentioned them, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of incidents responding in each subcategory by the total number of incidents. The percentages of the subcategories were compared and listed in descending order.

**Occupations**

China had been an agricultural society for thousands of years, and until the 1980s a high percentage of people made their living directly from farming. Since then, many have been encouraged to leave the fields and pursue other work activities, such as commerce, industry, and handicrafts. In some locales, half or more of the rural working population no longer engages in agricultural production. Overall, the government policy is to encourage about two-thirds of the former farmers to take up other pursuits (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1993). The population of farmers is decreasing and diverse occupations are growing; hypothetically, the
reality would be reflected in the more recently published fiction which was set in the contemporary setting.

The occupations of the major Chinese characters or of their parents or guardians were classified into two subcategories: farmer and non-farmer. If the major characters were employed full-time, the specific occupations were listed. In the instances where the major characters who were children had no full-time job, the occupation of the family's major breadwinner was documented.

After the occupations of the major characters or of the major characters' parents or guardians were identified and classified into the subcategories of farmer and non-farmer, the total number of incidents (Here, one appearance of the subcategory in this particular category was defined and counted as one incident.) in each subcategory was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the two subcategories within each chronological group, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of incidents responding in each subcategory by the total number of incidents accumulated from the particular chronological group. And within the subcategory of "farmer" across the chronological groups, the three percentages were compared among them to see if there was a change over time in the occurrence rate of "farmer."
Economic Status

American authors writing about non-American settings tended to write about the characters as being poor and of low social class (Greenlaw, 1978). This category was to determine if a range of economic status was presented in the books about Chinese.

An arbitrary choice of four basic responses under economic status previously used by Gast (1965) was employed in the present coding of data. The choices were "poor," "adequate," "comfortable," and "wealthy." Gast equated "poor" with hand-to-mouth or meager existence, "adequate" with having barely sufficient means to meet everyday needs, "comfortable" with more than an economic sufficiency to meet everyday needs, and "wealthy" with opulent living standards. Inferences were made from the state of family finances, the abundance of food in the household, and the availability of leisure time.

After the economic status of each family of Chinese main characters in the book was assigned to the subcategory of poor, adequate, comfortable, or wealthy, the total number of incidents (Here, one appearance of the subcategory in this particular category was defined and counted as one incident.) in each subcategory was counted for each chronological group
(i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the four subcategories within each chronological group, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of incidents responding in each subcategory by the total number of incidents accumulated from the particular chronological group. And within each subcategory across the chronological groups, the three percentages were compared among them to see if there was a change over time in the occurrence rate of the particular economic status.

**Dialects**

Chinese people's great dialectal diversity is attributed to the large land area with its mountain chains. Although Mandarin is the official language spoken in formal oral contact throughout the country, people speak at home various dialects which display marked regional differences.

The purpose of this category was to reveal if "Chinese" was the only language spoken by the Chinese characters, and if not, what dialects were spoken. Thus, whenever a dialect was mentioned, the name of it was recorded.

All specified dialects were recorded and their occurrence were counted for each chronological group. If no dialects were indicated, the books were considered as not
specifying what dialects the characters speak. The occurrence numbers of each dialect were added up across the three chronological groups, and the occurrence numbers of various dialects within each chronological group were also added up. The names of the dialects, the respective numbers of occurrence corresponding to each chronological group, and the total occurrence of each dialect were then listed in descending order.

**Names of the Characters**

The name is a cultural indicator, while it is often overlooked in stories written by white Americans about other cultural groups (Schwartz, 1977). The names by which a Chinese is known are various and complex. The *hsing*, or family name, usually consists of one syllable represented by one character, but there are some family names composed of two characters. The *ming*, or given name, is usually in two characters but may be only one. In Chinese the family name is written or spoken first. Together they make up the name by which a Chinese is formally known, and the compound *hsing-ming* is used to refer to one's full name. Normally, Chinese names of Han origin have a minimum of two and a maximum of four characters, but the great majority of Chinese names consist of a monosyllabic family name and a disyllabic given name.
The purpose of this category was to reveal what types of names the characters were given by the authors and whether or not the overall finding would fit into the reality. All the Chinese characters' names were recorded and fell into five subcategories: (1) one-syllable name, (2) two-syllable name, (3) three-syllable name, (4) nickname, and (5) translation. For example, when Romanized names like "Wan," "Tu," and "Feng," were given to the characters, they were classified as "one-syllable name;" Romanized names like "Ho Chu," "Ching-ling," and "Weng Fu" were "two-syllable name;" "Ho-ming Sung," "Fu Yuin-fah," and "Shang Tien Hao" were "three-syllable name." In Chinese a nickname usually consists of Lao (Old), Xiao (Young or Little), or Ah, followed by the family name, such as Lao Giao, Old Huang, Xiao Yang, Young Fu, Little Wu, and Ah Sung. Another type of nickname is a name substituted for the formal name of a child, such as Dagu, Shing-er, Didi, and Shao-shao. In the instances where the characters were not given formal names and addressed only by their nicknames, their nicknames were recorded and classified into the subcategory of "nickname." In some cases where the authors translated the characters' names instead of Romanizing them, when they knew that most of Chinese given names carry special meanings, names like "Apricot," "Cherryblossom," "Yellow Lily," "Precious Jewel," and
"Precious Jade" were grouped into the subcategory of "translation."

After each name was assigned to the subcategory of one-syllable name, two-syllable name, three-syllable name, nickname, or translation, the total number of names in each subcategory was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the five types of names within each chronological group, the percentages were derived by dividing the number of names responding in each subcategory by the total number of names accumulated from the particular chronological group. And within each subcategory across the chronological groups, the three percentages were compared among them to see if there was a change over time in the occurrence rate of the particular type of name.

**Cultural Categories**

**Religious Beliefs**

Religious beliefs, part of culture, are often practiced in Chinese daily life. This category was intended to reveal how frequently the relevant information about Chinese religious beliefs was included in each chronological group of books, what religions were mentioned and described, and how detailed the descriptions.
Most Western references indicate that Chinese have three religions: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. However, the data related to religious beliefs emerged into: (1) popular religion, instead of Confucianism, (2) Buddhism, (3) religious Taoism, plus (4) Christianity. The incidents in each subcategory were counted. In order to determine how detailed the relevant information regarding religious beliefs was, one incident was identified and counted in the instances where (1) the name of a religion was mentioned; (2) the name of a god was addressed or mentioned; and (3) a unit of complete meaning, which could be a phrase, a sentence, or several consecutive sentences, conveyed a piece of information or filling-the-gap detail about the religious practices, e.g., burning paper money to gods, burning incense sticks, placing offerings of food, and so on. To illustrate, take the following coded passage as an example, which is an excerpt from *Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze* (Lewis, 1932, p.9),

```
...the genial kitchen god whose portrait had been
    (1)   (2)
placed in a choice location on the chimney. This
    (3)
deity, friendly though he was in appearance, had been known to carry bad reports to Heaven at the festivities of the New Year period.
```

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is three. Kitchen god was mentioned in the incident No. 1, and
No. 2 tells readers where people placed the image of kitchen god. The incident No. 3 indicates what people believed about kitchen god.

The analysis procedures were as follows. First, the total number of books in which the incidents of religious beliefs were observed was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain the descriptions of religious beliefs across the three chronological groups, the percentages were obtained by dividing the number of books containing the descriptions by the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the incidents associated with the description of religious beliefs were identified and the number of incidents corresponding to each subcategory (Buddhism, religious Taoism, popular religion, and Christianity) was recorded for each chronological group. The respective number of incidents was then divided by the total number of books containing the description of religious beliefs within the associated chronological group. The resulting averages reflected how detailed the descriptions of the religious beliefs were in the context. By adding up the averages for the four subcategories within each chronological group, the comparison of the detailed description given in the books can
be made among the three chronological groups. Third, without referring to their chronological groups, the total number of incidents associated with each subcategory was computed, and the respective percentage was then derived relative to the total number of religion incidents. A pie figure was then formed to show the overall distribution of the four subcategories, which reflected the relative detailed description of the subcategories.

**Domestic Ritual Activities**

Domestic ritual activities are essential to Chinese culture and usually connected with life-cycle. This category was intended to reveal how frequently the relevant information about Chinese domestic ritual activities was presented in each chronological group of books, what domestic ritual activities were described, and how detailed the descriptions.

The data related to domestic ritual activities emerged into four subcategories: (1) birthday, (2) marriage, (3) funeral, and (4) ancestor worship. The incidents in each subcategory were counted. In order to determine how detailed the relevant information describing domestic ritual activities was, one incident, as a general rule, was identified and counted in the instances where (1) a key word denoted a culturally significant symbol or indication, e.g.,
color and material; and (2) a unit of complete meaning, which
could be a phrase, a sentence, or several consecutive
sentences, conveyed a piece of information or filling-the-gap
detail, e.g., what a person did, who the person was, when a
certain thing was done, and what it was for. In the
subcategory of marriage, for example, the key words of "red,"
which symbolizes happiness and good fortune, "dowry," "go-
between," "wedding-chair," "wedding procession," etc. were
identified and counted as valid incidents. In the
subcategory of funeral, the key words such as "white," which
symbolizes mourning, "funeral procession," "paper money," and
"mourning clothes" were counted. To illustrate, take the
following coded passage as an example, which is an excerpt
from Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (Lewis, 1932, p.126),

A funeral procession with elaborately robed priests
(1) (2)
beating gongs and chanting weird rhythms met him.
(3) (4)
He stepped to the curb and watched with interest
the coolies, dressed in white mourning cloth, who
(5) (6)
carried aloft paper imitations of articles the dead
(7) (8)
might wish to use in the spirit world.

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is
eight. The incident No. 1 is a key incident for a funeral in
Chinese society, because when someone died, a funeral
procession is usually formed. The incident No. 2 indicates
who was involved in a funeral procession, and No. 3 and 4 incidents elaborate what the priests did in the procession. The incidents No. 5 and 6 tell readers Chinese mourners wore a particular type of clothing and in white color. The incidents of No. 7 and 8 give other pieces of information that mourners in the procession brought paper things and what they were for.

Another coded example is from *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971, p.158).

On the next day they were married. *Token betrothal*

1. presents were exchanged, *the ritual cups of rice*

2. wine were sipped by the bride and groom and guests, and then, though there had not been the usual elaborate *wedding procession with the presents*

3. *(4)*

4. *carried through the streets of the city and the*

5. *bride heralded by singing girls and musicians as she rode in her red wedding litter, Ma Hou was nonetheless brought to Chu in a red wedding chair*

6. *(7)*

7. wearing a *red bridal veil. They kowtowed to Heaven*

8. *(9)*

9. *(10)*

and Earth, *one another's ancestral tablets, and to*

10. *(11)*

11. *(12)*

Kuo and Madame Kuo as their parents, *making vows of*

12. *(13)*

13. *filial piety.*

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is thirteen. The incidents No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, and
13 give the pieces of details of what took place during a wedding ceremony, while the incidents No. 6, 7, 8, and 9 are the key words of cultural significance, indicating that a traditional Chinese bride wore a veil and was carried by a wedding chair to her husband's home and everything in the wedding was red.

The analysis procedures were as follows. First, the total number of books in which the incidents of domestic ritual activities were observed was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain the descriptions of domestic ritual activities across the three chronological groups, the percentages were obtained by dividing the number of books containing the descriptions by the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the incidents associated with the descriptions of domestic ritual activities were identified and the number of incidents corresponding to each subcategory (birthday, marriage, funeral, and ancestor worship) was recorded for each chronological group. The respective number of incidents was then divided by the total number of books containing the description of domestic ritual activities within the associated chronological group. The resulting averages reflected how detailed the descriptions of the
domestic ritual activities were in the context. By adding up the averages for the four subcategories within each chronological group, the comparison of the detailed description given in the books can be made among the three chronological groups. Third, without referring to their chronological groups, the total number of incidents associated with each subcategory was computed, and the respective percentage was then derived relative to the total number of domestic ritual activity incidents. A pie figure was then formed to show the overall distribution of the four subcategories, which reflected the relative detailed description of the subcategories.

**Festivals**

Festivals are part of culture. This category was intended to reveal how frequently the relevant information about Chinese festivals was presented in each chronological group of books, what festivals were mentioned and described, and how detailed the descriptions.

The data related to festivals emerged into seven subcategories: (1) New Year, (2) Lantern Festival, (3) Ch'ing-ming, (4) Dragon Boat Festival, (5) Festival of Hungry Ghosts, (6) Moon Festival, and (7) Double Ten Day. The incidents in each subcategory were counted. In order to determine how detailed the relevant information regarding
festivals was, one incident was identified and counted in the instances where (1) the name of a festival was mentioned; and (2) a unit of complete meaning, which could be a phrase, a sentence, or several consecutive sentences, conveyed a piece of information or filling-the-gap detail about the festival, e.g., what date the festival was on, what significance of the particular festival had for the Chinese, what particular thing was prepared for that day, and what people did to celebrate. To illustrate, take the following coded passage as an example, which is an excerpt from Little Pear and His Friends (Lattimore, 1934, p.59),

The New Year is the happiest time of the Year in China. Everybody has new clothes then, and especially good things to eat. And for two weeks everybody has a holiday.

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is four. The incident No. 1 is a statement about New Year. No. 2 and 3 incidents elaborate the customs of New Year. The incident No. 4 gives another piece of information that people celebrated New Year for two weeks.

Another coded example, from Ho-Ming: Girl of China (Lewis, 1934, p.59), described the Dragon Boat Festival,
Most doorways bore sprays of artemisia and strange paper effigies of the insects and small creatures that harass the farmer. On this day evil spirits were supposed to return to the earth in great numbers, and only by these symbols did the older generation believe demons could be frightened away.

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is four. The incidents No. 1 and 2 tell readers that on the Dragon Boat Festival, people used to place two things above the door, which were sprays of artemisia and paper effigies of the insects. The incident No. 3 noted the traditional belief of the festival, while No. 4 explained what the paper effigies of the insects were used for.

The analysis procedures were as follows. First, the total number of books in which the festival incidents were observed was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain the description of festivals across the three chronological groups, the percentages were obtained by dividing the number of books containing the description by the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the incidents associated with the description of festivals were identified and the number of incidents corresponding to each
festival was recorded for each chronological group. The respective number of incidents was then divided by the total number of books containing the description of festivals within the associated chronological group. The resulting averages reflected how detailed the descriptions of the festivals were in the context. By adding up the averages for the seven subcategories within each chronological group, the comparison of the detailed description given in the books can be made among the three chronological groups. Third, without referring to their chronological groups, the total number of incidents associated with each subcategory was computed, and the respective percentage was then derived relative to the total number of festival incidents. A pie figure was then formed to show the overall distribution of the seven subcategories, which reflected the relative detailed description of the subcategories.

**Gender Issues**

Up until World War II, Chinese society was strongly patrilineal. Since then, there have been considerable changes, although vestiges of the old system persist to varying degrees in different regions (Haviland, 1990). This category was intended to reveal how frequently gender issues were discussed in each chronological group of books, what
issues were mentioned and discussed, and how detailed the discussion.

The data related to gender issues emerged into four subcategories: (1) degrading girls in general, (2) footbinding, (3) valuing boys, and (4) sexual equality. The incidents in each subcategory were counted. In order to determine how detailed the relevant information regarding gender issues was, one incident was identified and counted in the instances where (1) a statement was made concerning degrading girls, footbinding, valuing boys, or sexual equality; and (2) a unit of complete meaning, which could be a phrase, a sentence, or several consecutive sentences, conveyed a piece of information or filling-the-gap detail about footbinding, e.g., the origin of footbinding, at what age a girl's feet started to be bound, how feet were bound, how long one's bound feet were, and so on. For example, the statement that "In old China, girls were worth nothing," an excerpt from *Leaving Point* (Vander Els, 1987, p.159), was counted as one incident under "degrading girls." That "Girls were not considered as important as boys," from *More about Little Pear* (Lattimore, 1971, p.49) was respectively counted as one incident under "degrading girls" and "valuing boys." Take another coded passage as an example, which is an excerpt from *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990, p.9),
Mother's feet had been bound when she was a small child living behind her father's shop. Everyone but peasants bound girls' feet in those days. The republic was established and foot binding was outlawed before she grew up, so her feet were not as small as Grandmother's. But she still had trouble walking.

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is five. The incident No. 1 indicates one's feet were bound, and No. 2 further tells readers when her feet were bound. The incidents No. 3 and 4 state two facts regarding footbinding, while No. 5 reveals that footbinding made one's walking difficult.

The analysis procedures were as follows. First, the total number of books in which the incidents of gender issues were observed was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain the descriptions of gender issues across the three chronological groups, the percentages were obtained by dividing the number of books containing the descriptions by the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the incidents associated with the descriptions of gender issues were identified and the number of incidents corresponding to
each gender issue (degrading girls in general, footbinding, valuing boys, and sexual equality) was recorded for each chronological group. The respective number of incidents was then divided by the total number of books containing the description of gender issues within the associated chronological group. The resulting averages reflected how detailed the descriptions of the gender issues were in the context. By adding up the averages for the four subcategories within each chronological group, the comparison of the detailed description given in the books can be made among the three chronological groups. Third, without referring to their chronological groups, the total number of incidents associated with each subcategory was computed, and the respective percentage was then derived relative to the total number of gender issue incidents. A pie figure was then formed to show the overall distribution of the four subcategories, which reflected the relative detailed description of the subcategories.

**Values**

A set of values, which is an aspect of culture, is shared by members of a society and transmitted from generation to generation. This category was intended to reveal how frequently the values significant to the Chinese culture were presented in each chronological group of books,
what values were mentioned and described, and how detailed the descriptions.

The data related to values emerged into eleven subcategories: (1) older siblings taking care of younger ones, (2) deference to elders, (3) thrift, (4) separation of sexes, (5) hold on to the land, (6) order in family, (7) obedience, (8) filial piety, (9) study hard, (10) respect scholars, and (11) industry. The incidents in each subcategory were counted. In order to determine how detailed the relevant information regarding values was, one incident was identified and counted in the instances where (1) a statement was made regarding values; and (2) a unit of complete meaning, which could be a phrase, a sentence, or several consecutive sentences, conveyed a piece of information or filling-the-gap detail about the values. For example, the statement that "At your age I did not dare interrupt elders," an excerpt from To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help (Lewis, 1953, p.143), was counted as one incident under "deference to elders." That "Unmarried ladies ought not to receive gentlemen in their courts" was counted as one incident under "separation of sexes." Take the following coded passage as another example, which is an excerpt from Forbidden City: A novel of modern China (Bell, 1990, p.56),
Teachers here are revered. No one challenges them. (1)
even on an opinion, and of course no one even (2) dreams of talking back.

The total number of incidents counted in this passage is three. The incident No. 1 makes a statement that teachers are revered, and No. 2 and 3 are the elaboration of it.

The analysis procedures were as follows. First, the total number of books in which the incidents of values were observed was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain the description of values across the three chronological groups, the percentages were obtained by dividing the number of books containing the description by the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the incidents associated with the description of values were identified and the number of incidents corresponding to each value was recorded for each chronological group. The respective number of incidents was then divided by the total number of books containing the description of values within the associated chronological group. The resulting averages reflected how detailed the descriptions of the values were in the context. By adding up the averages for the eleven subcategories within each chronological group, the comparison of the detailed
description given in the books can be made among the three chronological groups. Third, without referring to their chronological groups, the total number of incidents associated with each subcategory was computed, and the respective percentage was then derived relative to the total number of value incidents. A pie figure was then formed to show the overall distribution of the eleven subcategories, which reflected the relative detailed description of the subcategories.

**Inaccuracies**

Disappointing effects can result when authors of the fiction do not have native-like understanding of Chinese culture. This category was intended to determine how accurate the information presented in children's fiction is, regarding Chinese culture, history, geography, and others, and whether or not there is a tendency to present more accurate and sophisticated information about China and the Chinese in children's fiction published across time periods.

Inaccuracies found in the books under study were pointed out and classified into unauthentic language and inaccurate information. The errors of each type were counted.

The analysis procedures were as follows. First, the total number of books in which the inaccuracies were observed
was counted for each chronological group (i.e., 1925-1939; 1940-1969; 1970-1991). In order to show the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain inaccuracies across the three chronological groups, the percentages were obtained by dividing the number of books containing the inaccuracies by the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the inaccuracies were identified and their numbers were recorded for each chronological group. The respective number of inaccuracies was then divided by the total number of books containing the inaccuracies within the associated chronological group. The resulting averages reflected how accurate the information presented in the books was. The three averages were compared among them to see if there was a decreasing change over time regarding inaccuracies.

**Summary of the Categories**

In the fourteen categories, the first thirteen represent the portrayals of Chinese and the last one deals with inaccuracies and unauthenticity.

The categories of chronological settings, occupations, economic status, and names of the characters were reported in terms of percentages of the subcategories relative to the total number of incidents accumulated from each chronological
group. And within each subcategory across the chronological groups, the three percentages were compared among them to see if there was a change over time in the occurrence rate of the particular subcategory.

The categories of geographical regions, staple food, and ethnic groups, in which time change was not considered to be an important aspect, were reported in terms of percentages of the subcategories relative to the total number of incidents accumulated from all the books under study. And for these three categories, the percentages of the subcategories were compared and listed in descending order.

In the category of dialects, all specified dialects were recorded and numbers of occurrence were counted for each chronological group. The occurrence numbers of each dialect were added up across the three chronological groups, and the occurrence numbers of various dialects within each chronological group were also added up. The names of the dialects, the respective numbers of occurrence corresponding to each chronological group, and the total occurrence of each dialect were then listed in descending order.

Since the cultural categories of religious beliefs, domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values were designated to discover what specific pieces of information were under these categories and how detailed the
presentations were, they had no pre-set subcategories and the identifications of the incidents were operationalized for the individual purposes and attributions of the categories. Within these categories, first, for the purpose of showing the relative occurrence rate of the books which contain the relevant descriptions of the categories across the three chronological groups, the books containing the descriptions of the categories were reported in terms of percentages relative to the total number of books included in each chronological group (i.e., 7 in 1925-1939; 12 in 1940-1969; 15 in 1970-1991). Second, the averages of incidents corresponding to each subcategory were computed for each chronological group and reflected how detailed the descriptions of the categories were in the context. Third, without referring to their chronological groups, the percentages of incidents corresponding to each subcategory were derived relative to the total number of incidents accumulated from the associated category. A pie figure was then formed to show the overall distribution of the subcategories, which reflected the relative detailed description of the subcategories.

The same analysis procedures were applied to the category of inaccuracies. A slight difference is that the resulting averages reflected how accurate, not detailed, the information presented in the books was. The three averages
were compared among them to see if there was a decreasing change over time regarding inaccuracies.
CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The works of fiction portraying Chinese in the present study were sorted out into three chronological groups based on their dates of publication—the groups of 1925-1939, 1940-1969, and 1970-1991. The first group contains seven books published between 1925 and 1939, the second group includes twelve books published between 1940 and 1969, and the third group has fifteen books published between 1970 and 1991. And the total is thirty-four. The titles under study are listed in chronological order in Appendix A. The overall findings on the analysis of this body of literature are reported in the following areas: (1) demographic categories—chronological settings, geographical regions, staple food, ethnic groups, occupations, economic status, dialects, and names of the characters; (2) cultural categories—religious beliefs, domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values; and (3) evaluative category—inaccuracies.
Demographic Categories

Chronological Settings

Thirty-three of the thirty-four books were specific in indicating time frames or dates. Some stated the exact years or the specific dynasty, or mentioned a specific war in the foreword, the epilogue, the text, or on the jacket cover. When time periods were not specifically indicated, the time frames were determined by inferring from the incidents of historical significance, life styles, costume, described or pictured in the illustrations or the text. Only one book provided no clue to the exact time setting.

These time frames or dates were classified into the following subcategories: (1) before Ch'ing dynasty, (2) Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912), (3) Republic (1912-the present), and (4) unknown. The findings are presented in Table 3 and shown graphically in Figure 1. It was expected that the setting of Ch'ing dynasty might appear more frequently in the earlier publications, because Americans were having frequent contact with Chinese and Chinese first came to the United States to work for living during the Ch'ing dynasty, plus previous studies (Butterfield et al., 1979; CIBC, 1976) found that Chinese characters in children's books were always stereotyped in texts and pictures as wearing queues—which was a regulation under the Manchu ruler. It can be seen in
Table 3, however, that only 5 of the 34 books were set during
the Ch'ing dynasty. Of those, only one was published in the
first period, and none in the second. The setting of the
republican era ranked the highest frequency in each of the
three chronological groups, as shown in Figure 1.

### TABLE 3

**CHRONOLOGICAL SETTINGS (OCCURRENCE AND PERCENTAGES)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bef Ch'ing</th>
<th>Ch'ing</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1925-1939 (N=7)</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1940-1969 (N=12)</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1970-1991 (N=15)</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N=34)</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results may be related to the authors' backgrounds. Generally speaking, the authors who have spent
time in China base their stories on their experiences living
in China; while those who have not been in China usually
produce stories set in ancient times, based on printed
Figure 1. Column plot for percentages of chronological settings
sources or/and information from persons who know intimately Chinese history and customs. As indicated in *Something about the Author* (Gale, 1993), all the authors of the books set in the republican era either grew up or stayed in China for years during this particular period of time. Exceptions are Carolyn Treffinger, William Bell, Miriam Schlein, and Emily Cheney Neville, whose experiences with China are not known. Among authors who spent time in China are: Eleanor Frances Lattimore, Elizabeth Foreman Lewis, Thomas Handforth, and Esther Wood in the 1925-1939 group; Eleanor Frances Lattimore, Margueritte Harmon Bro, Elizabeth Foreman Lewis, Beatrice Liu, Meindert DeJong, Louis Slobodkin, and Joy Anderson in 1940-1969; Alexander Cordell, Eleanor Frances Lattimore, Jean Fritz, Svend S. Otto, Betty Vander Els, and Margaret and Raymond Chang in 1970-1991. Some of the writers whose works are set in ancient times may have been indulging their interest in China and Chinese culture. For example, Arthur Bowie Chrisman, because of his love of Chinese folk material, spent several years studying the ancient literature and history of China, and wrote *Shen of the Sea* (1925). Reading on ancient China also inspired Jean Merrill and Gertrude Weaver to write historical fiction, *The Superlative Horse* (1961) and *The Emperor's Gift* (1969).

As was expected, there was an inclination to more diverse time settings in the third group, 1970-1991. This
might be due to growing interest in and sensitivity toward Chinese history and culture. The authors tended to explore both ancient and modern China, ranging from the fourteenth century in *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971) to China of the 1990s in the latest publication, *The China Year* (Neville, 1991).

The overall distribution of the time settings, without referring to their chronological groups, is shown in Figure 2. Although the majority of the books (70 percent) were set in the republican period, for the most part they depicted China in the early twentieth century, especially from the 1920s to the 1940s. That was a period when the republic was newly established, China was moving through a turbulent transition towards a new society, and Japanese invasion (1937-1945) and the civil war between the Nationalists and Communists (1946-1949) tore the country. As a result, the picture of China presented in these books is filled with devastation, turbulence, bandits, beggars, and poverty.

Following World War II, China resumed its civil war until 1949. As the Nationalist party retreated to Taiwan, the Communists came into power. Mainland China then closed all communication with the West. The disconnection, with the Westerners not being welcomed in China, might explain a gap in the continuity of time frames presented in the fiction. Only one book, *Leaving Point* (Vander Els, 1987), was set in
Figure 2. Overall distribution of chronological setting incidents
1950-1951, when the American missionary families were leaving China because of anti-foreign demonstrations and pressures. No books were set in the 1960s, while two books, The Traitor Within (Cordell, 1971) and Children of the Yangtze River (Otto, 1982) were set in the 1970s, and three in the 1980s-1990s, Forbidden City: A Novel of Modern China (Bell, 1990), The Year of the Panda (Schlein, 1990) and The China Year (Neville, 1991).

Although it seems that the settings of before Ch'ing dynasty (12 percent) and Ch'ing dynasty (15 percent) were comparable, in a sense, the representations before Ch'ing dynasty appeared much less frequently because there were various dynasties and thousands of years before Ch'ing dynasty was established. Among the four books set before Ch'ing dynasty are The Emperor's Gift (Weaver, 1969) in 2700 B.C., The Superlative Horse (Merrill, 1961), Ride the Far Wind (Jones, 1964) in 670 A.D., and The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971) in 1348-1368. There existed a number of gaps in the presentation of Chinese historical continuity. It is disappointing to discover that works of historical fiction are much fewer than one might expect about a country whose history is as long as that of China.
**Geographical Regions**

The geographical regions in which the stories were set were identified and classified into the following eight subcategories: (1) North China, (2) Central China (Lower Yangtze Valley), (3) South China (including Taiwan), (4) Southwest China, (5) Northeast China, (6) Northwest China, (7) Western China, and (8) unknown. The relative occurrence rates of the subcategories among all the books studied are presented in descending order in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Percentage (N=34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North China</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South China</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central China</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest China</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast China</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest China</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western China</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
91 percent of the books were specific in indicating geographical settings. Some indicated in the content where the stories were set, such as the specific city, province, and a certain part of China. When the geographical settings were not specifically identified, the settings were determined by inferring from the descriptions of life styles of the characters in the books. With 9 percent of the books, no clue could be found to determine their geographical settings.

As the findings reveal, North China and South China were noted as most frequent regional settings. This may be attributed to the fact that most of the places which the authors are likely to have visited or be familiar with are located in either the northern or southern parts of China. As a matter of fact, many industrial and commercial cities and prosperous provinces are located in northern and southern China where foreign tourists and missionaries often visit, such as Peking, Tientsin, and Canton. While 18 percent of the books took place in Central China and 15 percent in Southwest China, no books were set in Northeast China, Northwest China, and Western China. The lack of representation of the settings in Northeast China, Northwest China, and Western China may occur because the remoteness and underdevelopment of those areas obstruct communication and tourism. Another reason might be that many minority groups,
such as the Hui, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur, found in great concentration in those areas, segregate themselves in Hui Autonomous Region of Ningsia, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Region, and Uighur Autonomous Region of Sinkiang, and might not welcome outsiders.

**Staple Food**

Chinese live on grain food, rice, wheat, millet, or sorghum. The types of staple food which people live on vary geographically, depending on regional crop productions. Rice, China's most important staple, is dominant in the southern provinces, while in central China wheat and rice vie with each other, and in the North wheat is of the greatest importance. Millet and sorghum are served mainly in the Northeast and some southwest provinces (National Textbook Association, 1992).

The relative occurrence rates of these four types of staple food among all the books studied are listed in descending order in Table 5. The findings indicate that more than half (52%) of the references to food were to rice, with wheat second at 43%. Both rice and wheat were represented in much higher frequencies than the other two staples. The results are consistent with that of geographical settings: the majority of the books were set in North, South, and Central China; consequently, the majority of people would
have rice and wheat as their staple food. Southwest China was the least frequent area which the stories were set, millet and sorghum accordingly had the lowest percentages of representation.

**TABLE 5**

**STAPLE FOOD**

*(PERCENTAGES IN DESCENDING ORDER)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staple</th>
<th>Percentage (N=58)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ethnic Groups**

The category of ethnic groups was divided into Han (Chinese), Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Yao, and others. The names of the ethnic groups mentioned in the books were classified into above subcategories. If no ethnic groups (neither Han nor other groups) were indicated, the books were considered as not specifying ethnic groups. The relative occurrence rates of these ethnic groups among the
books which mentioned them are presented in descending order in Table 6.

**TABLE 6**

**ETHNIC GROUPS**

*(PERCENTAGES IN DESCENDING ORDER)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Percentage (N=17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchu</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miao</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolian</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the books (79 percent) did not specify which ethnic group they depicted. The Han may be assumed as the object of their depictions, since for the most part the stories were set in North, South, and Central China, where the Han (Chinese) is the largest group, outnumbering the minority groups or minority nationalities in every province. However, it implies that the authors, taking for granted that Chinese are Chinese, may have no knowledge regarding China
being a multi-ethnic country, with a population composed of a large number of ethnic groups.

In the books specifying ethnic groups, the Han (35 percent) was represented in highest frequencies, which is consistent with the reality that the Han is the largest group. The Manchu was second and the Miao and Mongolian followed. Among the others, which were identified in 11 percent of the incidents, were the groups of Lo Lo, Chung Chia, and Hakka.

**Occupations**

The occupations of the major Chinese characters or of their parents or guardians were identified and classified into two subcategories: farmer and non-farmer. If the major characters were employed full-time, the specific occupations were listed and categorized. In the instances where the major characters who were children had no full-time job, the occupation of the family's major breadwinner was documented and categorized. The relative occurrence rates of the two types of occupations within each chronological group are presented in Table 7.
### TABLE 7

**OCCUPATIONS (OCCURRENCE AND PERCENTAGES)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
<th>Non-farmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=8)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=15)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=12)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=35)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the findings reveal, within each chronological group, the relative occurrence rates of the two types of occupations were comparable. According to the overall distribution, farmers were identified in 54 percent of the total occupation incidents. Such results, which make sense, reflect the fact that China has been an agricultural society for thousands of years, consequently, a higher percentage of people are engaged in farming than in any other pursuit. Many have been encouraged to leave the fields and pursue other work activities since the 1980s, and the population of farmers is
consequently supposed to decrease. However, because the works of fiction set before the 1980s outnumbered the ones set after, which consists of only three of them, it makes sense that the representation of farms still made the majority.

**Economic Status**

The economic status of each family of Chinese main characters in the book was assigned to the following subcategories: poor, adequate, comfortable, and wealthy. "Poor" was defined as hand-to-mouth or meager existence, "adequate" as having barely sufficient means to meet everyday needs, "comfortable" as more than an economic sufficiency to meet everyday needs, and "wealthy" as opulent living standards (Gast, 1965). Inferences were made from the state of family finances, the abundance of food in the household, and the availability of leisure time. The relative occurrence rates of the four subcategories within each chronological group are presented in Table 8 and shown graphically in Figure 3.
### TABLE 8

**ECONOMIC STATUS**

(OCCURRENCE AND PERCENTAGES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
<th>Comfortable</th>
<th>Wealthy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=10)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=13)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=15)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Figure 3, the characters were inclined to be presented as being either poor or adequate in the first two groups, while there was a tendency of an increase of comfortable and wealthy status in the third group. Within the third group, the combined percentages of "comfortable" and "wealthy" became comparable with the combined percentages of "poor" and "adequate." This indicates that the characters being portrayed as "comfortable" and "wealthy" tended to balance those being "poor" and "adequate" in the 1970-1991 group. Not all characters were portrayed as having barely sufficient means to meet everyday needs and worse. A range
Figure 3. Column plot for percentages of economic status
of economic status was thus represented in the most recent

**Dialects**

China, a very large country, is separated one section from
another by rivers, mountains, and winding roads. This lack of unity has been strong enough to cause each section to have a dialect all its own. All specified dialects mentioned in the fiction were recorded and their occurrence were counted for each chronological group. The occurrence numbers of each dialect were added up across the three chronological groups, and the occurrence numbers of various dialects within each chronological group were also added up. The names of the dialects, the respective numbers of occurrence corresponding to each chronological group, and the total occurrence of dialects are listed in descending order in Table 9.
TABLE 9
DIALECTS (OCURRENCE IN DESCENDING ORDER)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fukienese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szechwan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung Chia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakka</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangchow</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunming</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shantung</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uighur</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complexity and diversity of Chinese languages and dialects has been a controversial issue argued among linguists. Some linguists call a certain dialect a dialect, while others call it a language. However, the controversy was not a concern of the study. The "dialects" above are listed as they were identified by the authors who wrote the fiction.
The majority (65 percent) of the books did not indicate what dialect the characters speak. As the findings obtained from the specified dialects indicate, there was a tendency towards recognizing the various dialects. Mandarin was the most often-mentioned language and Cantonese was next. The occurrence of the Cantonese being second to Mandarin might be attributed to the great population of Cantonese speaking people along the southern coast of China.

**Names of the Characters**

All the Chinese characters' names were recorded and fell into five subcategories: (1) one-syllable name, (2) two-syllable name, (3) three-syllable name, (4) nickname, and (5) translation. The findings are presented in Table 10 and shown graphically in Figure 4.
TABLE 10
 NAMES OF THE CHARACTERS
 (OCCURRENCE AND PERCENTAGES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>1-S.</th>
<th>2-S.</th>
<th>3-S.</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Trans.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=119)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=108)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=136)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 10, "One-syllable Name" appeared 31 percent in the first group. It is an unusually high percentage compared with that of "Three-syllable Name". As a matter of fact, one-syllable names which are assumed to be family names are rarely used to address Chinese.

As shown in Figure 4, there was a decrease in the occurrence of both "One-syllable Name" and "Two-syllable Name" over the three chronological groups. And the occurrence of "Three-syllable Name" became more frequent than "One-syllable Name" in the third group. This may indicate that the authors became more aware of how Chinese names are
Figure 4. Column plot for percentages of names
composed, and learned that the great majority of Chinese names consist of a monosyllabic surname and a dissyllabic given name.

It seems odd that two-syllable names were given to the characters more frequently than three-syllable names in all three chronological groups, partly because, again, the great majority of Chinese names consist of a monosyllabic surname and a dissyllabic given name. Besides, there are problems with the two-syllable names created by the Western authors. For example, which character is the surname and which is the given name, or whether both characters are indicating a given name, can not be distinguished simply by the way of Romanizing the characters without hyphenating them. Even when two-syllable names indicate persons' given names; in reality Chinese do not usually address others by their given names, unless they have very close relationships.

"Translation" names had the highest occurrence in the third group. The result might be reflective of the authors' perspective—being aware that most Chinese given names carry special meanings, they prefer translating the characters' names to Romanizing them, which means nothing to the reader who does not understand the Chinese language.
Cultural Categories

Religious Beliefs

The category of religious beliefs is used to report: (1) how frequently the relevant description of Chinese religious life appeared in each chronological group of books; (2) what religious beliefs were mentioned and how they were presented; (3) how detailed the descriptions were, compared among the three chronological groups; and (4) the overall findings regarding the specific religious beliefs involved.

In reporting the findings, the actual numbers and percentages of the books containing the incidents identified as religious beliefs are presented in Table 11 and shown graphically in Figure 5. The findings indicate that incidents of religious beliefs appeared in 4 of 7 or 57 percent of the books published between 1925 and 1939, 7 of 12 or 58 percent of the books in 1940-1969, and 10 of 15 or 67 percent of the books in 1970-1991. That is to say, more than half of the books in each chronological group depicted Chinese religious life. As Figure 5 reveals, although a trend indicates an increase in presenting cultural information regarding Chinese religious beliefs, the increase is relatively slight, especially from 1925 to 1969.
TABLE 11

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS
(NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE BOOKS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of Books (n)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=7)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=12)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=15)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buddhism, religious Taoism, popular religion, and Christianity were represented in 21 of 34 books under study.

**Buddhism and Religious Taoism**

In most instances where Buddhism and religious Taoism were evident, references to Buddhist temple or monastery, Taoist temple, religious agents such as Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, and Buddhist and Taoist deities were mentioned but not described specifically. In *Su-mei's Golden Year* (Bro, 1950), for example, the courtyard of an empty Buddhist temple was used as a gathering place for people to perform the buffalo ceremony, and the Taoist temple in a neighboring village was mentioned to indicate where the fortunetellers came from. The scenes of Buddhist or Taoist
temples were also adopted in *To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help* (Lewis, 1953) and *The Pai-pai Pig* (Anderson, 1967), while relatively detailed descriptions of the temples were noted in *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971) and *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990).

Religious agents, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, were sometimes called on to conduct a special service in the household, e.g., to pray for one’s ancestors as mentioned in *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990), and to conduct a funeral ceremony--"gray-robed Buddhist monks would help these souls to join their ancestors...yellow-robed Taoist priests would chant services of intercession from the sacred books" (Carlson, 1971, p.14). When Buddhist monks appeared, they were usually associated with their shaven heads, as depicted in *To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help* (Lewis, 1953), *The Pai-pai Pig* (Anderson, 1967), and *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971), whereas no characteristics were accompanied with Taoist priests. In *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971), one piece of detail was added to the description of Buddhist monks, which was their "nine sacred scars" on their shaven heads.

Sometimes Buddhist ethical and moral instructions were given in the stories to indicate what a Buddhist must do and not do:
If one were a good Buddhist, he did not kill anything! (Lewis, 1934, p.173)

A devout Buddhist, she [Shao-shao's mother] would not eat beef. (Chang & Chang, 1990, p.62)

If a bird was lucky, a Buddhist would buy it to release as an act of charity that would be rewarded in the next life. (Chang & Chang, 1990, p.71)

He [Shao-shao's father] quoted Buddhist scripture, saying it was wrong to confine birds. They should fly free. (Chang & Chang, 1990, p.99)

Kuan-yin, Buddha, Matsu, the Four Heavenly Kings, and the Lord of Hell were the Buddhist deities appearing in the fiction studied. Among them, Kuan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, was most frequently mentioned and described in a relatively detailed way. Platitude-like prayers to Kuan-yin were often addressed in Lewis' Ho-Ming: Girl of China (1934) and To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help (1953), such as "Kuan-yin protect us," "Kuan-yin be thanked," and "Old Mother Kuan Yin, have mercy." That Kuan-yin is believed by Chinese to bring peace, protect from harm, cure the ill, comfort the grieving, and free from the tortures of hell was demonstrated in various instances found in the novels. The exemplary descriptions were noted in the following passages:

Kwan-yin with her merciful thousand hands of kindness was a good one to turn to. (Bro, 1950, p.198-199)

[Fu Be Be] went to...a shrine to Kwan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy. On the pungent, gray curls of smoke that ascended from lighted incense, she offered her gratitude to the kindly looking little statue within....Within her was the assurance that
the incense and rice which she had placed before
Kwan Yin's shrine had achieved the foreign spirit's
death. (Lewis, 1932, p.49 & 76)

The cloud he had prayed for to the Goddess of Mercy
crossed the moon. A good omen. He prayed now that
she would keep evil spirits from his path."
(Carlson, 1971, p.6)

Buddha, whose frequency of occurrence was next to Kuan-
yin's, was only mentioned superficially in such quotes as "he
slid the thong of a little wooden Buddha around his neck"
(Yep, 1985, p.23), "there were lines of Buddhas carved into
the light orange marble wall" (Bell, 1990, p.166), "at last
they saw the kind and benevolent Buddha presiding over the
altar" (Chang & Chang, 1990, p.117), and "Su-Ling burned a
stick of incense and placed it in front of Buddha, bowed, and
went outside" (Anderson, 1967, p.23).

Anderson (1967) devoted a whole book, The Pai-pai Pig,
to the celebration of the birthday of the Buddhist goddess
Matsu. Matsu is also called both T'ien-fei (the Concubine of
Heaven) and T'ien-hou (the Empress of Heaven). She is the
savior of mankind but especially of sailors who pray to her
to save them from the perils of the sea. Many ships have her
picture pasted up in the cabin. If danger threatens, her
picture is burned, sending her up to Heaven where she can use
her influence to calm the storm. Her birthday is the 23rd of
the third lunar month (Goodrich, 1991). Anderson portrayed
in detail the colorful ways of worshipping the deity in
connection with her birthday:
The opera began...Fireworks exploded. There was a bonfire to burn artificial money in honor of Matsu. Villagers visited Matsu's temple to burn joss sticks and leave offerings of bread, meats, and fruits. In return, they asked Matsu for good luck in the coming year...Friends and relatives from other villages admired the pigs, gossiped, and drank rice wine. The parade!...There was a band, with cymbals and big brass gongs and bamboo flutes. Lion dancers with red manes danced in and out of the crowd. Small girls rode on seats perched at the tops of tall poles. There were gigantic clowns on stilts with funny and fierce faces that loomed above everyone. Dragon dancers whirled and twisted in front of each shop. (p.44-45)

The other Buddhist deities, the Four Heavenly Kings and the Lord of Hell, were mentioned in The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971). The Four Heavenly Kings are the guardians of Buddhism and of the universe. They protect countries, cities, temples and individuals. Each has a quarter of the globe in his charge and is responsible for what happens there. They each represent one of the four seasons (Goodrich, 1991). Carlson did not detail the significance of the Four Heavenly Kings, while "the Hall of the Four Heavenly Kings" was only mentioned as a place and the deities once appeared in the following quote.

But the suffering of China was so urgent in him, he felt he could have faced the Four Kings of Heaven if necessary. (p.81)

However, the description regarding the Lord of Hell was given:
In the center of the central hall was the vast image of Ti Tsang, Lord of Hell, Ruler of the Dead. It was he, who, loving mankind, had delayed entering the peace of nirvana that he might deliver souls from the torments of hell. (p.18)

Taoist deities were presented much more superficially, compared to the descriptions of Buddhism and popular religion. Jade Emperor and Eight Immortals appeared once in The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971) and To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help (1953) respectively, while Kuan-ti, who is the God of War and Protection, was mentioned twice in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (Lewis, 1932) and The Traitor Within (Cordell, 1971). None of them were described with any further detail, except that the gods of the four directions were identified: "the black tortoise of the north, the red bird of the south, the green dragon of the east, and the white tiger of the west" in The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971, p.18).

**Popular Religion**

Although some deities are clearly identified in the Chinese masses with either Buddhism or religious Taoism, many others do not fit into such categories. Their origins are to be found in the popular religion, which grew out of the needs of the people and passed on by word of mouth and by custom (Goodrich, 1991).
The religion developed around deities who were thought to be particularly effective. As Goodrich (1991) speculated, The Chinese were conscious that the problems of life were too great for human beings to solve by themselves, so they turned to the spirits of the dead, who, having been human, would understand the problems, and, being spirits, had supernatural power to help. They were conscious of the reality of spiritual, supernatural forces in all of everyday life, that influenced their own lives individually. Each person worshipped the god he thought would help him most. (p.17-18)

These gods, thus, are often deified individuals or deified forces of nature, with purely local or animistic origins. Local gods, which are deified individuals, are often the spirits of virtuous historical figures who either lived in the region or who were thought to have had a special relationship with the people. The deities are usually represented by statues, pictures, or tablets placed in temples or shrines. Some deities are honored by their own private shrines, while others are worshipped together in temples (Hook & Twitchett, 1991; Smith, 1983). They are believed to guard people from the evil influence of demon spirits or save them from danger or bring good fortune, wealth, health, children, or long life.

The majority of the descriptions regarding popular religion were concentrated on the Kitchen God. He probably is most popular and the most widely worshipped deity in China
(Goodrich, 1991; Scott, 1980). His picture would be pasted up over the cooking stove in the household, as was evident in the houses of Young Fu, Ho-ming, Ching-ling, Mei Li, and Su-meii. Many incidents, such as in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (Lewis, 1932), Mei Li (Handforth, 1938), and Su-meii's Golden Year (Bro, 1950), described the ceremony of "sending the Kitchen God to heaven." On the twenty-third of the twelfth month, offerings were made to him and paper images of him were burned to send him up to heaven where he made a report on the family. The offerings included honey and other sugary things to sweeten his lips so that he would only say good things. On New Year's day, there would be another ceremony to welcome his return.

Among the other deities mentioned in the fiction are rain god (in The Story of Lee Ling and Su-meii's Golden Year), river god (in The House of Sixty Fathers and Homesick: My Own Story), gods of the crops (in Su-meii's Golden Year), god of luck (in Su-meii's Golden Year), God of Fortune (in To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help), God of the Fields (in To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help), and Earth God (in Su-meii's Golden Year, The Beggar King of China, and The Serpent's Children). They were respectively mentioned once in the texts.
**Christianity**

Although the principal religions practiced by the Chinese are Buddhism, Taoism, and popular religion, a small but significant percentage of the population believe in Christianity. Only two books, *The Traitor Within* (Cordell, 1971) and *Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom* (Paterson, 1983), indicated Christianity. The latter one itself is a story about Taiping rebels, whose ideology was partly Christian, sweeping central and southern China. In *The Traitor Within*, the characters prayed to Jesus and believed Jesus had brought new strength to them.

**The Distribution of the Incidents**

The numbers and averages of the incidents associated with each religion appearing in each chronological group are presented in Table 12 and shown graphically in Figure 6. Figure 6 reveals that religious Taoism was described in least detail among the three Chinese traditional religions in all of the three chronological groups, while Buddhism and popular religion had more detailed descriptions. Christianity was introduced in the most recent group.
### TABLE 12

**RELIGIOUS BELIEFS**

**(NUMBERS AND AVERAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Buddhism</th>
<th>Tacism</th>
<th>Folk</th>
<th>Christianity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=4)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=7)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=10)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall findings regarding the specific religions involved are presented in terms of percentages relative to the total number of the incidents in Table 13 and shown graphically in Figure 7. The results reveal that popular religion was most often described with details among the four mentioned in the fiction, and Buddhism was close to it, while Christianity was the religion described in the least detail.
Figure 6. Stacked column plot for averages of religion incidents
TABLE 13
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS
(NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Buddhism</th>
<th>Taoism</th>
<th>Folk</th>
<th>Christianity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Domestic Ritual Activities**

The category of domestic ritual activities is used to report: (1) how frequently the relevant description of Chinese domestic ritual activities appeared in each chronological group of books; (2) what activities were mentioned and how they were presented; (3) how detailed the descriptions were, compared among the three chronological groups; and (4) the overall findings regarding the specific ritual activities involved.

In reporting the findings, the actual numbers and percentages of the books containing the incidents identified as domestic ritual activities are presented in Table 14 and
Figure 7. Overall distribution of religion incidents

- Buddhism 41%
- Religious Taoism 15%
- Popular Religion 43%
- Christianity 1%
shown graphically in Figure 8. The findings indicate that incidents of domestic ritual activities appeared in 3 of 7 or 43 percent of the books published between 1925 and 1939, 4 of 12 or 33 percent of the books in 1940-1969, and 7 of 15 or 47 percent of the books in 1970-1991. That is to say, less than half of the books in the first and last chronological groups, and about one-third of the books in the second group, depicted ritual activities in Chinese homes. Figure 8 clearly shows the drop in 1940-1969 and an increase in 1970-1991.

**TABLE 14**

**DOMESTIC RITUAL ACTIVITIES**

(NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE BOOKS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of Books (n)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=7)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=12)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=15)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four sorts of domestic ritual activities were evident in 14 of 34 books studied: birthday, marriage, funeral, and ancestor worship.
Figure 8. Percentages of books containing incidents of ritual activities.
**Birthday**

The ceremonies connected with birth in China vary tremendously, but a few common denominators may be identified. "Full-month" ceremonies mark the first month of a newborn child's life and underline the uncertainty surrounding the child's early existence (Smith, 1983). In Lattimore's *More about Little Pear* (1971), a "full-month" ceremony was noted.

The next day friends and neighbors went to Big Head's house, where the month-old baby girl lay asleep in her mother's arms....The neighbors and friends brought her jackets, little shoes, and a good-luck charm. (p.54-55)

The name of the baby was also bestowed in the ceremony and a charm, among other gifts, brought to the baby. Because infant mortality was so high and life so precarious, Chinese usually protected newborn children through the use of charms to keep from evil spirits. It was believed that another way of protecting the newborn was to make offerings, which was evident in Wood's *Silk and Satin Lane* (1939).

She watched Chen Mother cook sweet and sour pork, soft, sticky dumplings, and little rice cakes to be offered to the spirits who would guard the new baby. (p.201)

Customs which celebrate the birth of a baby may differ from region to region in China. Variations paralleling
"full-month" ceremonies were found in two books. In Wood's *Silk and Satin Lane* (1939), Chen distributed red eggs to the neighbors for announcing his first son had been born and a feast was held when the baby was three days old. However, the time for celebration was different in *Su-mei's Golden Year* (Bro, 1950):

There is the feast on the hundred-day anniversary of a boy child to which all the friends of his parents come bringing gifts. Then when a child is a year old, boy or girl, a celebration may be in order. Again, when the cycle of ten is complete, a child may celebrate. (p.71)

Shao-shao's tenth birthday was celebrated in *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990). He received money placed in little red envelopes from his parents and relatives. As a matter of fact, except for the birth of a baby, children's birthdays do not usually play an important part in Chinese homes, although more and more new-generation parents, because of Western influence, start to celebrate their children's birthdays and hold birthday parties for them.

Customarily, major birthday celebrations for men and women begin about age fifty or so. From this point onward, such celebrations increase in size and significance, especially upon the beginning of each new decade. To illustrate, people held a big celebration for Grandma Ko's sixtieth birthday in *Su-mei's Golden Year* (Bro, 1950), during which kinfolk came from far and near to pay greetings, a
great feast was held, the professional stilt walkers were invited to entertain the "longevity star" and guests, and fireworks were provided in Grandma Ko's honor. Naturally enough the concrete symbolism of birthday ceremonies centers on longevity:

Among the presents were many rolls of big copper pennies, usually sixty in a roll; sometimes a hundred pennies to indicate the long life Grandma was expected to live....Instead of the usual rice there were bowls of steaming noodles, because noodles are the customary birthday dish. (p.202)

The noodles were longevity noodles to wish the "longevity star" live long life. In addition, people brought gifts wrapped in red paper because red is the color of happiness and good fortune.

**Marriage**

Several different forms of marriage have existed in China: major, minor, and matrilocal marriages (Smith, 1983). The major marriage, a type appearing in most works of fiction under study and to be discussed in detail below, is considered the norm. It involves the transfer of an "adult" bride from her natal home to her husband's home. The minor marriage follows the basic ritual pattern of the major marriage, except that the "child" bride lives in the home of her prospective husband for years as a "daughter-in-law reared from childhood" before the actual marriage date
(Smith, 1983). This form of marriage is no longer arranged in modern China, although it was common among the poor in traditional China, by no means limited to them. One instance was found in The Serpent's Children (Yep, 1984), in which the story was set in a poor village during the Ch'ing dynasty.

Aster had been betrothed to her husband, Tiny...when they were both infants. She had come to stay with them just last year. Of course, she still lived more like a sister than a bride to Tiny, and would until they were both of a proper age. But that way Tiny's family would come to think of her as one of their own and she would avoid the trouble that a bride sometimes has with her in-laws. (p.23)

Another less common and less esteemed variety of marriage is matrilocal, involving the transfer of a male into the household of a female as both a son-in-law and an adoptive son, reversing the pattern of major and minor marriages. The males involved in such matches usually come from families with several sons and enter families where there are none. The period of residing in the bride's home is variable, from a few years to a lifetime (Smith, 1982). This type of marriage is hardly seen nowadays, although a few rural people may arrange it because of their concerns about the continuation of the family line. However, no instance regarding matrilocal marriage was found in the fiction studied.
Interestingly, the incidents found in the fiction regarding major-marriage rituals were all associated with conventional practices; none of them were up-to-date modern ceremonies, which are heavily influenced by the West. In traditional China, certain customs surrounding major marriages were nearly universal, although the specific practices often differed from place to place. One universal feature was that the arrangement of a marriage was determined by the heads of the respective households and very often the choice of a marriage partner by parents or other elders was arbitrary and unilateral, hardly taking into account the wishes of the prospective bride and groom. For example, Mei-li's marriage, in Ho-Ming: Girl of China (Lewis, 1934), had already been arranged by her grandmother before consulting her, even without herself knowing to whom she was going to marry. And in The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971), Ma Hou was originally arranged by her father to marry Han Lin-erh.

Another distinctive feature of family life in traditional China was the institution of concubinage, which had been outlawed in the Republican era. Theoretically, this ancient practice was justified by the filial imperative of producing sons to continue the male line. Often concubines were purchased outright from poor families by the more well-to-do, and ordinarily they did not enjoy the same status as
the principal wife (Smith, 1983). Only one work of fiction, The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971), which was set in the fourteenth century, mentioned such a practice.

A go-between, or matchmaker, was usually employed as an intermediary between the two families involved in a marriage. Smith (1983) underscored the important role played by a matchmaker in the arrangement of a marriage,

The responsibilities of the matchmaker were extremely weighty. He or she had to take into account not only the relative social positions of the two families involved but also certain important economic and personal facts such as family wealth and individual character. Ideally, the match was expected to benefit both parties, which generally meant that the families had to be of approximately equal status and means or that one family might contribute greater status while the other contributed greater wealth. (p.221-222)

The matchmaker also negotiated such matters as the amount of the betrothal gifts and betrothal money to be given by the groom's family to the bride's. The family of the bride, for its part, had to decide on the proper dowry and trousseau to send along at the time of transfer for exhibition at the groom's home. Being such an indispensable role, a go-between character appeared in nearly each book in which marriage affairs needed to be managed, such as in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (Lewis, 1932), Ho-Ming: Girl of China (Lewis, 1934), Silk and Satin Lane (Wood, 1939), Su-mei's Golden Year (Bro, 1950), and The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971).
The conventional marriage ceremonies were designated as six rites, involving six stages: the selection of the match, which was engineered by the go-between after consultation with the families involved, the formal exchange of astrological information on the bride and groom, the ritual test of the match by means of divination, the crucial stage of the betrothal, the selection of auspicious times for the transfer of the bride and related ritual activities, and finally the transfer itself (Smith, 1983). Kuo Tsu-hsing's statement, from *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971), was the only incident found representing the second and third stages of marriage rites: "I realize that we ought to have the proper go-betweens and soothsayers to match your dates of birth and choose lucky days for all of the ceremonies" (p.153). The fourth stage, the betrothal involving the acceptance of the betrothal gifts by the family of the bride, was illustrated in the Sending-of-the-Goose Procession, in *Silk and Satin Lane* (Wood, 1939):

The live white goose, all daubed with red for happiness, would be sent in the procession....The other [betrothal] gifts were borne on [red-lacquer] trays--open that all the neighbors might see and admire them. Uncle Sing stayed at home,...this was his message to the bride's family, setting the wedding date after a go-between had decided on the proper month. (p.141-142)

Other incidents found all placed an emphasis on the wedding procession, or the transfer, which was known as
"welcoming the bride" and also the final stage of the formal process. The combination of the following passages taken from several books represents an exemplary portrayal of this ceremony. On the day of the transfer,

[the bride] was dressed in a long red robe with wide flowing sleeves. The robe had a broad yellow panel that began at the throat and went across her left breast down to the feet and around the hem. There were embroidered borders around the base of the sleeves as well....The headdress was high and jeweled, with a [beaded] veil... (Paterson, 1983, p.220)

There was a sputtering of small firecrackers, and Mei-li, decked in the stiff, wedding robe and ornate headdress which was customary, stepped into the [brightly decorated] gay-colored chair which would carry her to the new home. (Lewis, 1934, p.199)

[In the wedding procession] a handsome red wedding chair [rolled past]. Hidden behind the satin curtains sat a young bride on the way to her new home. A long train of runners followed, carrying her dowry of stools and tables, silk bedding, hard, lacquered pillows, and boxes of jewels, hair ornaments, and clothing. (Carlson, 1971, p.44)

Ma Hou was...brought to Chu in a red wedding chair wearing a red bridal veil. They kowtowed to Heaven and Earth, one another's ancestral tablets, and to Kuo and Madame Kuo as their parents, making vows of filial piety. Seeds, beans, cash coins, and fruits were scattered outside the main gates for the city's children, and within the mansion, presents of money were given to all and a great banquet was held. (Carlson, 1971, p.158)

The transfer was marked by a banquet, which was customarily hosted by the groom's family, and, like the wedding procession and display of dowry and trousseau on the bride's side, might well be a measure of family financial status. As
a result, all these calculations were of great importance to the prestige and material interests of each of the families concerned.

All these marriage ceremonies were full of elaborate, positive symbolism. Red—the color of happiness and good fortune—was prominent in dress, wedding chair, and decorations. Firecrackers served as purifiers and signs of joy. Presents such as paired geese symbolized marital fidelity (Smith, 1983). And felicitous inscriptions of various sorts appeared everywhere. Food played an important role at various stages of the marriage ritual (and in most other aspects of Chinese ritual life), in the form of symbolic gifts, offerings, and ceremonial meals. Fruits and other food items denoted marital harmony, happiness, and prosperity, for example, lotus symbolized fruitfulness and offspring and thus lotus seeds symbolized many children; peach symbolized long life and peach blossom symbolized the virtues of a bride (Goodrich, 1991).

**Funeral**

The instances regarding funerals, compared to those of marriages, appeared much less frequently and were in less detail in the works of fiction under study. Generally speaking, funerals involve elaborate mourning practices that differ from region to region but share certain major
features. A passage from *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971) demonstrated these features:

"I cannot honor my parents with a worthy funeral," [Chu] thought. "I have no strings of cash to pay for coffins, and there is no one left for a procession." No gray-robed Buddhist monks with the nine sacred scars on their shaven heads would help these souls to join their ancestors. No yellow-robed Taoist priests would chant services of intercession from the sacred books. He had no paper money or houses or horses to burn. Not even a stick of incense. He could not wear the white sackcloth of mourning. All that was possible was to inscribe the names on soul tablets and to pray himself at the family altar in the niche by the stove. (p.14)

Among the mourning practices were dressing the corpse in special burial clothes and placing it in a coffin with various symbolic items, mourning ritually within the family, and priests being called upon to say prayers for the departed, in hopes of building up merit for them in the next life. A funeral procession for the body and spirit tablet and a mourning feast for the family marked the formal conclusion of the process. Lewis (1932) described a funeral procession in *Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze*,

A funeral procession with elaborately robed priests beating gongs and chanting weird rhythms met him. He stepped to the curb and watched with interest the coolies, dressed in white mourning cloth, who carried aloft paper imitations of articles the dead might wish to use in the spirit world. (p.126)

The paper imitations of articles, such as paper money, houses, furniture, and dolls dressed in the long robes of
servants, were customarily burned to the departed for their use in the other world. Incense sticks were also burned and various offerings of food were made in honor of the dead.

**Ancestor Worship**

Ancestor worship has been an important ritual of great significance in Chinese society. As Smith (1983) noted, 
"[a]ncestor worship bound China together by reinforcing the entire kinship structure and encouraging a profound precedent-mindedness at all levels of society; it also provided a shared sense of cultural concern, manifest in common symbolism and religious practice" (p.151). It is considered to be a way of expressing human feelings such as love and respect for the dead, and at the same time cultivating the virtues of filial piety, loyalty, and faithfulness.

Rites of ancestor worship are of two main sorts: daily or bimonthly devotions and anniversary services (Smith, 1983). Incense sticks are burned regularly on the ancestral altar, which houses the family spirit tablets in hierarchical order. No incident was found indicating this sort of rite. However, a clan shrine was depicted in Su-mei's *Golden Year* (Bro, 1950).

The Hall of Families [with its respectful reverence for the ancestors] was the place where the tablets
of the ancestors were kept, those small plaques which rose in tiers from floor to ceiling, each one bearing the name of a departed forebear....In the big room of ancestral worship stood the altar to the original ancestors, and behind the altar hung a dark pictured scroll bearing the faded likenesses of two dignified figures, one a man and the other a woman. They wore most elaborate robes and headdresses. (p.58)

Anniversary rites take place on the death date of each major deceased member of the family. Offerings are made, and living members of the family participate in the ceremony in ritual order based on age and generation. Unfortunately, none of the incidents regarded this type of rite, either.

Respects are also paid to the ancestors during major festival periods such as New Year's eve and Ch'ing-ming festival and on important family occasions such as births and weddings. To illustrate, on the first morning of Spring Celebration, grownups and children in the village of Wang, in Su-mei's Golden Year (Bro, 1950), together kowtowed to the graves of their own ancestors. The family of Shao-shao, in In the Eye of War (Chang & Chang, 1999), honored their ancestors during Ch'ing-ming festival. They worshipped at home under the grandfather's photograph, incense sticks being burned and food offered. Then all members of the family in order of seniority in turn kowtowed to the grandfather.
The Distribution of the Incidents

The numbers and averages of the incidents associated with each subcategory in each chronological group are presented in Table 15 and shown graphically in Figure 9. It can be seen in Figure 9 that the domestic ritual activities were described in most detail and of most diversity in the third group, while the second group had the least detail of the activities.

**TABLE 15**

**DOMESTIC RITUAL ACTIVITIES**

(NUMBERS AND AVERAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Birthday</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th>Funeral</th>
<th>Ancestor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=4)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=?)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall findings regarding the specific ritual activities involved are presented in terms of percentages relative to the total number of the incidents in Table 16 and
Figure 9. Stacked column plot for averages of ritual activity incidents
shown graphically in Figure 10. The results reveal that marriage was the activity which was most often described with details among the four mentioned in the fiction, while birthday was the activity described in the least detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Birthday</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th>Funeral</th>
<th>Ancestor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=230</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Festivals**

The category of festivals is used to report: (1) how frequently the relevant description of Chinese festivals appeared in each chronological group of books; (2) what festivals were mentioned and how they were described; (3) how detailed the descriptions were, compared among the three chronological groups; and (4) the overall findings regarding the specific festivals involved.
Figure 10. Overall distribution of ritual activity incidents
In reporting the findings, the actual numbers and percentages of the books containing the incidents identified as Chinese festivals are presented in Table 17 and shown graphically in Figure 11. The findings indicate that incidents of festivals appeared in 7 of 7 or 100 percent of the books published between 1925 and 1939, 2 of 12 or 17 percent of the books in 1940-1969, and 5 of 15 or 33 percent of the books in 1970-1991. Figure 11 reveals a dramatic drop in 1940-1969 and a slight increase in 1970-1991.

TABLE 17
FESTIVALS (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE BOOKS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of Books (n)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939(N=7)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969(N=12)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991(N=15)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chinese festivals contribute to a shared sense of culture. Seven festivals were evident in 14 of 34 books studied: (1) New Year, (2) Lantern Festival, (3) Ch'ing-ming Festival, (4) Dragon Boat Festival, (5) Festival of Hungry Ghosts, (6) Moon Festival, (7) Double Ten Day. These
Figure 11. Percentages of books containing incidents of festivals
festivals have been traditional festivals, except for Double Ten Day, and are still celebrated among Chinese.

**New Year**

Among the incidents referring to Chinese festivals, the New Year ranked highest in frequency and detail of incidents found in the works of fiction, which was reflective of the familiarity of the authors of fiction with the celebration of Chinese New Year. As a matter of fact, the welcome for the New Year has been the greatest and most important festival of the whole year ever since the ancient days and is still universally celebrated among Chinese.

According to the traditional lunar calendar, the celebration of the New Year begins on the last day of the twelfth lunar month and normally lasts for two weeks. In traditional China, all shops would be shut and business would cease from the first to the fifteenth day of the first month. However, in the present time-is-money society, which can not afford all businesses being shut down for two weeks, the celebration usually lasts for five days, although the atmosphere of happy new year will still last till Lantern Festival. It, in effect, was and still is the one time when everyone in China takes a holiday. Given the current situation, the information that "in China they celebrate the
New Year for two whole weeks" in Lattimore's (1931, 1934) Little Pear series has become outdated.

Although the days for celebrating the New Year are shortened and the excitement about it is lessening year after year (the researcher's personal experience), the underlying idea of the New Year and major celebrations of it have not been much changed over time. According to the data, a majority of the New Year incidents found in the fiction covered well the major features of the celebration, and many of them highlighted its significance. The underlying idea of the New Year is that of renewal and a fresh start. To ensure this, all debts and bills must be paid before the end of the old year, as indicated in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (Lewis, 1932) and The Beggar King of China (Carlson, 1971). Houses must be thoroughly cleaned as the episodes occurring in Su-mei's Golden Year (Bro, 1950) and In the Eye of War (Chang & Chang, 1990), not only to get rid of dirt, but also to remove any evil influence that might still be lurking there. And that new clothes must be worn is the most often-mentioned aspect associated with the New Year; it appeared in every book containing the description of New Year.

The incidents regarding the New Year well demonstrated the major features of it. That is, the New Year is a time of celebrations and amusements, family reunion and feasts, and worship for the household deities and ancestors. The
following passages are typical portrayals of celebrations of Chinese New Year:

...the New Year's festivities, when everyone wore new clothes, paid old debts, made offerings to the gods, and celebrated with banquets, firecrackers, and processions. (Carlson, 1971, p.113)

Bunting, multicolored, floated in the narrow streets above the people's heads; from dingy house fronts fluttered handsome banners, bright with gold characters, expressing the season's best wishes. Lacepaper ornaments, and pictures of Kwan-Yin, Goddess of Mercy, Kwan-Tih, God of Protection, and other important members of the heavenly circle shared places of honor. Fantastic lanterns and toys of every description were being offered for sale. New Year was here and all China was preparing to enjoy it. (Lewis, 1932, p.87)

The New Year is the happiest time of the Year in China. Everybody has new clothes then, and especially good things to eat. (Lattimore, 1934, p.59)

The New Year is ushered in with firecrackers, which are an essential part of any festivity but especially at New Year. Children love to set off strings of noisy firecrackers to add a flavor to the joyous air. The elders believe that firecrackers would "scare away the demon spirits" (Chang & Chang, 1990, p.97). Auspicious "spring couplets" (ch'un-lien) brush-written in bold characters on red paper, are another essential item prepared in families. They are pasted up on each side of doorways, bringing blessings and prosperity to families for the coming year. In addition, a number of special dishes, such as lotus roots (Chang & Chang, 1990) symbolizing harmony, and fish meaning abundance of
wealth, are prepared for the family reunion feast on New Year's Eve, during which every member of the family would try to be present.

On New Year's eve, families customarily sacrifice to the ancestors and household deities such as Heaven and Earth. Early in New Year's Day the Kitchen God (the God of the Hearth) is welcomed home from his yearly trip to Heaven. He had been sent to Heaven on the 23rd of the twelfth month with sweet substances smeared on the mouth of the god's image to ensure a favorable report on the family. A new picture having been bought, it is put up to the accompaniment of firecrackers, and incense is burned before it. Bro (1950) depicted the ceremony of sending the Kitchen God in Su-mei's Golden Year:

[T]his was a ceremony beloved in every home, a time when the family has an especially good evening meal and then go together to the kitchen, where they take down the paper kitchen god who hangs behind the stove, paint his mouth with syrup so that he will make a sweet report to heaven, and then burn him in a jolly little ceremony which no one takes too seriously but everyone likes to have part in. (p.236)

Lewis (1932) also depicted the ceremonies of sending and welcoming the Kitchen God in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze:

The night [a week before the New Year dawned] on which the kitchen god left for the spirit world with his report she had, due to this very fear, added to the usual oblation of sweetmeats a few drops of wine in the hope that his statement of
affairs in this household might be less clearly rendered....[On the morning of the New Year's Day] Within the homes there had been the ceremony of the kitchen god's return, followed by an elaborate breakfast. (p.77 & 86)

On succeeding days of the festival, courtesy visits to the relatives' and friends' would be paid, as Chang & Chang (1990) described,

All morning, guests kept arriving,...all smiling, exchanging greetings, bringing red envelopes for the servants and sometimes for the children. (p.91)

Mother offered cups of tea and dried lotus seeds from the centerpiece. "These are for precious sons," she said. The word lotus could also mean "a son on the way," and every family wanted another boy. (p.92)

As noted, there would always be some delicacies, such as lotus seeds, nuts, melon seeds, and other sweet-meats, to offer guests. Money, placed in little red paper envelopes decorated with good luck signs printed in gilt characters, would be left for servants at the houses on visited. Children too would be presented with money in these red envelopes.

**Lantern Festival**

The Lantern Festival on the fifteenth day of the first month marks the end of the New Year's celebration. It is a happy time, devoted largely to the display of colorful lanterns in homes and to the entertainment of children.
Unfortunately, in a very few instances, the Lantern Festival was mentioned without further elaboration.

**Ch'ing-ming Festival**

Ch'ing-ming (literally, Pure and Bright) is a time when families worship the ancestors, including the sweeping of graves and offerings of food for the dead. Besides tidying up the graves, it is usually the occasion for a family spring picnic in the countryside. An exemplary description of Ch'ing-ming was found in *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971):

> [T]he Ching-ming...was the chief spring festival, and the townspeople would be busy repairing and cleaning graves, and placing offerings before ancestral tablets. Afterwards there would be picnics and feasting. (p.116)

Another instance regarding Ch'ing-ming was in *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990), described earlier under the section of ancestor worship.

**Dragon Boat Festival**

On the fifth day of the fifth month the Dragon Boat Festival is originally held to commemorate the death by drowning of Ch'ü Yuan, the famous but ill-fated Chou dynasty scholar and poet, who committed suicide in despair after losing the favor of his ruler through slander. Lewis (1934)
devoted a section to the story of Ch' u Yuan in Ho-Ming: Girl of China.

Colorful and exciting dragon boat races would take place on rivers and lakes in China in the old days and they are still held on the Tanshui River in Taiwan. A description of the dragon boat race was noted in Wood's Silk and Satin Lane (1939):

[T]he drums beating and the gongs clashing as the dragon boats swept up and down the canal....Each one [boat] was gorgeously decorated with banners and bunting and a huge dragon's head on the prow. (p.212 & 216)

At the time of the festival, families will make tsung-tzu, which are steamed, spiced, triangular-shaped glutinous rice cakes wrapped in lotus leaves, commemorating the offerings made to the spirit of the drowned poet. In the ancient days, people would throw the rice cakes into the river or lake where dragon boat races were held as Ching-ling did in Silk and Satin Lane (1939), while the custom is hardly practiced nowadays.

Although a joyous occasion, the Dragon Boat Festival in traditional China was surrounded by rituals designed to protect the population from evil and unhealthy influences that were believed to be especially prevalent in the fifth month. As noted in the following instances,
The Dragon Boat Festival...was...a day when pestilence and evil spirits were most to be feared, the day of evil animals, like the wasp, toad, snake, scorpion, and centipede. Everyone wore lucky charms and bought branches of peach, willow, and pomegranate, and papers in the five colors as protection against epidemics, and hung blossoms of yellow mugwort, arranged in the shape of tiger heads, above their doors. (Carlson, 1971, p.168)

Most doorways bore sprays of artemisia and strange paper effigies of the insects and small creatures that harass the farmer. On this day evil spirits were supposed to return to the earth in great numbers, and only by these symbols did the older generation believe demons could be frightened away. (Lewis, 1934, p.59)

**Festival of Hungry Ghosts**

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month comes Chung-yuan, Festival of Hungry Ghosts, when various ceremonies are undertaken to honor the ancestors and to placate "hungry ghosts." Graves are usually swept and ancestral offerings performed. Only one book, among thirty-four studied, mentioned the name of the festival, but without any further description.

**Moon Festival**

The Moon Festival, or Mid-Autumn (Chung Ch'iu), is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. Among the most popular of all Chinese festivals, it involves family gatherings and feasts, offerings to the moon, ancestor worship, and the exchange of "moon cakes," which are made of
pastry stuffed with meat and spices or with sweet bean paste. People present each other with moon cakes or with round fruits to symbolize the full moon and completion. Moon-viewing parties are often held. The origin of the Moon Festival and moon cakes was told in *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990), which related to the fall of the Yuan dynasty.

**Double Ten Day**

Only one book, *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990), mentioned Double Ten Day, which is the Birthday of the Chinese Republic. Double Ten Day is celebrated nationwide in Taiwan, with an expanded celebration upon the beginning of each new decade.

**The Distribution of the Incidents**

The numbers and averages of the incidents associated with each subcategory in each chronological group are presented in Table 18 and shown graphically in Figure 12. It can be seen in Figure 12 that the festivals were described in most detail and of most diversity in the third group, while the second group had the least detail of the description of the festivals.
### TABLE 18

**FESTIVALS (NUMBERS AND AVERAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>New Year</th>
<th>Lantern</th>
<th>Ch'ing-ming</th>
<th>Dragon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=7)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=2)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=5)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Hungry Ghosts</th>
<th>Moon Festival</th>
<th>Double Ten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=7)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=5)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall findings regarding the specific festivals involved are presented in terms of percentages relative to the total number of the incidents in Table 19 and shown graphically in Figure 13. The results reveal that New Year was the festival which was most often described with details among the seven mentioned in the fiction, while Festival of
Figure 12. Stacked column plot for averages of festival incidents
Hungry Ghosts, Moon Festival, and Double Ten Day were the three festivals described in the least detail.

**TABLE 19**

**FESTIVALS (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>New Year</th>
<th>Lantern</th>
<th>Ch'ing-ming</th>
<th>Dragon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hungry Ghosts</th>
<th>Moon Festival</th>
<th>Double Ten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender Issues**

The category of gender issues is used to report: (1) how frequently the discussion of gender issues appeared in each chronological group of books; (2) what issues were discussed and how they were presented; (3) how detailed the discussions
Figure 13. Overall distribution of festival incidents.
were, compared among the three chronological groups; and (4) the overall findings regarding the specific gender issues involved.

In reporting the findings, the actual numbers and percentages of the books containing the incidents identified as gender issues are presented in Table 20 and shown graphically in Figure 14. The findings indicate that incidents of gender issues appeared in 4 of 7 or 57 percent of the books published between 1925 and 1939, 4 of 12 or 33 percent of the books in 1940-1969, and 9 of 15 or 60 percent of the books in 1970-1991. That is to say, more than half of the books in the first and last chronological groups, with a decrease to one-third of the books in the second group, discussed gender issues. Figure 14 clearly shows the drop in 1940-1969 and an increase in 1970-1991.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of Books (n)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=7)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=12)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=15)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 20

GENDER ISSUES

(NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE BOOKS)
Figure 14. Percentages of books containing incidents of gender issues
The issues of degrading girls, valuing boys, footbinding, and sexual equality addressed in 17 of 34 books under study.

**Degradation of Girls and Valuing Boys**

Traditional Chinese society was strongly patrilineal. Since a patrilineal society was very much a man's world, it asserted the superiority of men over women. Boys were considered crucial for the family continuity, economic support, and the maintenance of ancestral sacrifices, while girls were considered a poor social investment in traditional China. The biased attitude toward the sexes was often reflected in the fiction in such statements as "Girls were not considered as important as boys" (Lattimore, 1971, p.49), "Gods didn't bother much with girls; it was boys that were important in China" (Fritz, 1982, p.24), "A boy was worth a hundred girls in China" (Vander Els, 1985, p.11), and "In old China, girls were worth nothing" (Vander Els, 1987, p.159). The differentiation between the genders might be rooted in the conception that a girl child being essentially irrelevant to the question of patrilineal kinship, after years of nurture the majority of them would simply marry to become members of other households. As noted in More about Little Pear (Lattimore, 1971),
Girls in China, when they married, became part of their husband's family; whereas boys worshipped their ancestors and remained in their own home. (p. 49)

Newborn girls' life was especially precarious, since the practice of infanticide involved them primarily. When poor families had too many children, they might sell their female children into slavery or prostitution. However, infants brought a low price, and many believed that it was better to destroy the child than to doom it to a life of poverty and shame (Smith, 1983). The hard-pressed families thus were often forced by practical considerations to drown their newborn girls. The outlawed practice was noted in the works of fiction set in the earlier days:

People starve in the rice fields and drown their infant girl children in the marshes because there is nothing left to feed another mouth. (Carlson, 1971, p. 46)

Every family keeps its boys... But since the beginning of time in the Middle Kingdom, they have given away girls when there were too many mouths to be fed and only a little rice. (Wood, 1939, p. 117)

Not only infanticide, girls also suffered the crippling effects of bound feet, to be discussed in detail later, inferior nurturance in early childhood, and exclusion from education in general and from the examination system. In those days, "who would waste good money trying to educate girls" (Lewis, 1932, p. 19)? A father wanted his sons to go to school, but he ignored the intellectual development of his
daughters. People believed, as Lao-Po-Po commented in Ho-Ming: Girl of China (Lewis, 1934), that "study is bad for girls" because "a little learning unsettles a woman's brain" (p.178). As a result, there was no school for girls. "Women hardly ever got teachers. They stayed home with their feet bound so they couldn't get away, and they had babies" (Neville, 1991, p.117). Girls, unlike boys, couldn't be scholars, nor take civil-service examinations to become officials (Neville, 1991).

The conservative societal view confined females to prescribed patterns of virtuous behavior. Girls were taught, since their childhood, to obey a strict and comprehensive moral code hallowed by time and tradition. For instance, a virtuous lady should passively accept her role as an intellectual inferior and remained ignorant of the outside world. She learned only household tasks and approved hobbies. As stated clearly in Silk and Satin Lane (Wood, 1939), "a girl must learn to cook and make coats and shoes and care for babies. Those are things for women to do" (p.11-12). Lewis (1934) in Ho-Ming: Girl of China, which vividly depicted the contrasts between old and new China, highlighted the appropriate female role projected by the tradition:

Girls should stay at home, no running about the streets alone. (p.1-2)
Girls should walk sedately, and not eat much. (p.3 & 5)

Girls were not permitted to frequent public places. (p.9)

It is proper to gaze demurely on the ground when a girl speaks in public with a man. (p.11)

Girls are not supposed to do books; they learned from the elder's lips. (p.117)

**Footbinding**

Footbinding, a symbol of the subjection of women, lasted for more than a thousand years. It was part of a set of mores which insisted on relegating women and treating them as intellectual inferiors, ignorant and fettered accessories (Levy, 1992). Although the custom is dead today, a great number of incidents found in the fiction described it, ranging from its origin and development to what bound feet looked like and how they were done.

It was indicated in two books, *Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze* (Lewis, 1932) and *The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971), that an Empress centuries ago set the fashion of footbinding for the rest of Chinese world. However, the academic studies of Levy (1992) and Smith (1983) stated that it was court dancers who developed the fashion in the tenth century, either at the end of the T'ang dynasty or in the decades which immediately followed. By the twelfth century footbinding had become accepted throughout the imperial
palace. In the course of the following centuries, the middle and even the lower classes imitated the upper-class fashion.

The meaning was changed as the custom of footbinding spread. It became a device to ensure the separation of the sexes and prevent women from leaving the confines of the house since bound feet made walking painful and difficult. Some incidents touched this aspect of confinement:

And for his mother, whose bound feet, four inches in length, had never been expected to step over anything higher than a door sill, this ladder would have presented a real problem. (Lewis, 1932, p.6)

And even though deformed feet permitted a woman to work only around the house, they were important in getting a husband. (Lewis, 1932, p.40)

Her tiny, bound feet,...which had never been expected to walk farther than the distance of her own rooms, had followed her husband into the fields without complaint." (Carlson, 1971, p.12)

Some incidents addressed the fact that despite the harmful effects of footbinding and its painful process, girls were forced to endure the dreaded pain in order to achieve the criterion of beauty, which would please males, sanctioned through the ages.

It is painful for a girl of five to have her arch broken and her toes bent under and bound. (Paterson, 1983, p.42)

she a woman with little bound feet who had to walk stiff-kneed at all her tasks. (Bro, 1950, p.195)

[T]he early months of footbinding hurt terribly and afterwards walking was difficult....But Chu's
mother had told him that fashionable city women agreed it was better to stand the agony of footbinding and to please men with small feet than to bear the shame of large feet. (Carlson, 1971, p.75)

That is the daughter of Third Uncle. Her feet have lately been bound. I remember from my own childhood that the pain is bad for the first few months, continues for a year, and then lessens afterwards. But when she grows up she will have Golden Lily feet, and no man will be ashamed to have her as wife. (Carlson, 1971, p.149)

Minority women living in China such as the Mongols, Tibetans, Hakka, and Miao were natural-footed; they did not practice footbinding (Levy, 1992). Paterson (1983) provided the information in Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom.

In the south, many of the country women have big feet. The Hakka tribe have never bound their daughters' feet, and the Han Chinese have seen how much more profitable a big-footed woman can be on a farm. (Paterson, 1983, p.44)

**Sexual Equality**

With the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, long before Western ideas of the equality of sexes came to China, Chinese leaders began to fight for women's rights, and soon this also included a fight against bound feet (Levy, 1992). During the course of the struggle for women's rights over centuries, the status of women may improve, but still not achieve genuine equality. However, there are only a few incidents found in the fiction presenting this issue. Chang and Chang (1990) and Lewis
(1934) indicated that footbinding was outlawed as the
Republic was established. Lewis (1934) presented other
changes on the status of women in Ho-Ming: Girl of China:

[C]ustoms change, and at present all over the land,
girls copy their brothers' ways. (p.2)

[Y]outh was in possession of freedom such as its ancestors had never imagined. Girls and women actually appeared in public places and enjoyed entertainment of a type previously limited to fathers and sons of families. (p.182)

Bro (1950) indicated that girls were given the opportunities of education:

In the old days, since girls could not become officials, there was no point in preparing them for provincial examinations. Besides, a girl needed to learn the ways of a household in order to take good care of her husband when she got one. In the old days only a few fortunate girls were allowed to study with their brothers from tutors who came to the home, but since the founding of the Republic in 1911 more girls had been allowed to learn to read and write. In some progressive cities there were public schools that admitted boys and girls together through the fourth grade. (p.184)

Vander Els (1987) compared the status of women in old and new China:

"That's old China when girls were worthless." She grimaced as if remembering something hateful. "Our new government treats girls the same as boys," Chuin-mei informed me. (p.41)

[Chuin-mei said,] "In old China, girls were worth nothing. In new China, we can do all the work men do!" (p.159)
The Distribution of the Incidents

The numbers and averages of the incidents associated with each gender issue in each chronological group are presented in Table 21 and shown graphically in Figure 15. It can be seen in Figure 15 that the second group contains the least detailed incidents regarding gender issues, while the first group has the most detailed incidents. However, in all the chronological groups, an emphasis seems to be placed on the inequality of the sexes. The results imply that either the authors are unaware of the changing status of Chinese women or they consider Chinese women consistently inferior to men in the entire history.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Footbinding</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=4)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=9)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 15. Stacked column plot for averages of gender incidents
The overall findings regarding the specific gender issues involved are presented in terms of percentages relative to the total number of the incidents in Table 22 and shown graphically in Figure 16. The results reveal that footbinding was most often discussed with details among the four mentioned in the fiction, while sexual equality was the issue discussed in the least detail.

**TABLE 22**

**GENDER ISSUES**

(NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Footbinding</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Values**

The category of values is used to report: (1) how frequently the discussion of values appeared in each chronological group of books; (2) what values were discussed and how they were presented; (3) how detailed the discussions
Figure 16. Overall distribution of gender incidents
were, compared among the three chronological groups; and (4) the overall findings regarding the specific values involved.

In reporting the findings, the actual numbers and percentages of the books containing the incidents identified as values are presented in Table 23 and shown graphically in Figure 17. The findings indicate that incidents of values appeared in 4 of 7 or 57 percent of the books published between 1925 and 1939, 5 of 12 or 42 percent of the books in 1940-1969, and 7 of 15 or 47 percent of the books in 1970-1991. That is to say, more than half of the books in the first chronological group, with decreases to less than half of the books in the second and third groups, discussed values. Figure 17 clearly shows the highest percentage in 1925-1939 and the lowest in 1940-1969.

TABLE 23
VALUES (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE BOOKS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of Books(n)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939(N=7)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969(N=12)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991(N=15)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 17. Percentages of books containing incidents of values
The data related to values emerged into the following subcategories: (1) older siblings taking care of younger ones, (2) deference to elders, (3) thrift, (4) separation of sexes, (5) hold on to the land, (6) order in family, (7) obedience, (8) filial piety, (9) study hard, (10) respect scholars, and (11) industry.

The Distribution of the Incidents

The numbers and averages of the incidents associated with each value in each chronological group are presented in Table 24 and shown graphically in Figure 18. It can be seen in Figure 18 that values were described in most detail and of most diversity in the third group, while the second group had the least detail of the values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>V3</th>
<th>V4</th>
<th>V5</th>
<th>V6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=4)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=5)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=7)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 24 (Continued)
VALUES (NUMBERS AND AVERAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>V7</th>
<th>V8</th>
<th>V9</th>
<th>V10</th>
<th>V11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=5)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=7)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V1: Older Siblings Taking Care of Younger Ones
V2: Deference to Elders
V3: Thrift
V4: Separation of Sexes
V5: Hold on to the Land
V6: Order in Family
V7: Obedience
V8: Filial Piety
V9: Study Hard
V10: Respect Scholars (Teachers)
V11: Industry

The overall findings regarding the specific values involved are presented in terms of percentages relative to the total number of the incidents in Table 25 and shown graphically in Figure 19. The results reveal that the value of deference to elders was most often described with details among the eleven mentioned in the fiction, while obedience was described in least detail.
Figure 18. Stacked column plot for averages of value incidents
### TABLE 25

VALUES (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>V3</th>
<th>V4</th>
<th>V5</th>
<th>V6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VALUES (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE INCIDENTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V7</th>
<th>V8</th>
<th>V9</th>
<th>V10</th>
<th>V11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V1: Older Siblings Taking Care of Younger Ones
V2: Deference to Elders
V3: Thrift
V4: Separation of Sexes
V5: Hold on to the Land
V6: Order in Family
V7: Obedience
V8: Filial Piety
V9: Study Hard
V10: Respect Scholars (Teachers)
V11: Industry
Figure 19. Overall distribution of value incidents
Conclusions Drawn from the Cultural Categories

Here, the cultural categories refer to the categories of religious beliefs, domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values. A pattern among the three chronological groups can be observed from the analyzed results in this group of categories. Excluding the category of religious beliefs, the 1940-1969 group not only appeared to have the fewest books which provided such cultural information as domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values, but also gave the least details regarding the information. The 1970-1991 group tended to have the most books containing the cultural information, and it presented the information in the most detail.

This pattern might be attributed to the affairs that happened in China as well as in the United States during these particular time periods. During the time period of 1940-1969, China was experiencing successive radical transformations at all levels. The Communist victory in 1949 marked the shift of political power in China as the Nationalist party retreated to Taiwan. Having come to national power, the Chinese Communist Party implemented a number of innovations and developmental plans which aimed to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, industry, and commerce, including Land Reform (1947-1952),

Changing rapidly during the course of the innovations and movements, China was under unprecedentedly unstable circumstances. When American authors came to write stories about Chinese, being aware of the social transformation proceeding in China, they were assumed to have difficulties in portraying the changing culture, simply based on their previous views of and knowledge about Chinese. As a result, what they had done was to avoid the cultural details as many as possible, or, to present them in a relatively superficial way.

In the most recent group, 1970-1991, the highest percentage of books presenting detailed cultural descriptions was found. During the time period of 1970-1991, the developing stability in China, the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, and the increasing contact between the countries resulted in more cultural descriptions and in a more detailed manner. Over the last two decades, with the gradual rise in awareness of cultural authenticity and standard of excellence in works about foreign countries, publishers and authors have attempted to meet those requirements. In order to move toward better and more
authentic works, the authors might visit China themselves after China reopened itself to the world. If not, they might have steeped themselves in the ethnographic, anthropological, and historical literature pertaining to the Chinese culture. With sufficient knowledge of the culture, they were more confident in presenting more detailed cultural information.

The category of religious beliefs is an exception to the pattern mentioned above. In the researcher's personal opinion, this might be due to the easy access of the information. Which religion people practice can often be looked up in the reference books. Authors do not have to be in China in order to know which religions Chinese believe in. Therefore, among the three chronological groups, no evident changes can be observed both in the percentages of books containing incidents of religious beliefs and in the average numbers of incidents in the associated books.

**Inaccuracies**

The category of inaccuracies is used to report: (1) how frequently inaccuracy and unauthenticity on Chinese portrayals appeared in each chronological group of books; (2) what inaccuracies and unauthenticity were found; and (3) how accurate and authentic the descriptions were, compared among the three chronological groups.
In reporting the findings, the actual numbers and percentages of the books containing inaccuracies are presented in Table 26 and shown graphically in Figure 20. The findings indicate that the inaccuracies appeared in 4 of 7 or 57 percent of the books published between 1925 and 1939, 7 of 12 or 58 percent of the books in 1940-1969, and 7 of 15 or 47 percent of the books in 1970-1991. That is to say, while more than half of the books in the first two chronological groups contained inaccuracies, a decrease of books containing inaccuracies was evident in the third group. Figure 20 shows the lowest percentage of books containing inaccuracies in 1970-1991.

**TABLE 26**

**INACCURACIES (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE BOOKS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of Books (n)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (N=7)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (N=12)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (N=15)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two types of inaccuracies: unauthentic language and inaccurate information.
Figure 20. Percentages of books containing inaccuracies
Unauthentic Language

Very often, authors with little sense of the language simply insert the Romanization of a Chinese word or two that they know in an effort to make their stories seem more believable. When unsuccessful, such a device tends to result in a degrading use of the language, faulty constructions, and unrecognizable Romanizations. Take Shen of the Sea (Chrisman, 1925), among many others, as an example. A faulty construction was made when one said, "...His Most Gracious Majesty will arrive sha shih chien [within a slight shower's time]..." (p.161). Here sha shih chien is used as an adverb which in English structure is placed after the verb. But, if it was meant to be a Chinese way of speaking, sha shih chien should have been placed before "arrive." Besides, the translation of sha shih chien is odd; the meaning of it is "swiftly." It was another strange expression that "They went away limping and howling, one holding his hands to his pate, as if troubled with nao tai teng (as if troubled with head aching badly)" (p.76). None of these expressions are believable in the day-to-day language of a Chinese. In characters meant to be ordinary people speaking their own everyday language, there is absolutely no justification for the artificial quaintness of speech like those examples quoted above.
The translation following the Romanized forms of Chinese words reveals Chrisman's lack of in-depth knowledge of the Chinese language, although he has most of the translations literally correct. Ching Chi in the story of "Ah Mee's Invention" was abused, "Oh, you vile tung hsi" (p.22). The translation provided for tung hsi was "east west," which is simply in the literal sense of the words; tung hsi actually denotes "thing." The same case is with fei yu, which was indicated to be "a cloudy jade," a literal translation again. Yu is "jade" in Chinese and fei does have a meaning of "being cloudy," but when these two words are compounded, that only means "jade."

As for the Romanization of Chinese words, authors should use a recognized system of Romanizing the national language (kuo-yu, i.e., mandarin) form of a word, that is the form which would be found in a standard Chinese-English dictionary. Otherwise, the words such as hou erh (which was meant to be "monkey"), wei li ("rain hat" as the author claimed to be), and C'heo si la (which was meant to be "Ugly unto death") are not recognizable. Moreover, in *Ride the Far Wind* (Jones, 1964), a character was called S'oong-Li. The apostrophe in the name has absolutely no significance and seems to have been thrown in just because some Romanized forms do need an apostrophe.
Authors' poor sense of the language results in highly unlikely utterances coming out of Chinese characters' mouths. In *Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze* (Lewis, 1932), Tang said to Fu Be Be, "This man [the clerk] will sign your name for you if you will tell him what it is. Is it the Fu character for happiness or the one for a worker?" (p.18) This is an unauthentic way of language use, revealing that the author is unable to speak Chinese. Like English words, every Chinese word, for the most part, has more than one meaning attached to it, but unlike the English pronunciation which is sound-determined, each Chinese sound is designated to four tones (Chao, 1968). A sound is combined with a tone to indicate different characters. The Romanization of "Fu" can be sounded in mandarin as the first-toned Fu, one of its characters containing, among others, the meaning of "worker," also as the second-toned Fu, one of its characters meaning "happiness," and the fourth-toned Fu, the character for "teacher." Accordingly, if one person asks another for the character of "Fu" in Chinese, one must have indicated the tone of the character through the utterance. An authentic way of questioning can be: "Is it the Fu character for richness or the one for father?" because the Fu characters for richness, father, and teacher all are the fourth-toned.

In *Mountain Light* (Yep, 1985), Uncle Itchy asked, "Do I know him?" Squeaky answered, "Her. It's a girl, Uncle"
(p.163). Since Chinese language has no distinction of sexes, the character should have no way to tell "he" or "she" from the oral Chinese. The same problem was found in *The Year of the Panda* (Schlein, 1990) where Wo Ping said, "You can go in and give her her food" and Lu Yi puzzled, "Her?"

Authors' poor sense of Chinese also results in a kind of language which is entirely out of place for that time or any time. The authors of *The China Year* (Neville, 1991) and *The Emperor's Gift* (Weaver, 1969) should have learned to distinguish between the Chinese and Japanese language, costume, and background. The words "kimono" and "jinrikisha" are Japanese, not Chinese Romanization. Neville should know that kimono and sash are parts of a Japanese costume, not Chinese. Weaver should know, as early as 2700 B.C. in China, it would be impossible that there were rickshaws running about on the street.

Tien Pao in *The House of Sixty Fathers* (DeJong, 1956), in which the story took place during the World War II, addressed "honorable father, Huan" to his make-believe father, who was a guerrilla leader. Two problems with it are that in the first place, Chinese people in the twentieth century no longer addressed their parents in such a humble way as they used to in the Confucian era and that Chinese children are never allowed to call their parents by the first
names as some Americans do, let alone the last name ("Huan" in the quote), which is entirely out of place for any time.

Some author-illuminators try to introduce the Chinese system of writing by including Chinese characters in the illustrations. Jay Yang (1967) achieves this admirably in The Pai-pai Pig by using Chinese characters with excellent decorative effect. Thomas Handforth (1938) does well, too, in Mei Li. Above all, if Chinese characters are written they should be accurately written and not scribbles supposedly representing characters, like what Louis Slobodkin (1963) does for the illustrations of Moon Blossom and the Golden Penny. Slobodkin set apart Chinese characters and placed them with meaningless parts on the shop signs. In "A Note from the Author," he indicated that "if you would like to know six Chinese words, here they are." There are actually ten Chinese words with their Romanizations and English meanings containing six English words.

**Inaccurate Information**

Not having native-like understanding of the Chinese culture, the author and the illustrator of fiction can make outright errors in the information provided verbally or visually. It was stated in Mei Li (Handforth, 1938) that "A fine feast was being prepared for the Kitchen God, who would come at midnight to every family in China to tell them what
they must do during the coming year" (p.1). The Kitchen God, a picture of whom would be pasted up over the cooking stove in every household, would by no means tell people what they must do during the coming year. What is more, offerings made to him were to send him up to heaven where he made a report on the family.

Joy Anderson (1967), in The Pai-pai Pig, told readers that pai-pai "was the day the villagers celebrated the birthday of the Buddhist god Matsu, who protected the families and brought them good luck....There was a parade with fiery-headed dragon dancers, giant clowns on stilts..." (p.10). First, Matsu was a goddess, not a god. Second, "giant clowns on stilts" are not supposed to be amusing, entertaining in Western sense of clowns. They should be recognized as Ch'i-yeh and Pa-yeh, two legendary immortals in the teaching of Taoism. Except for above slight defects, The Pai-pai Pig is the best of all for a lively, authentic text and illustrations and for a well written story.

It is insulting and degrading to Chinese religious beliefs that a section in The Bombers' Moon (Vander Els, 1985) depicts a Chinese family worshipping an American doll. In China there are literally thousands of gods and goddesses who are worshipped at different times and places and for different reasons. Even though people believing in monolatry might have difficulty accepting Chinese ways of worshipping
and might misunderstand that the Chinese worship any idol around, it is absolutely unbelievable and of no reason that the Chinese family in *The Bombers' Moon* would worship such an idol as a naked, foreign doll with totally different appearance from their own. Actually, among the gods and goddesses the Chinese worship are household and personal gods, gods of cities, towns, and villages, of mountains, rivers, and lakes; intercession with these deities would guard people from the evil influence of demon spirits or save them from danger or bring good fortune.

When a nonnative author grasps only the surface of the Chinese culture, he/she may fill some details of the story through the interpretations and perceptions rooted in his/her own Western cultural background. In *The Emperor's Gift* (Weaver, 1969), the soothsayer, Poco Shan, had a thinking hat which was like a magician's tall hat and when he was to foretell events he needed to put it on. In addition, the researcher came across the images of European fairy tales again and again in such passages as "...she [Si Ling Chi] stirs her evil cauldron just as witches have always done" (p.106) and "...shut her in his tower and try to make her spin the silk from the cocoons into gold" (p.119). In the ancient times, the soothsayer was supposed to work with the eight trigrams with the symbol of creation in the center to foretell events, not by putting on a thinking hat the way
Western magicians do. And as early as the Huang-Ti era when people still lived in caves, it is questionable there was a such thing called "tower."

The most absurd story is found in Shen of the Sea (Chrisman, 1925), a collection of Chinese stories, called "Chop-Sticks." It basically is a story about the origin of chopsticks. Because his brother-in-laws used knives, forks, and spoons as weapons to threaten him, King Cheng Chang abolished knives, forks, and spoons and invented chopsticks instead. This story is not believable because it is written solely from an outsider's ethnocentric perspective, and the researcher, a native speaker of Chinese, never knew "chop" in "chop-sticks" means "good," which seems to come out of nowhere.

Other unauthenticity can be found in the illustrations. It is an unauthentic portrayal that the characters in the illustrations of The Emperor's Gift (Weaver, 1969) wear queues, coolie hats and shoes like the people in the Ching dynasty, while the story took place in the Huang-Ti era. The illustrations in The Superlative Horse (Merrill, 1961), inspired by mural paintings from the Tun-Huang caves, are very decorative. The illustrator Ronni Solbert mistakenly made Chinese boots look like wooden sabots. Chinese boots and shoes were made of cloth, and the platform soles were not
made of wood but layers and layers of cloth stitched together with the edges lacquered.

**The Distribution of the Incidents**

The numbers and averages of the inaccuracies associated with each chronological group are presented in Table 27 and shown graphically in Figure 21. It can be seen in Figure 21 that the most inaccuracies were found in the second group, while the fewest inaccuracies were in the third group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Inaccuracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1939 (n=4)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1969 (n=7)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1991 (n=7)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1940-1969 group had the highest percentage of books containing inaccuracies and the largest number of inaccuracies; the lowest percentage of books containing
Figure 21. Column plot for averages of inaccuracies
inaccuracies and the fewest inaccuracies were found in the 1970-1991 group. The findings regarding inaccuracies, as expected, were consistent with the pattern discussed earlier. Since the authors in the 1940-1969 group had little chance of living in the Chinese experience or they might not have learned about it in depth, it is more likely for them to employ unauthentic language and present inaccurate information about Chinese. It is a welcome change that the inaccuracies and unauthenticity decreased in the latest published group of books. The trend may indicate that the authors were making efforts to authentically portray the culture, with their cultural sensitivity and responsibility for presenting accurate information.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The researcher will summarize the study and draw conclusions from the research findings. Implications and suggestions for further research will follow.

Summary

The purpose of the study was to explore works of fiction for children, set in China and portraying Chinese people, published in the United States. This was achieved by examining 34 titles written from 1925 to 1991. The method of content analysis was used to examine the ways Chinese are portrayed and what cultural information about Chinese is presented. An emphasis was placed on how each of the selected categories helped to reveal the portrayals of Chinese and the accuracy of the information presented in this body of fiction. These categories included the following: (1) demographic categories--chronological settings, geographical regions, staple food, ethnic groups, occupations, economic status, dialects, and names of the
characters; (2) cultural categories--religious beliefs, domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values; and (3) evaluative category--inaccuracies. The following summary of the research findings is organized by category.

**Demographic Categories**

**Chronological Settings**

The findings indicate that a majority of books in each of the three chronological groups were set in the republican era. Only 5 of the 34 books were set during the Ch'ing dynasty. Of those, only one was in the group of 1925-1939, and none in the 1940-1969 group. An inclination to more diverse time settings in the third group, 1970-1991, was found.

**Geographical Regions**

The stories took place most often in North China and South China. No books were set in Northeast China, Northwest China, and Western China.

**Staple Food**

The findings indicate that more than half (52%) of the incidents relating to food involved rice, with wheat second
at 43%. Both rice and wheat were represented in much higher frequencies than the other two staples, millet and sorghum.

**Ethnic Groups**

More than half of the books (61 percent) did not specify which ethnic group they depicted. In the books specifying ethnic groups, the Han was represented in highest frequencies. The Manchu was second and the Miao and Mongolian followed.

**Occupations**

The findings reveal that the relative occurrence rates of farmer and non-farmer were comparable over the three time periods, with the majority characters being portrayed as farmers.

**Economic Status**

The characters were inclined to be presented as being either poor or adequate in the first two groups, while there was a tendency of an increase of comfortable and wealthy status in the third group. A range of economic status was represented in the third group, 1970-1991.
Dialects

The findings indicate that there was a tendency towards recognizing the various dialects spoken among the Chinese. Mandarin was the most often-mentioned language and Cantonese was next.

Names of the Characters

The results reveal that there was a decline in the occurrence of both "One-syllable Name" and "Two-syllable Name" over the three chronological groups. And the occurrence of "Three-syllable Name" became more frequent than "One-syllable Name" in the third group. "Translation" names (43 percent) had the highest occurrence in the third group.

Cultural Categories

Cultural categories included the categories of religious beliefs, domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values. A pattern among the three chronological groups emerged from the analyzed data in this group of categories. Excluding the category of religious beliefs, the 1940-1969 group not only appeared to have the fewest books which provided such cultural information as domestic ritual activities, festivals, gender issues, and values, but also gave the least details regarding the information. In contrast, the 1970-1991 group tended to have the most books
containing the cultural information, and it presented the information in the most detail.

**Inaccuracies**

The 1940-1969 group had the highest percentage of books containing inaccuracies and the largest number of inaccuracies; while the lowest percentage of books containing inaccuracies and the fewest inaccuracies were found in the 1970-1991 group.

**Conclusions**

The following conclusions are drawn from the findings of the present study:

**Demographic Categories**

**Time and Regional Settings**

The earlier publications did not deal much with the setting of Ch'ing dynasty but that of the republican era. In fact, the majority of the books (70 percent) were set in the republican period, yet they were confined to depicting China in the early twentieth century, especially from the 1920s to the 1940s. Although the results were not originally expected, they were sensible when the authors' backgrounds are taken into consideration. Many authors had been in China
during the republican period, it was relatively handy and convenient for them, as opposed to those who had not, to base their stories on their experiences living in China during that particular time period. However, none of the authors had ever been in China during Ch'ing or even earlier days. Those with an interest in writing stories set in those days usually needed to immerse themselves in printed sources or consult persons who know intimately Chinese history and customs.

As was expected, there was an inclination to more diverse time settings in the 1970-1991 group. This might be due to growing interest in and sensitivity toward Chinese history and culture. The authors tended to explore both ancient and modern China, ranging from the fourteenth century to China of the 1990s.

That most stories were set in North and South China may be attributed to the fact that most of the places which the authors are likely to have visited or be familiar with are located in either the northern or southern parts of China. The lack of representation of the settings in Northeast China, Northwest China, and Western China may occur because the remoteness and underdevelopment of those areas obstruct communication and tourism. Another reason might be that many minority groups residing in those areas segregate themselves within and might not welcome outsiders.
Staple Food

That most references to food were to the staples of rice and wheat is consistent with the results obtained from geographical settings. The majority of the books were set in North, South, and Central China; consequently, the majority of people would have rice and wheat as their staple food. Southwest China was the least frequent area in which the stories took place, millet and sorghum accordingly had the lowest percentages of the representation.

Ethnic Groups and Dialects

The majority of the books did not specify which ethnic group they depicted. It may imply that the authors, taking for granted that Chinese are Chinese, have no knowledge regarding China being a multi-ethnic country, with a population composed of a large number of ethnic groups.

The same case is with the dialects: the majority of the books did not indicate what dialect the characters speak. Among the specified dialects, the frequencies of the Cantonese dialect being second to Mandarin might be attributed to the great population of Cantonese speaking people along the southern coast of China.
Occupations and Economic Status

That the majority of characters were portrayed as farmers and economically poor reflect the reality that China has been an agricultural society for thousands of years, consequently, a higher percentage of people are engaged in farming than in any other pursuit. Many have been encouraged to pursue other work activities since the 1980s; the population of farmers is consequently supposed to decrease. However, because the works of fiction set before the 1980s outnumbered the ones set after, which consists of only three of them, it makes sense that the representation of farms still made the majority.

Names of the Characters

There was a decline in the occurrence of both "One-syllable Name" and "Two-syllable Name" over the three chronological groups, and the occurrence of "Three-syllable Name" became more frequent than "One-syllable Name" in the third group. This may indicate that the authors became more aware of how Chinese names are composed, and learned that the great majority of Chinese names consist of a monosyllabic surname and a disyllabic given name.

The result that "translation" names had the highest occurrence in the third group might be reflective of the
authors' perspective--being aware that most Chinese given
names carry special meanings, they prefer translating the
characters' names to Romanizing them, which means nothing to
the reader who does not understand the Chinese language.

In summary, the overall results obtained from the group
of demographic categories indicate that the image of the
Chinese that American readers might obtain from reading these
fictional representations is of China in the early twentieth
century, particularly from the 1920s to the 1940s. They
offer a portrait of Mandarin-speaking, economically poor, Han
farmers with two-syllable names, living mainly on rice and
wheat. In general, with the exception of the two-syllable
naming, this is an accurate picture of the majority of
Chinese living in those parts of China in those times.
However, since the economy and industry are improving rapidly
in China, along with the encouragement of government policy,
a high percentage of former field workers has taken up other
pursuits, such as commerce and factories. The population of
Chinese today would thus hold more of a variety of
occupations. In addition, the increasing trade between China
and other countries creates job opportunities and promotes
people's living. China of today is no longer economically
poor as the image projected from a half century ago.
Cultural Categories

A pattern in the group of cultural categories was found. This pattern might be attributed to the affairs that happened in China as well as in the United States during these particular time periods.

During the time period of 1940-1969, China was experiencing successive radical transformations at all levels. The Communist victory in 1949 marked the shift of political power in China as the Nationalist party retreated to Taiwan. Having come to national power, the Chinese Communist Party implemented a number of innovations and developmental plans which aimed to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, industry, and commerce, including Land Reform (1947-1952), Three-Anti Campaign (1951), Five-Anti Campaign (1952), First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), Great Leap Forward (1958-1959), and later Cultural Revolution (Hook & Twitchett, 1991; Kaplan & Sobin, 1981).

Changing rapidly during the course of the innovations and movements, China was under unprecedentedly unstable circumstances. When American authors came to write stories about Chinese, being aware of the social transformation proceeding in China, they were assumed to have difficulties in portraying the changing culture, simply based on their
previous views of and knowledge about Chinese. As a result, to avoid controversy, they provided less cultural descriptions and in less detail.

In contrast, during the time period of 1970-1991, the developing stability in China, the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, and the increasing contact between the countries resulted in more cultural descriptions and in a more detailed manner.

**Inaccuracies**

The findings regarding inaccuracies were consistent with the pattern discussed earlier. Since many authors in the 1940-1969 group had never visited China and had little or no first hand knowledge of their subjects, it is more likely for them to employ unauthentic language and present inaccurate information about Chinese. It is a welcome change that the inaccuracies and unauthenticity decreased in the latest published group of books. The trend may indicate that the authors were making efforts on authentically portraying the culture, with their cultural sensitivity and responsibility for presenting accurate information.

In summary, in contrast to the findings of Barlow (1973) and Asia Society (1977), the thirty-four fictional books indicate that the portrayal of the Chinese in twentieth-
century American children's fiction is generally positive. Particularly, books published between the 1970s and 1991 contain mostly accurate and authentic cultural information and rich details. Given the history of Chinese-American relations in the twentieth century, during which the Chinese were seen as the real villains in the Korean War, and America maintained a strong anti-Communist bias, this is a surprisingly welcome finding.

The contrary findings resulted from the different subjects being dealt with. Previous studies were concerned with history textbooks, whereas the present study is concerned with literature. History textbooks are written from the historian's point of view, totally based on factual, historical information. In contrast, literature can portray cultures in a greater variety of ways that allow readers to experience the feelings and thoughts that guide the values and beliefs of the lifestyles in question. By vicariously living in another culture, readers can gain an understanding of why people live as they do. Therefore, what literature provides is an empathic interpretation of the culture, which is much different from what history textbooks can offer.

Implications

If the purposes of multicultural literature are to help students learn about and learn to appreciate other cultures,
and further develop an understanding of the increasingly interdependent world, quality books which present cultural experiences in culturally and historically authentic ways are necessary. What follows is a discussion of some exemplary pieces that stand out of the thirty-four books examined for the present study. Teachers who wish to use fiction about Chinese in the classroom may start with these books. Plot summaries of the books are included in Appendix C.

Elizabeth Foreman Lewis succeeds in sensitively depicting the contrasts between old and new China during the 1920s and 1930s in Young Fu of the Upper Yangtze (1932) and Ho-Ming: Girl of China (1934). She also interprets insightfully the social and political condition of war-torn China during the 1940s in To Beat a Tiger, One Needs a Brother's Help (1953). In all three, the rich details are historically and culturally accurate, and the stories themselves meet the criteria for good literature. Readers may gain a sympathetic understanding of Chinese characters, customs, and problems through the vivid descriptions of Young Fu's experiences. Ho-Ming: Girl of China (1934) handles well the gender issues on the changing status of women and the equality of men and women, by portraying the girls torn between being bound by and breaking the old and enduring traditions. Approaching gender issues from another angle in Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom (1983), Paterson portrays
accurately the traditional Chinese male view of women, the custom of footbinding, and the impacts on an independent girl living in a male-dominant society.

The authentic portrayal and rich detail in *In the Eye of War* (Chang & Chang, 1990) give readers a true sense of a Chinese middle-class family life in the city. *Little Wu and the Watermelons* (Liu, 1954) can be paired with *In the Eye of War* to make comparisons between the lifestyles of city and village as well as Han Chinese and minority, because it describes in detail the farmer's life of Miao tribe, an ethnic group living in Southwest China. *Su-mei's Golden Year* (Bro, 1950) is also good on describing farmer's life in the village, particularly on the kinds of food eaten, the festivals and social events which the villagers celebrate and participate, and the contrasts of Western and Chinese customs.

*The Beggar King of China* (Carlson, 1971) is filled with details of Chinese festivals, religions, footbinding custom, and values, yet it appears as though the purpose of this book were to explain cultural details. In contrast, the cultural information in *The Pai-pai Pig* (Anderson, 1967) is so naturally and truthfully woven into the story that it becomes evident that the author and the illustrator are intimately familiar with the nuances of the culture.
While readers will gain more complete factual information about a culture from a work of nonfiction, and it is important to include nonfiction in a balanced classroom collection of multicultural literature, fiction can portray cultures in a greater variety of ways as the above exemplary books demonstrate. Works of fiction allow readers to experience the culture through the description of the chronological and geographical settings, the actions and words of the characters, the events in the plot, and the treatment of the overall theme in which pieces of cultural information are present.

One of the salient characteristics of the children's fiction portraying Chinese, published originally in the United States, is that they have been written and illustrated dominantly by white Americans. For the most part, when many nonnative writers look at the Chinese culture from an outsider's perspective, the results are superficial and fail in depicting the subtle aspects of language, experience, and emotion necessary for a compelling work of fiction, although the image of Chinese is not necessarily negatively portrayed. However, there are some authors who successfully write of Chinese experiences with a sensitivity gained through extensive research and participation in the culture. For example, Elizabeth Foreman Lewis (1932, 1934, 1953) and Margueritte Harmon Bro (1950) reflect cultural and historical
authenticity in their stories set in China, where they lived for many years and had first-hand opportunity to gain an understanding of the culture from which they did not originate. Also, Joy Anderson does a good job on her culturally accurate portrayal of the Chinese experiences in The Pai-pai Pig (1967), yet she was not born within the culture.

Although some nonnative writers do well in the portrayal of Chinese culture, there is a need for Chinese authors whose being born with the heritage and living within the culture can lead to an understanding of the distinctive nuances of the culture. This may require publishers to publish in translation versions of the works of authors from China, or, to search in the United States for recently-immigrated Chinese authors. Their writings are more likely to give an authentic view of what members of the cultural group believe to be true about themselves. If the Chinese writer is also familiar with American history and culture when he/she writes Chinese stories intended for children in the United States, such an asset will strengthen the quality of the literature because of his/her understanding of both cultures. The quality writings by both native and nonnative authors contribute to the body of existing children’s literature about Chinese, although their represented voices may be different. One voice speaks as a representative of the
culture, whereas the other gives the view of how an outsider sees the particular group's behaviors and beliefs. Both voices can give readers opportunities to perceive Chinese culture from different perspectives.

Illustrators' backgrounds and knowledge about the culture should also be considered as equally important as writers'. Oftentimes a picture books is done by two different persons, a writer and an illustrator, who usually work separately without communication. Given that cultural information can be carried on in the illustrations, adequate credentials which illustrators hold will make a picture book a quality whole.

Finally, it is recommended that more children's books should be written about contemporary Chinese lifestyles. More emphasis on children's fiction about contemporary Chinese would help update readers' views of both the country of China and Chinese culture.

**Suggestions for Further Research**

1. The details of cultural information do not guarantee the excellence and quality of the writing. Further research could be done to evaluate the literary quality of children's fiction depicting Chinese.
2. Further research could be done to compare contemporary portrayals of Chinese found in children's literature with sociological studies of Chinese to determine how closely current literary portrayals reflect the lives of Chinese in contemporary society.

3. Further research could be done to compare changes over time in the portrayals of Chinese found in children's literature with socio-historical studies of Chinese to determine how closely the literary portrayals over time mirror the lives of Chinese in the shifting social scene.
APPENDIX A

WORKS OF FICTION UNDER STUDY

1925-1939


1940-1969


APPENDIX B

ANALYSIS CATEGORIES

Demographic Categories

1. Chronological Settings
   - Before Ch'ing dynasty
   - Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912)
   - Republic (1912-the present)
   - Unknown

2. Geographical Regions
   - North China
   - Central China (Lower Yangtze Valley)
   - South China (including Taiwan)
   - Southwest China
   - Northeast China
   - Northwest China
   - Western China
   - unknown

3. Staple Food
   - Rice
   - Wheat
   - Millet
   - Sorghum

4. Ethnic Groups
   - Han (Chinese)
   - Manchu
   - Mongolian
   - Hui
   - Tibetan
   - Miao
   - Yao
   - others

5. Occupations
   - Farmer
   - Non-farmer

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6. Economic Status
   - Poor
   - Adequate
   - Comfortable
   - Wealthy

7. Dialects
   - Mandarin
   - Cantonese
   - Fukienese
   - Szechwan
   - Chung Chia
   - Hakka
   - Hangchow
   - Kunming
   - Shanghai
   - Shantung
   - Uighur

8. Names of the Characters
   - One-syllable Name
   - Two-syllable Name
   - Three-syllable Name
   - Nickname
   - Translation

**Cultural Categories**

1. Religious Beliefs
   - Buddhism
   - Religious Taoism
   - Popular Religion
   - Christianity

2. Domestic Ritual Activities
   - Birthday
   - Marriage
   - Funeral
   - Ancestor Worship

3. Festivals
   - New Year
   - Lantern Festival
   - Ch'ing-ming Festival
   - Dragon Boat Festival
   - Festival of Hungry Ghosts
   - Moon Festival
   - Double Ten Day
4. Gender Issues
   - Degrading Girls in General
   - Footbinding
   - Valuing Boys
   - Sexual Equality

5. Values
   - Older Siblings Taking Care of Younger Ones
   - Deference to Elders
   - Thrift
   - Separation of Sexes
   - Hold on to the Land
   - Order in Family
   - Obedience
   - Filial Piety
   - Study Hard
   - Respect Scholars
   - Industry

**Evaluative Category**

1. Inaccuracies
   - Unauthentic Language
   - Inaccurate Information
APPENDIX C

RECOMMENDED BOOKS


A boy loves his pig so much that he refuses to fatten it up for the weight contest during the celebration of Matsu's birthday, because the pig would be slaughtered and eaten after the contest. Anderson portrays in detail the colorful ways of worshipping the Buddhist deity in connection with her birthday. It is the best of all for a lively, authentic text and illustrations and for a well written story.


Seventeen-year-old Alex Jackson goes along with his father, a CBC news cameraman, to China in March 1989. Alex, caught up in a tragic historical event, witnesses the students' hunger strike and demonstrations in support of democracy in Tienanmen Square. He finally escapes with evidence of the slaughter recorded in the videos and photos, as well as with his personal change and sympathy.


The rejuvenation of a Chinese village occurs by the introduction of blight-free wheat seeds which Su-mei's father learns about from the newly established agricultural college in a nearby city. The story depicts an authentic farm life with authentic glimpses of the city.

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Chu Yuan-chang, a son of a poor farmer, united the rebel bands to fight against the Mongols, and after nearly twenty years of fighting finally established the Ming dynasty in 1368.


A family living in Shanghai experiencing an uneasy calm during World War II is seen through the eyes of a young boy, Shao-shao. The authors' portrayal is realistic and vivid, giving readers a clear picture of Chinese family lives.


Ho-ming, a curious and amusing girl with a sense of adventure, was eager to experiment with life. However, living during the time when China was moving through a transition, she was torn between being bound by and breaking the old and enduring traditions.


Three boys living different types of life from different parts of China take refuge in Shanghai and struggle for survival in war-torn China. The convincing descriptions of the boys' vicissitudes, adventures, struggles, and fortitude make exciting reading.


Young Fu is apprenticed to Tang, a skillful coppersmith in Chungking, a crowded city on the upper part of the Yangtze River in the 1930s. With his efforts, Young Fu finally becomes a fine artisan. The vivid descriptions of city life capture the problems and concerns in a
transitional society, including disease, hunger, fear, greed, theft, and jealousy.


Little Wu's watermelons help his family purchase a piece of land. One thing worthy mentioning is that it's the only story, among the thirty-four books under study, depicts the details of everyday living of the Miao tribe, one of the many ethnic groups that live in Southwest China.


Set during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1853), this historical fiction tells about two young people swept up in the rebellion. Mei Lin, the girl warrior with unbound feet, rescues Wang Lee from kidnappers, who later joins the rebels and learns to be a soldier.
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